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OF

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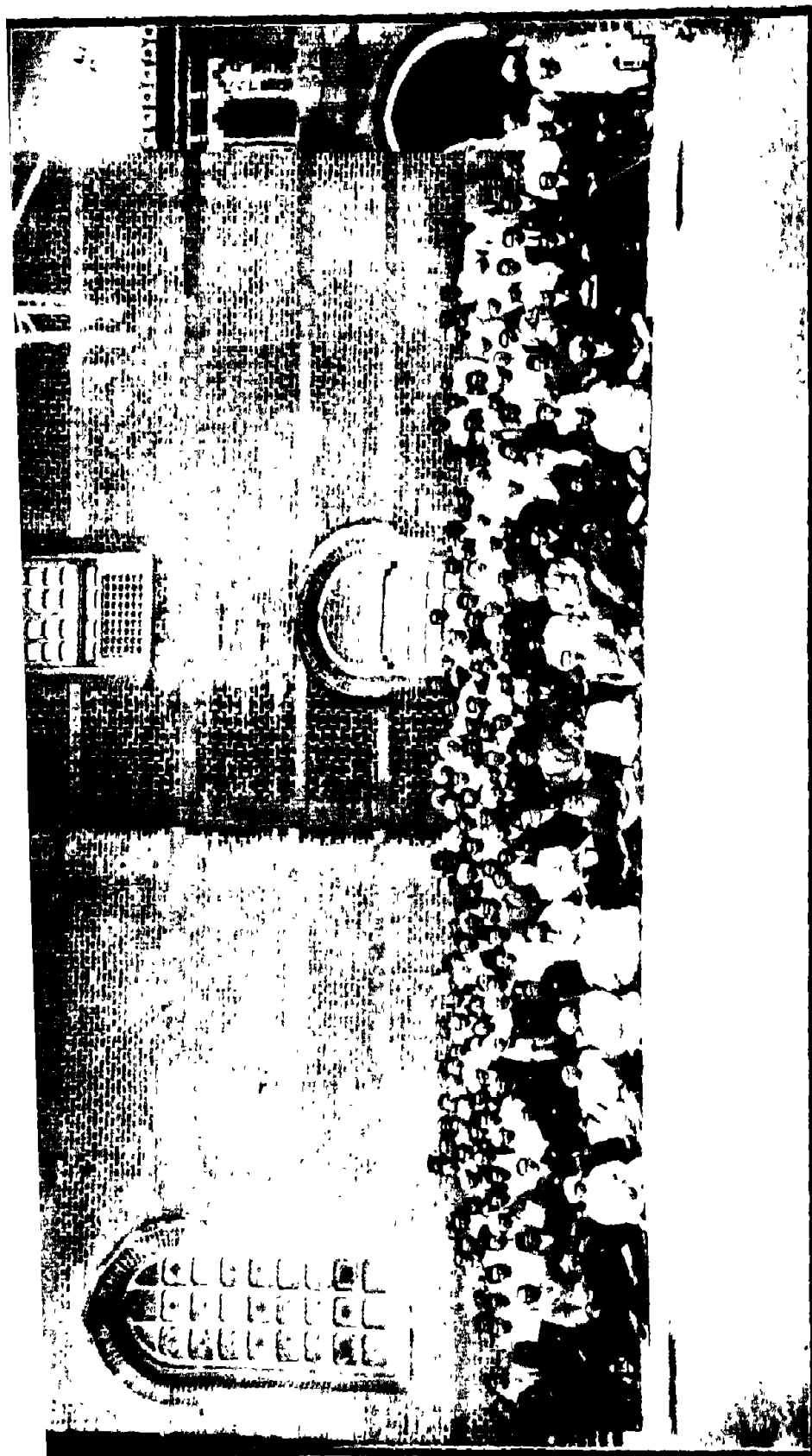
BARODA

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250. Mr. Fateh Ali, C/o G. N. Hakim, Esq., Baroda.
251. Mr. D. N. Moorty, B. A., Opposite Calico Printing Works, [illegible] Bazar, Baroda.
252. Mr. D. D. Kapadia, 6, Staunton Road, Poona 1.
253. Mr. Dasharathlal J. Jayaswal, B. A., Head Clerk, B.B. & C.I. Rly., Baroda.
254. Mr. Rasiklal Motilal Jayaswal, C/o Motilal Madhavadas, Ahmedabad Gate, Nadiad.
255. Miss Ratan J. Mistri, B.A., C/o Mr. Jamshedji Mistri, Race Course Road, Baroda.
256. Mr. Chaturbhai Purushottamdas Patel, T. B. High School, Bhadran.
257. Mr. Jamadar Suleman Gulamhusen Sahib, Thakor of Coth, Bachcha Jamadar Faga, Baroda.
258. Mr. Anand Vitthal Korde, Contractor, Kalupura, Baroda.
259. Dr. N. A. Thoothi, D. Phil (Oxon), Reader in Sociology, University School of Economics and Sociology, Bombay University, Bombay.
260. Mr. Motibhai Haribhai Oza, Diwanpara, Bhavanagar.
261. Mr. M. Rama Rao, M. A., B. Ed., Main Road, Innespeta, Rajamundry.
262. The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur K. L. Barua, President, Kamarupa Anusandhan Samiti, Gauhati (Assam).
263. Mr. Bhavanishankar V. Vyas, C/o Doongersi & Sons, Bombay Bazar, Karachi.
264. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M. A. (Oxon) Bar-at-Law, Advocate, Fraser Road, Patna.
265. Rev. Rahula Sankrityayana, C/o Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, Patna.
366. Mr. K. K. Roy, C/o Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, Patna.
267. Mr. C. S. Jayaswal, C/o Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, Patna.
268. Mr. G. H. Khare, Bharat Itihasa Samshodhak Mandal, 3/3 Sadashiv Peth, Poona 2.
269. Mr. Srinivasa Keshav Chitre, B.A., Teacher, Baroda, High School, Chitre's Wada, Kharivav, Baroda.
270. Mr. Revashanker Kilashanker Shukla, Proprietor & Manager, Progressive High School, Ahmedabad.
271. Mr. Someshwar Motiram Shukla, Head Clerk, Baroda High School, Baroda.
272. Mr. Ravishankar Ambaram Chhaya, B. A., LL. B., S. T. C. D., Lecturer, Training College for Men, Baroda.
273. Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, M. A., B. L., M. L. C., Editor, 'Man in India' 18, Church Road, Ranchi, B. N. Railway.
274. Mr. Govind Anant Lele, L. C. E., Sub-Engineer, P. W. D. Raopura, Sitaram Buwa's Wada, Baroda.
275. Mr. Balaram Vinayak Desai, M. A., LL. B., B. H. S., Manager, Huzur Political Office, Baroda.
276. Dr. K. S. Apte, Opposite Kothi, Baroda.
277. Mrs. K. S. Apte, Opposite Kothi, Baroda.

278. Dr. G. S. Apte, Opposite Kothi, Baroda.
279. Mrs. Abbas S. Tyabji, Baroda Camp, Baroda.
280. Miss Kamala Tapkir, C/o Mrs. Gunajirao Nimbalkar, Baroda Camp, Baroda.
281. Miss Raihana Tyabji, Baroda Camp, Baroda.
282. Mr. B. T. Anklesaria, M. A., 24-A Besant Road, Santa Cruz, Bombay.
283. Mr. D. J. Irani, Solicitor, Messrs. Mulla & Mulla, Solicitors, 51, Esplanade Road, Fort, Bombay.
284. Mr. Nadirshaw Nasserwanji Bharucha, Professor of Persian, Samaldas College, Bhavanagar.
285. The Secretary, Veda Shastrottejak Sabha, 608, Sadashiv Peth, Poona 2.
286. Dr. M. Nazim, M. A., Ph. D., Officiating Supdt., Archæological Survey, Western Circle, Poona 1.
287. Pandit Manishanker Vasantram Upadhyaya, Dharma Shastra Ratna, Ladwada, Baroda.
288. Mr. G. L. Agashe, Assistant Accountant General, P. W. Audit Office, Baroda.
289. Mrs. Taraporewalla, c/o Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewalla, Kama Athornan Institute, Andheri.
290. Miss D. F. Patuck, c/o Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewalla, Kama Athornan Institute, Andheri.
291. Mr. V. V. Mirashi, Professor of Sanskrit, Morris College, Nagpur.
292. Mr. Abdul Haq, Professor of Urdu, Osmania University, Banjara Road, Hyderabad (Deccan).
293. Rajaratna B. D. Amin, Alembic Chemical Works Ltd., Baroda.
294. Mrs. G. S. Apte, C/o Dr. K. S. Apte, Opposite Kothi, Baroda.
295. Mr. Manirai V. Majumdar, Samal Bechar's Pole, Baroda.
296 Mr. Laldas Bhailal Vaidya, Narsinhaji's Pole, Baroda.
297. Mr. N. H. Purani, Vaso, (via) Petlad.
298. Mr. M. I. Purohit, C/o His Majesty's Custom Department, Mombasa (British East Africa).
299. Mr. R. V. Acharya, Raopura, Near Tower, Baroda.
300. Mr. M. I. Yajnik, C/o Mr. R. V. Acharya, Raopura, Near Tower, Baroda.
301. Pandit L. B. Gandhi, Oriental Institute, Baroda.
302. Mrs. Shirin Fozdar, the Mall, Rutlam.
303. Mr. H. Yoganarasimham, M. A., Principal, Maharaja's Sanskrit College, Mysore.
304. Mr. Priyaranjan Sen, 49, Fern Road, Ballygunge, Calcutta.
305. Mr. Kazi Syed Nuruddin Hussein of Broach, Guzar Maskan, Mangrol (Kathiawar).
306. Mr. Ratilal Maganlal Antani, B. A., M. R. A. S., Secretary and Member, Mahad Raj Sabha, Mewar, Udaipur.
307. Mr. Framroze A. Bode, Mistry Building, Khetwadi Back Road, Bombay.

308. Mr. C. D. Chatterjee, Lecturer, Lucknow University, Badshah Bagh, Lucknow.
309. Mr. Vishnu Dinker Dhawle, Assistant Goods Clerk, B. B. & C. I. Ry., Indore.
310. Mr. Gopal Krishna Dandekar, B. A., L L. B., Chief Justice, Nyayamandir, Baroda.
311. Mr. Motilal Chhotalal Desai, B. A., Second Judge, Nyayamandir, Baroda.
312. Mr. Vitthal Dadaji Satghare, B. A., LL. B., Third Judge, Nyayamandir, Baroda.
313. Mr. Gauri Shanker, M. A., Lecturer, Government College, Lahore.
314. Mr. Behram H. Mehta, Ratan Villa, Khar, Bombay.
315. Mr. Vaman Narayanrao Patkar, B. A., LL. B., District Judge, Baroda City.
316. Mr. Bhagwant Ramchandra Dev, B. A., LL. B., Raopura, Baroda.
317. Dr. M. H. Krishna, M. A., D. Litt., Director of Archaeology and Professor of History, Chamarajapuram, Mysore.
318. Prof. William Coelho, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.
319. Mr. Thakorbhai N. Parikh, B. E., C/o Mr. Prataprai G. Mehta, Amreli.
320. Mr. Natwarlal J. Dholakia, B. E., C/o Mr. Prataprai G. Mehta, Amreli.
321. Mr Jatashankra C. Adhyaru, C/o Mr. Prataprai G. Mehta, Amreli.
322. Mr. Jayachandra Vidyalankar, Daraganj, Allahabad.
323. Sirdar Rao Bahadur M. V. Kibe, Indore.
324. Mr. M. R. Bodas, Advocate, 46, Khetwadi, Girgaon Road, Bombay.
325. Mr. Kali Kinkar Datta, M. A., P. R. S., Lecturer, Patna College, Bankipur, Patna.
326. Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale, B.A., LL.B., M.L.C., Advocate, Satara.
327. Dr. Tribhuwandas L. Shah, C/o Shashikant, Raopura, Near Tower, Baroda.
328. Rao Bahadur Gajendragadkar, C/o Mr. N. B. Padte, Rajmahal Road, Baroda.
329. Dr. O. Hansen, Ph. D., C/o L. Costy, Maxim Villa, Narayan Dabholkar Road, Malabar Hills, Bombay.
330. Mr. Manilal Balabhai Nanavati, B. A., Sar Suba, Sar Suba Office, Baroda.
331. Prof. Kshiti Mohan Sen, Shantiniketan, Bengal.
332. Mr. M. Ziauddin, Shantiniketan, Bengal.
333. Mr. N. N. Chowdhury, Shantiniketan, Bengal.
334. Mr. Mohanlal Parvatishanker Dave, M. T. B. Arts College, Surat.
335. Prof. C. V. Joshi, M. A, Rajadaftardar, Uddhav Bhuvan, Dandia Bazar, Baroda.
336. Mr. Chimanlal Jaichand Shah, Arya Bhuvan, Station Road, Pattan.
337. Mr. G. G. Trivedi, Vyakaranacharya, Samaldas College, Bhavnagar.
338. Mr. Chunilal B. Bhatt, B. A., B. T., Charottar Education Society, Anand.

339. Prof. S. S. Bhave, M. A., LL. B., Lecturer in Sanskrit, Baroda College, Baroda.

340. Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, M. A., Ph. D. (Hon.), Brodie's Road, Sripadam, Mylapore, Madras.

341. Prof. Agha Pour-e-Davoud, Professor of Ancient Iranian Culture, Shantiniketan, Bengal.

342. Mr. Vitthalrao R. Karandikar, M. A., Bar-at-Law, Satara.

343. Mr. A. B. Dhruva, M. A., LL. B., Principal, Benares Hindu University, Benares.

344. The General Secretary, Visva Bharati, Shantiniketan, Bengal.

345. Prof. Lalita Prasad Sukul, M. A., Post-Graduate Department, Ashutosh Building, Calcutta University, Calcutta.

346. Rai Saheb Prayag Dayal, Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow.

347. Mr. Kshitish Chandra Sarkar, Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, Bengal.

348. Mr. M. B. Garde, Superintendent, Archæology, Gwalior State, Gwalior.

349. Mahamahopadhyaya Rai Bahadur Gauri Shankar Ojha, Superintendent, Rajaputana Museum, Ajmer.

350. Prof. Rameshwar Gaurishankar Ojha, M.A, C/o Mm. Gaurishankar Ojha, Supdt., Rajaputana Museum, Ajmer.

351. Mr. R. M. Shukla, B. A. (Hons.), Education Department, Idar State.

352. Mr. D. Goswami, M. A., B. L., Cotton College, Gauhati, Assam.

353. Mr. Shiva Dutta Sharma, Railway Clearing Accounts Office, B. B. & C. I. Ry., Coaching Section, Delhi.

354. Mr. K. N. Dikshit, M. A., Supdt., Archæological Department, Eastern Circle, Calcutta.

355. Prof. K. A. Subramaniya Iyer, M. A., Professor of Sanskrit, Lucknow University.

356. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, M.A., Ph.D., Calcutta University, College Square, Calcutta.

357. Dr. A. Haq, B. Litt. D. Phil., Professor of Arabic, Osmania University, Hyderabad (Deccan).

358. Dr. Siddheshwar Varma, M. A., D. Litt., Prince of Wales College, Jammu.

359. Dr. P. K. Chakravarty.

360. The Secretary, Ecole Nationale Des Langues Orientales, Rue De Lille, N 2., Paris VII E (France).

361. Dr. Nazim-ud-din, M. A., Ph. D., Osmania University, Hyderabad (Deccan).

362. Dr. Muhammad Iqbal, Punjab University, Lahore.

363. Mrs. Snehalatabai Pagar, Principal, Female Training College, Baroda.

364. Dr. P. C. Bagchi, M. A., D. Litt., 9, Rustomji Street, Ballygunge, Calcutta.

365. Prof. Hemchandra Ray Chaudhary, M.A., Ph.D., 94 Mysore Road, Kalighat, Calcutta.

366. Prof. A. C. Roy, Varendra Research Society, Bengal.

367. Mr. H. H. Das, B. A., L. T.
368. Mr. Nazim Mahamad Yusuf Sahib, C/o Bashi Brds., Opposite J. J. Hospital, Bombay.
369. Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni, Director General of Archaeology in India, New Delhi.
370. Mr. Bijoynath Sarkar, Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi, Bengal.
371. Dr. S. K. De., M. A., Ph. D., Dacca University, Ramna, Dacca.
372. Mr. Saligram Sarma, Delhi.
373. Mrs. Kamala Devi Deshpande, Ph. D., Principal, S. N. D. T. College, Poona.
374. Mr. Bhargav Shastri Joshi, Sanskrit College, Poona.
375. Mr. Vasudeva Sitaram Bendre, Chhatrapati Sambhaji Karyalaya, Poona.
376. Prof. K. Saunders, European Guest House, Baroda.
377. Dr. Harichand Shastri, Patna College, P tna.
378. Prof. C. N. Joshi, M. A., Professor of Marathi, Hyderabad (Deccan).
379. Mr. M. Abdulla Chughtai, Chabuk Sawran, Lahore.
380. Mr. Mohammad Latifuddin Idrisi, P. O. 11, Hyderabad (Deccan.)
381. Prof. H. R. Divekar, M. A. D. Litt., Gwalior.
382. Mr. G. B. Makoday, Lecturer, V. C. College, Gwalior.
383. Dr. S. V. Ketkar, M.A., Ph D., 21 Khan Road, Poona.
384. Mr. Chandbhai Shaikh, Rajkumar College, Rajkot.
385. Prof. Fida Ali Khan, Dacca University, Ramna, Dacca.
386. Prof. H. N. Tandan, Professor of Hindi, St. John's College, Agra.
387. Dr. Baburam Saksena, Reader, Sanskrit Dept., Allahabad University, Allahabad.

Preface.

Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar, General Secretary of the All-India Oriental Conference suggested in 1930 that the Baroda Government should invite the Seventh Session of the All-India Oriental Conference to Baroda in 1932. Accordingly, His Excellency the Dewan Saheb was pleased on the 7th March 1930 to direct that the Commissioner of Education should submit a proposal to obtain His Highness's permission in the matter.

The Commissioner of Education thereupon referred the matter to the Director, Oriental Institute, who submitted a detailed note keeping in view the status of the Conference, its history, aims and objects and its activities while in session, and gave an estimate of the probable expenses that would have to be incurred in the event of the Conference being invited to Baroda.

A proposal was thereafter submitted by the Commissioner of Education on the 18th June 1930 that the Seventh Session of the Oriental Conference be invited to Baroda and that a sum of Rs. 10,000 be provided in the budget for 1932-33, to cover the expenses of the session.

On the 1st of July 1930 the Executive Council of the Government of Baroda considered the matter and recommended to His Highness the Maharaja Saheb that the proposal to invite the Conference to Baroda may graciously be sanctioned.

His Highness the Maharaja Saheb under Rājājñā No. 15/3 dated the 5th August 1930 sanctioned the proposal with the proviso that the expenses to the State should not exceed rupees ten thousand, and suggested that if this amount was likely to be exceeded it should be raised by subscription.

Rao Bahadur G. B. Ambegaokar, the Acting Dewan Saheb, in his letter dated the 22nd November 1930 communicated the decision of the Government of His Highness to the General Secretary of the Oriental Conference, mentioning the conditions under which the Seventh Session could be held in Baroda.

The Director, Oriental Institute as the head of the Baroda delegation to the Sixth Session, which was to meet at Patna, was duly authorised to extend a formal invitation to Baroda at this Sixth Session in December 1930.

The Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference in a meeting held during the Patna session unanimously resolved to accept the invitation with thanks and recommended the appointment of Dr. B. Bhattacharyya, M. A., Ph. D., Director, Oriental Institute, Baroda as its Local Secretary.

Under normal circumstances the Seventh Session should have met at Baroda in 1932, but owing to the then prevailing financial stringency experienced everywhere by Governments and learned societies alike, the General Secretary, decided to send a circular letter to the members of the All-India Committee suggesting the postponement of the Seventh Session for a year, which suggestion the Committee considered and accepted.

Accordingly, the Committee's decision to postpone the Conference for a year was placed before the Baroda Government for ratification. Though the Government of Baroda was prepared to stand by the original arrangements, they nevertheless agreed to the postponement, and the decision of the Government was communicated to the General Secretary in a letter from Sir V. T. Krishnama Chari, the Minister, dated the 21st July 1932.

The regular work of making necessary arrangements in connection with the Seventh Session of the Oriental Conference at Baroda, therefore, commenced in March 1933 when the first bulletin was circulated to 2000 Orientalists of repute both in India and Europe, asking them to join the Conference as members and contribute scientific papers.

In the middle of April 1933 an appeal was made to the Government of India, Provincial Governments, Indian States, Universities, Colleges and learned societies in India and abroad to co-operate with the Conference by sending delegates. And in September a circular letter was addressed to distinguished scholars requesting them to contribute scientific papers.

At first the response to the invitations was not very encouraging, but when 2,500 copies of the second bulletin giving all details regarding the Conference, along with the names of the General President and Sectional Presidents, were circulated, interest in the work of the Conference was aroused and the Local Secretary was able to register 387 members and promises of 250 scientific papers; these figures broke all previous records. Later on, the Conference threatened to become so unwieldy that membership had to be closed nearly a whole month before the commencement of the Session.

On the 7th of December 1933 the third bulletin containing the necessary information as regards places of meetings, arrangements for transport, boarding and lodging, etc. was circulated to all members. Local arrangements, however, were set on foot as early as the 22nd July 1931 when a proposal was submitted to Government requesting sanction to appoint a Central Committee for Reception and several other Sub-committees to conduct the work of the Session.

Accordingly, under Dewan Order No. 5/3 dated 11-8-1931 one Central Committee and nine Sub-committees to be in charge of (1) Reception, (2) Boarding and Lodging, (3) Entertainments, (4) Transport, (5) Exhibition, (6) Lunch, (7) Drama, (8) Mushaira, and (9) Meetings, were appointed. To these a tenth Sub-committee for the Pandita Parisad was subsequently added, and power was given to every Committee to co-opt additional members, if necessary.

As the Conference had been postponed for one year, the regular work of the Committees did not begin till the 6th of July 1933 when the first meeting of the Drama Committee was held. Afterwards, the various Committees met and decided on the specific arrangements falling within their

respective scope. Brief notes of the proceedings of each Sub-committee are subjoined. In November, Dr. S. K Belvalkar, the General Secretary of the Conference, paid a special visit to Baroda to discuss the arrangement with the Local Secretary.

By the 25th December all local arrangements were completed. On that very morning the President with his party arrived from Bombay by the Delhi Express and were accorded a suitable reception at the railway station by Mr. S. V. Mukerjea, Chairman of the Reception Committee and other office-bearers, and by the representatives of various local bodies. The Boy Scout band played the national anthem.

The notable feature of the Conference was the sustained interest in it of His Highness the Maharaja Saheb, who not only opened the Conference, but also granted a very large number of interviews to delegate-scholars, attended meetings and lectures, and even took part in sectional discussions of a technical nature. He helped the Conference and encouraged the delegates in various other ways, by placing at the disposal of the Conference the vast resources of the State. His Highness was further graciously pleased to give a Garden Party in the Motibag Grounds to which the members attending the Conference were invited, while a selected number of delegates had the honour of receiving invitations to dinner. The interest of His Highness in the Seventh Session of the Conference and his princely donation of Rs. 10,000 which was further supplemented by a printing grant of Rs. 3,000 towards the expenses, will ever stand as an enduring monument of his love for Oriental scholarship.

The entire management of the Oriental Conference was entrusted to the Oriental Institute with its limited staff. Every member of the staff, without exception, cheerfully performed his heavy additional duties, and carried on the work assigned to him with interest, intelligence and enthusiasm.

B. BHATTACHARYYA,
Secretary.

PROCEEDINGS OF LOCAL COMMITTEES.

Central Committee.

At a meeting of the Central Committee held in the Dhara Sabha Hall on Thursday the 9th November 1933 at 16–0 hours :—

(1) Rao Bahadur Ganesh Balwant Ambegaokar, was appointed President of the Central Committee for Reception.

(2) A deputation was appointed to request His Highness the Maharaja Saheb to open the proceedings of the Conference and to accept the office of the Patron: also to request Sir V. T. Krishnamachari, the Minister, to deliver the Welcome Address and accept the office of Vice-Patron. Sir V. T. Krishnamachari, however, preferred to deliver the Farewell Address at the closing plenary session.

(3) The Secretary, Central Committee read a report showing the work done in connection with the Conference by the office, and the details of arrangements made for the housing and comfort and entertainment of the delegates. He also informed the Committee of the dates fixed for the holding of the Conference decided upon by the Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference, as also the results of the elections of the General President and of the Presidents of the different Sections.

Boarding and Lodging Sub-Committee.

Members: Col. R. S. Parab (Chairman), Messrs. S. G. Burrow, S.V. Shevade, W.K. Fansalkar, F. S. Kale, (Secretary), Lieut. S.G.H. Kadri, Lieut. R. M. Nimbalkar, Major L. H. Aquino, Shrimant S. V. Gaekwad, Messrs. S.A. Sudhalkar, R.H. Pathan and Dr. B. Bhattacharyya (ex-officio).

At a meeting held on the 13th of November 1933, it was decided (1) that the orthodox pandits attending the Conference should be accommodated in the Tarkeswar Temple, delegates who are vegetarians in the Raopura School and non-vegetarians in the Damajirao Dharmashala, the orthodox Muslims in Col. Sawant's bungalow at Bhutadi Zampa, whilst those accustomed to European habits and food in the Baroda Hotel, the existing accommodation in it to be supplemented by tents pitched in the compound; (2) that an appeal should be made to prominent citizens to take in a few guests if they could do so without inconvenience; (3) that definite accommodation should be assigned to individual delegates and lists be prepared long in advance of the commencement of the Session; (4) that the rates of contractors be approved.

The thanks of the Committee are due to the following gentlemen who very kindly took in guests on behalf of the Conference:—

1. Prof. G. H. Bhatt.
2. Prof. S. S. Bhave.
3. Mr. M. B. Apte.
4. Dr. B. Bhattacharyya.
5. Mr. N. C. Divanji.
6. Mr. L. G. Ghanekar.
7. Mr. N. B. Katpitia.
8. Dr. V. N. Likhite.
9. Dr. N. V. Pandit.
10. Mr. M. D. Purohit.
11. Acharya Vijaya Indra Suri.
12. Mr. D. N. Apte.
13. Prof. C. V. Joshi.
14. Rajavallabha Seth Samal Bechar.
15. Mr. M. N. Wadia.
16. Capt. G. S. Apte.
17. Mr. K. G. Deshpande.
18. Mr. Shahibzada Shamshad Ahmad Khan.
19. Mr. R. V. Acharya.
20. Mr. V. R. Talwalkar.
21. Mr. Suprakash Ganguli.
22. Mr. Abbas Tyabji.
23. Mr. R. R. Pawar.

Transport Sub-Committee.

Members: Mr. K. B. Desai (Chairman), Major L. H. Aquino, Mr. A. H. Khan (Secretary) and Dr. B. Bhattacharyya (ex-officio).

At a meeting held on the 6th December 1933, it was decided (1) that a ten-seater bus should be kept at each of the different camps for every ten delegates, (2) that the buses should be engaged for half a day only (from 3-0 p. m.) for the 27th December, and (3) that two touring cars should be put at the disposal of Conference Office, (4) and that the rates of hire quoted were approved.

Lunch Sub-Committee.

Members: Major A. G. Sadekar Pawar (Chairman), Miss M. A. Needham, Mr. N. M. Dutt, Captain F. S. Kale (Secretary), Major V. R. Pawar, Lieut. S. S. Dighe and Dr. B. Bhattacharyya (ex-officio).

At a meeting held on the 15th September 1933, it was resolved to serve light refreshments to the members of the Conference in a shamiana in the college compound. The menu was approved, and the Secretary was asked to make the necessary arrangements.

Pandita Parishad Sub-Committee.

Members: Pandits L. B. Shastri (Chairman), K. S. Ramaswami Shastri (Secretary), S. S. Pade, Narayan Joshi, Jethalal Joshi, Vitthal Shastri, L. B. Gandhi and Dr. B. Bhattacharyya (ex-officio).

At a meeting held on the 16th September 1933, (1) a list of Pandits to be invited to the Pandit Parisad was drawn up, (2) it was decided to give a single second class fare to all Pandits, and a single third class fare to their servants, (3) the time and place for holding the Pandita Parisad were fixed, and (4) the draft of the Sanskrit invitation letter was approved.

Drama Sub-Committee.

Members: Prof. B. K. Thakore (Chairman), Messrs. G. H. Bhatt (Secretary), S. S. Bhave, K. S. Ramaswami Shastri, G. K. Shrigondekar, N. N. Bapat. and Dr. B. Bhattacharyya (ex-officio).

Two meetings of this Committee were held on the 6th July and 13th December 1933. (1) It was decided to stage the *Malavikagnimitra* at the Lakshmi Pratap Theatre on the 29th and to have the Dress Rehearsal on Sunday the 24th December 1933. (2) Mr. S. S. Bhave was requested to prepare the synopsis and the programme in English. (3) Three medals were to be prepared to be given away as prizes to the best actors. (4) Light refreshments were to be served to the actors on two days, of the rehearsal and the final performance.

The special thanks of the committee are due to Mrs. Snehalata Pagar, A. M. who organised dances by twelve small girls to be performed between one inter-act. These dances were very much appreciated by the audience.

Meetings Sub-Committee.

Members: Messrs. S. G. Burrow (Chairman), C. V. Joshi, G. H. Bhatt, D. N. Apte (Secretary). P. C. Romans, Dr. K. G. Naik and Dr. B. Bhattacharyya (ex-officio).

At a meeting held on the 18th September 1933 (1) the Provisional Programme was approved, (2) the Nyayamandir Hall was fixed upon as the meeting place for the opening session, (3) Mr. C. V. Joshi was asked to prepare the text of a pictorial Souvenir of Baroda, (4) it was decided to instal the public address system at Nyayamandir and at the Baroda College, (5) the Secretary was asked to draw up a list of about 800 Baroda citizens to be invited to the different functions in connection with the conference, (6) samples of badges were approved, and (7) the Local Secretary was asked to write to request Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni and Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi to deliver lantern lectures on Mohenjo-Daro and Chinese Turkestan respectively.

Thanks of the Committee are due to Messrs. N. G. Kalelkar and B. M. Desai, two post-graduate students, and Mr. M. A. Joshi of the Oriental Institute for their selfless and hard work in connection with the office organisation.

Reception Sub-Committee.

Members: S. V. Mukerjea, Esq.-(Chairman), Prof. A. K. Trived Miss M. A. Needham, Prof. M. A. Kazi, Prof. S. M. Wadia (Secretary Prof. C. V. Joshi, Prof. Manekrao, Mr. B. S. Dave (Secretary), Mr. Shant priya Atmaram, Mrs. Wadia, Mrs. Pagar, Mr. K. N. Panimangalore and Dr. B. Bhattacharyya (ex-officio).

At a meeting held on the 28th November 1933, it was decided (1) to raise a band of volunteers from the Baroda College, the Boy Scouts, the Jummadada Vyayam Mandir, Maharani Girls' High School and the Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya; (2) to give distinctive badges to the volunteers who should be trained for their duties by Mr. Dave and Prof. Wadia, Joint Secretaries. (3) Miss Needham promised to place half a dozen lady volunteers at the disposal of the Committee. (4) Volunteers were to be provided with light refreshments on all the days of the Conference.

Entertainment Sub-Committee.

Members: Shrimant Sampatrao Gaekwad (Chairman), Miss. M.A. Needham, Mr. Hirji R. Doctor (Secretary), Mr. W. A. Fansalkar, Mrs. S. M. Pagar, and Dr. B. Bhattacharyya (ex-officio).

At a meeting of the Committee held on the 13th September 1933 it was resolved that Mr. H. R. Doctor should prepare a programme of Indian Musical Entertainments which should include among others, two Garba dances, Indian dancing, solo instrumental music, solo singing, and a concert.

Thanks of the Committee are due to Mrs. S. M. Pagar and Miss Needham who very kindly trained the girls under their respective charge for the two excellent Garba dances arranged in connection with the Conference.

Exhibition Sub-Committee.

Members: Mr. V. R. Talvalkar (Chairman), Messrs. N. M. Dutt, S. Ganguli, D. N. Apte, Dr. Faqruddin, Mr. L. D. Gaekwad, Dr. Amritaram Joshi (Secretary), Mr. K. Rangaswamy, and Dr. B. Bhattacharyya (ex-officio).

At a meeting of the Committee held on the 26th August 1933, (1) it was decided to hold the Exhibition at the Museum and Picture Gallery, (2) Mr. Ganguli, the Curator, was to be in complete control of the management. (3) It was further decided to communicate with influential persons and to request them to send exhibits to the Conference, and also to approach the Director General of Archæology in India for a few exhibits from Mohenjo Daro. (4) An appeal was also to be made for exhibits from the different districts of the Baroda State and local residents of Baroda.

The Committee desires to thank all those who contributed to the success of the Exhibition by sending exhibits. The Committee is particularly

indebted to Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, the Director General of Archæology, who at considerable personal inconvenience brought with him valuable exhibits, relating to Mohenjo Daro.

Mushaira Sub-Committee.

Members: Mr. Abbas Tyabji (Chairman), Prof. M. A. Kazi (Secretary), Prof. M. F. M. Lokhandwala, Dr. Faqruddin, Moulvi Shakir Saheb, Mr. R. H. Pathan, and Dr. B. Bhattacharyya (ex-officio).

Three meetings were held, on the 14th September, 9th October and 10th November 1933. At these meetings (1) the Misra-e-tarah was decided upon. (2) Names of poets to be invited for the Mushaira were fixed, and (3) it was resolved that each poet was to be given a single second class railway fare and a single third class fare for his servant and that during his stay in Baroda he should enjoy the hospitality of the Conference. (4) It was further resolved to award three medals to three outstanding compositions.

Programme.

Wednesday, the 27th December, 1933.—

OPENING SESSION (NYAYAMANDIR HALL).

5–30 P.M. Opening Address of His Highness the Maharaja Saheb, the Patron.

5–45 P.M. Presidential Address.

6–45 P.M. Condolence resolutions :—

(1) The Late Dr. Jivanji Jamshedji Modi.

(2) The Late Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Haraprasad Shastri.

6–50 P.M. Vote of thanks to His Highness, the Patron.

7–30 P.M. Lantern Lecture on "Indus Valley Civilisation" by Rai Bahadur D. R. Sahni, Director-General, Archæological Survey of India. Sir. V. T. Krishnamachari, the Minister, opens the Lantern Lecture Series.

9–15 P.M. Indian Musical Entertainments.

Thursday, the 28th December, 1933.—

8–00 A.M. Pandita Parishad. (Tarakeshwar Temple).

8–30 A.M. Meeting of the Executive Committee in the Professors' Common Room. (Baroda College).

11–00 A.M. SECTIONAL MEETINGS. (Baroda College).

(1) Archæology Section (Room No. 27)
Presidential Address at 11–0 hours.

(2) Sanskrit-Vedic Section (Room No. 1)
Presidential Address at 11–30 hours.

(3) Anthropology Section (Room No. 22

(4) Philosophy Section (Room No. 24)

(5) History Section (Room No. 8)

(6) Fine-Arts Section (Room No. 28)
Presidential Address at 12–0 hours.

(7) Philology Section (Room No. 26)
Presidential Address at 12–0 hours.

(8) Urdu Section (Room No. 25)
Presidential Address at 12–30 hours.

(9) Avesta-Iranian Section (Room No. 23)
Presidential Address at 13–0 hours.

(10) Gujarati Section (Central Hall)
Presidential Address at 12–30 hours.

2-00 P.M. Light Refreshments (Shamiana, College Grounds)

2-30 P.M. Visit to the Exhibition at the Museum and Picture Gallery.

3-30 P.M. A lecture on the "Music of Sāmaveda" by Dr. Arnold A. Bake of the Royal Dutch Academy. (College Hall)

4-30 P.M Arena Sports. (Bhadra)

7-00 P.M. (1) Lantern Lecture on the "Provincial Schools of Indian Painting" by N. C. Mehta, Esq., I. C. S., President, Fine-Arts Section. (College Hall)

(2) Lantern Lecture on the "Antiquities of Gujarat" by V. R. Talvalkar, Esq., A. R. I. B. A., State Architect, Baroda. (Room No. 27)

9-15 P.M. Mushaira. (College Hall)

Friday, the 29th December, 1933.—

8-00 A.M. Pandita Parishad (Tarakeshwar Temple)

8-30 A.M. Akhada Sports (Vitthal Krida Bhuvan)

10-45 A.M. Group photograph of Delegates and Members. (Baroda College)

11-00 A.M. I. SECTIONAL MEETINGS. (Baroda College)

(1) Archæology Section (Room No. 27)
(2) Sanskrit-Vedic Section (Room No. 1)
(3) Anthropology Section (Room No. 22)
Presidential Address at 12-0 hours.
(4) Philosophy Section (Room 24)
Presidential Address at 11-30 hours.
(5) History Section (Room No. 8)
Presidential Address at 12-30 hours.
(6) Fine-Arts Section (Room No. 28)
(7) Marathi Section (Central Hall)
Presidential Address at 12-0 hours.
(8) Hindi Section (Room No. 26)
Presidential Address at 13-0 hours.
(9) Arabic Persian Section (Room No. 25)
Presidential Address at 13-0 hours.

II. Annual Meeting of the Linguistic Society of India. (Room No. 23)

III. Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India. (Professors' Common Room)

2-00 P.M. Light Refreshments. (Shamiana, College Grounds)

2-30 P.M. Visits to the Central Library, Zaverkhana, Food Exhibition and Makarpura.

4-00 P.M. Meeting of the Executive Committee. (Professors' Common Room).

4-30 P.M. Meeting of the Council. (Central Hall.)

5-00 P.M.	Garden Party given by His Highness, the Patron at the Motibag Palace Grounds.
6-00 P.M.	Closing Plenary Session. (Room No. 27) Sir V. T. Krishnamachari, the Minister delivers the Valedictory Address.
7-00 P.M.	(1) Lantern Lecture on the "Cultural Relation of India with Central Asia" by Dr. P. C. Bagchi, M. A., D. Litt. (College Hall)
	(2) Lantern Lecture on "Science in the Service of Archæology" by M. R. Ry. S. Paramasiva Aiyar, avl., (Room No. 27)
9-15 P.M.	The Sanskrit Drama, "Mālavikāgnimitram". (Laxmi Pratap Theatre)

Saturday, the 30th December, 1933.—

11-00 A.M.	Annual Meeting of the Numismatic Society of India. (Room No. 27)
6-00 P.M.	Lantern Lecture on the "Punch-Marked Coins" by Babu Durga Prasad. (College Hall)

LIST OF PAPERS.

SECTION I.

SANSKRIT-VEDIC.

President:—PROFESSOR DR. A. C. WOOLNER.

Secretary:—DR. B. C. LELE.

The Sectional business at 11 A. M. on the 28th and 29th December, 1933. The Presidential Address at 11-30 A. M. on the 28th.

1.	Mr. Madhusudan Koul Shastri, M.A., M. O. L.	A report on the MSS found at Navapura (Gilgit).
2.	Prof. D. R. Mankad, M. A. ...	Some important MSS.
3.	Mr. B. T. Anklesaria ...	Age of Yama.
4.	Mr. P. C. Divanji, M. A., LL. M.	Date and place of origin of the Yogavāsiṣṭha.
5.	Mr. K. S. Ramswami Sastri, B. A., B. L.	Coronation Mystery in the Rāmāyaṇa.
6.	Mr. Bhabatosh Bhattacharya, M. A., B. L. Kāvyatīrtha.	Pre-Raghunandana Digests of Bengal and Bihar.
7.	Mm. Kamalakrishna Smṛtitīrtha.	The History of the Publication of some Smṛtinibandhas in Bengal.
8.	Prof. N. K. Venkatesam Pantulu, M. A., L. T.	The Contribution of the Karṇāṭaka Families to the Sanskrit literature in the Tamil Country.

9.	Prof. Shivaprasad Bhattacharyya, M. A.	The Mahānāṭaka problem: A clue to its solution.
10.	Do.	Rasābhāsa in Alaṅkāra Literature: the true and the false in Art.
11.	Dr. Hara Dutt Sarma, M. A., Ph. D.	The Subhāṣitahārāvalī of S'rī Hari Kavi and some poets enjoying the patronage of Muslim rulers.
12.	Dr. B. L. Atreya, M. A., D. Litt.	A probable date of the composition of the Yogavāsiṣṭha.
13.	Pandit N. Chengalvarayan ...	Some clues as to the identity of Ācārya Daṇḍin (Author of Kāvyādars'a) as a Tamilian.
14.	Mr. S. G. Sakharpekar ...	Evolution of S'aivāgamas.
15.	Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, M.A., D. Phil.	Time analysis in the S'ākuntala.
16.	Prof. B. K. Thakore, B. A., I. E. S. (Retired).	Kālidāsa's Mālavikāgnimitra: A study.
17.	Prof. K. A. Subramania Iyer, M.A.	Kundamālā and Uttararāmacarita.
18.	Pandit K. S. Ramswami Sastri, S'iromaṇi.	King Pravarasena and Kālidāsa—the two Authors of the Setubandha.
19.	Dr. Ekendranath Ghosh, M.D.	The Human Body according to Garbhopaniṣad.
20.	Mr. S. C. Upadhyaya, M. A.	The authorship and date of Paumacariya.
21.	Mr. Gauri Shankar, M. A., B. Litt.	The Kapphiṇābhyudaya, an unpublished Buddhist Mahākāvya.
22.	Mr. Keshav Appa Padhye, B. A., LL. B.	Buddhism as represented in ancient (Hindu) Sanskrit Dramas.
23.	Principal H. Yoganarasimha, M. A.	A critical review of the Subhāṣitasudhānidhi of Sāyaṇācārya.
24.	Mr. Hiralal A. Shah.	Vedic Gods.
25.	Do.	Historical incident in the Meghadūta.
26.	Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya, M. A., LL. B.	The Vedic Deity Vais'vānara explained.
27.	Mr. Rajendra Chandra Hazra.	The position of Purāṇas in the history of Smṛti.
28.	Dr. P. V. Bapat, M.A., Ph.D.	A fragment of a Tibetan version of a lost Indian work.
29	Mr. Prabhat Kumar Mukherji, M. A.	A comparative study of the Dhammapada in Pali, Prākṛta, Sanskrit, Buddhist-Sanskrit, Chinese and Tibetan versions.
30	Pandit Lachhmidhar Kalla Shastri.	Home of the Kapiṣṭhalas.

SECTION II.

PHILOLOGY AND GRAMMAR.

President:—PROFESSOR DR. SIDDHESWAR VARMA.

Secretary:– MR. S. S. BHAVE.

The sectional business at 11 A. M. on the 28th December, 1933.
The Presidential Address at 12-0 A. M.

1.	Mrs. Malati Sen, M. A.	The Kās'ikā and the Kāvyālaṅkāra-sūtravṛtti.
2.	Prof. Dr. Siddheswar Varma, M. A., Ph. D.	Studies in Burushaski Dialectology.
3.	Mr. S. P. Chaturvedi, M. A., Vyākaraṇācārya.	Homogeneity of letters in the Pāṇinian system.
4.	Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, M. A., D. Litt.	Polyglottism in Ancient India.
5.	Dr. Baburam Saksena, M. A., D. Litt.	The suffix 'Wālā' in modern Indo-Aryan.

SECTION III.

ANTHROPOLOGY, ETHNOLOGY AND MYTHOLOGY.

President:—RAI BAHADUR SARAT CHANDRA ROY.

Secretary:—MR. M. A. BUCH.

The sectional business at 11 A.M. on the 28th and 29th December, 1933.
The Presidential Address at 12-0 A.M. on the 29th.

1.	Mr. L. P. Pandeya Sharma ...	Similarity of the Cavemen's Art in India and America.
2.	Mr. R. Subba Rao, M. A., L. T., F. A. U.	Scope of Anthropological Researches in Agency Divisions: The Sugalis.
3.	Mr. V. R. Ramchandra Dikshitar, M.A.	South India in the Rāmāyaṇa.
4.	Prof. M.A. Buch, M. A. ...	The Hindu theory of Property.
5.	Mr. Kali Kinkar Dutt, M.A., P.R.S.	Original Records about the Santhal Insurrection in 1855.
6.	Mr. H. R. Kapadia, M.A. ...	Women in Jainism.
.	Mr. Vishnu R. Karandikar, B.A.	The Narmada Valley civilisation.
,	Rao Bahadur R. Krishna Rao Bhonsale.	The Art of Tatooing in India.

9. Mr. N. G. Kalelkar, M. A. ... Distribution of wealth in Ancient India.
10. Prof. Firoze Cowasji Davar, M.A., LL. B. Some Interesting forms of Divination.
11. Pandit N. Chengalvarayan ... Marriage and Marriage customs of the ancient Tamils as obtained in the Tamil Classics.
12. Dr. R. Sama Sastri, B.A., Ph.D. Women's Rights in the Smṛtis.
13. Mr. Nagendra Narayan Chaudhuri, M. A. Home of Tāntricism.
14. Dr. B. A. Saletore, M. A., Ph. D., D. Phil. Paras'urāma in History and Legend.
15. Rai Saheb M. Ghosh, M. A. ... Different Ethnic types as studied from Ancient Indian Sculptures.
16. Do. Serpent worship in Ancient India.
17. Dr. P. M. Modi, M.A., Ph. D. Development of the system of Ās'ramas: originally there were only three Ās'ramas.
18. Mr. P. V. Kane, M.A., LL.M. Gotra and Pravara in Vedic Literature.
19. Mr. B. H. Mehta, M. A. ... The social life of the Chodhras of Gujarat.
20. Mr. Hiralal A. Shah. ... Virgin Birth and Nativity.
21. Dr. Priyaranjan Sen, M. A., Ph. D. The Raṅkini Cult at Chhota-Nagpur.
22. Sardar M. V. Kibe ... Is present Dwārakā the ancient one ?
23. Mrs. Vinodini Devi S. Gaekwar. East and West.
24. Dr. Hema Chandra Ray, M.A., Ph., D. An aspect of Indian belief.

SECTION-IV.

PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION.

President:—PRINCIPAL A. B. DHRUVA.

Secretary:—MR. A. K. TRIVEDI.

The sectional business at 11 A.M. on the 28th and 29th December, 1933.
The Presidential Address at 11-30 A.M. on the 29th.

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1. Mr. G. Ramakantacarya, B. A. The place of S'aṅkara in Hinduism.
2. Mr. S. V. Majumdar, B. A., LL. B. The Hindu system of Morality; or the Philosophy of the three Guṇas, Sattva, Rajas and Tamas.
3. Mr. R. K. Prabhu ... Origins of the Bhakti Cult.

4.	Mr. R. K. Prabhu. ...	The Arctic background of the conceptions of Māyā, Sat, Asat, Puruṣa, Prakṛti, etc.
5.	Mr. Gopalakrishnamma. ...	The Advaitins' theory of External Reality.
6.	Dr. P. M. Modi, M.A., Ph.D....	The Doctrine of the Bhagavadgita: A Triad of the three Dyads.
7.	Prof. A. N. Upadhye, M. A. ...	The Les'ya Doctrine.
8.	Mr. S. G. Sakharpekar. ...	Agamic Viras'aivism.
9.	Principal Vidhusekhar Bhattacharya.	Evolution of Vijñānavāda.
10.	Mr. Kshiti Mohan Sen. ...	The conception and development of S'ūnya doctrine in Mediæval India.
11.	Dr. P. M. Modi, M.A., Ph.D....	Pre-S'aṅkara Mutilation of the Text of the Brahma-sūtras: some suggestions for corrections.
12.	Mr. S. G. Bhalerao, B. Ag. ...	A little stock-taking in Oriental Philosophy.
13.	Dr. P. M. Modi, M.A., Ph.D....	Meaning of Smṛti in the Smṛtipāda of the Brahmā-Sūtras (II. 1): the Bhagavadgītā or a similar work, not a Sāṅkhya work.
14.	Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., Ph.D.	Dṛṣṭāntas in the Brahma-Sūtras.
15.	Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale, B. A., LL. B.	Gitādharmakaumudī.
16.	Prof. G. H. Bhatt, M. A. ...	Viṣṇusvāmin and Vallabhācārya.
17.	Dr. Umesh Mishra, M.A., D.Litt.	The annihilation of Karman.
18.	Prof. A. K. Trivedi, M. A., LL. B.	Ethics in the Upaniṣads and modern life.
19.	Mr. U. J. Trivedi, M. A. ...	Leibnitz and Vallabha on Personality.
20.	Dr. Mangal Dev Shastri, M.A., D. Phil.	History of the word 'Is'vara' and its idea.

SECTION V.

HISTORY AND CHRONOLOGY.

President:—RAI BAHADUR MM. GAURISANKAR H. OJHA.

Secretary:—MR. K. H. KAMDAR.

The sectional business at 11 A. M. on the 28th and 29th December, 1933. The Presidential Address at 12-30 P. M. on the 29th.

1.	Mr. R. Subba Rao, M. A., L. T., F. A. U.	The Initial year of the little known Eastern Gaṅga Era.
2.	Do.	The administrative History of the reign of Anantavarmacoḍa Gaṅga (A. D. 1076-1147).

No.	Author	Title
3.	Mr. Jal Pestonji Birdy, M. A.	The Origin and Early History of the Family of the Gaekwads of Baroda.
4.	Mr. N. N. Ghosh, M. A., L. T.	Early history of Kaus'āmbī, as is available from Literary, Numismatic and Archæological Sources.
5.	Rao Bahadur R. Krishna Rao Bhonsale.	Alexander the Great and Brahmin Sannyāsins.
6.	Do.	Ophir newly identified.
7.	Pandit Bisvesvarnath Reu, Sāhityācārya.	Capture of Baroda by Mahārāja Abhayasingh of Marwar.
8.	Dr. D. C. Ganguli, M. A., Ph. D.	Early History of the Gāhaḍavāla Dynasty.
9.	Mr. V. V. Mirashi, M. A. ...	The date of Tīvaradeva.
10.	Mr. Sri Ram Sharma, M. A., F. R. H. S.	A neglected source of Mughal History.
11.	Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M. A., Ph. D.	Early Hindu Colonisation in the Malaya Peninsula.
12.	Rev. H. Heras. S. J. ...	Mayūras'arman, the founder of the Kadamba Dynasty and the Pallavas of Kāñchi.
13.	Rai Saheb M. Ghosh, M. A.	Forts of Ancient India.
14.	Mr. Sant Lal Katare, M. A. ...	Sidelight on the history of the Maukharis.
15.	Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya, M. A., LL. B.	Early Indian History with correct dates found in the Skandapurāṇa.
16.	Dr. T. L. Shah, L. M. & S. ...	Can Khāravela and Puṣyamitra ever be contemporaries ?
17.	Mr. D. B. Dishkalkar, M. A....	Maratha Vakils in Foreign Courts.
18.	Prof. Lachhmidhar Kalla Shastri.	The Yavanas as identified in the light of an ancient grammatical illustration.
19.	A. V. Venkataramayya, M. A., L. T.	Who is the mysterious Chandra of the Delhi iron pillar inscription ?
20.	Mr. M. Rama Rao, M. A., B. Ed.	The S'ivayogasāramu and its historical value.
21.	Mr. G. H. Khare. ...	The Ancient Lattalura and Modern Lātur.
22.	Mr. T. N. Subramaniam. ...	A note on Uragapuram.
23.	Do.	Pullalur battle of Pallava Mahendravarman.
24.	Mr. Jayachandra Vidyālaṅkāra.	Indian Emperor, contemporary of Augustus.
25.	Prof. K. H. Kamdar, M. A. ...	Samarasingha, a great Gujarati at the court of Delhi, about A D. 1321.
26.	Mr. V. R. Talvalkar, A. R. I. B. A.	Gujarat in Mediæval times.

SECTION VI.

ARCHÆOLOGY, EPIGRAPHY AND NUMISMATICS.

President:—MR. GHULAM YAZDANI.

Secretary:—MR. C. V. JOSHI.

The sectional business at 11 A. M. on the 28th and 29th December, 1933.
The Presidential Address at 11 A. M. on the 28th.

No.	Name	Subject
1.	Mr. R. Subba Rao, M. A., L. T., F. A. U.	Two new copper-plate inscriptions of Vijayāditya.
2.	Mr. Ramlal Chunilal Modi...	A fragment of the Kīrtistambha Inscription of Siddharāja Jayasimha.
3.	Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari, M. A.	Further light on Pañcamahāśabda.
4.	Dr. Hiranand Shastri, M. A., Ph. D., M. O. L.	The æsthetic aspect of Indian Seals of the Early Mediæval Period.
5.	Mr. A. S. Gadre, M. A. ...	The Virdi Copper plate of 297 G. E. of the First known grant of Kharagraha I.
6.	Do.	Onduru Copper Plate Grant of Emperor Mallikārjuna of Vijayanagara of 1456 A. D.
7.	Mr. S. Paramasivan, M. A., B. Sc.	Science in the service of Archæology.
8.	Prof. Dr. S. K. Chakrabortty, M. A., Ph. D.	The Seleucidan Emperors: their Coins and Coin imitations, in Ancient India.
).	Mr. G. V. Acharya, B. A. ...	History of Coinage in Gujarat.
).	Dr. A. S. Altekar, M. A., LL. B., D. Litt.	A new Gold Coin of Bappā Rāval.
.,	Rai Saheb M. Ghosh, M. A....	A study of the early Indian Terracotta figurines.
.	Do.	Wooden palisade excavated at Pāṭaliputra.
,	Mr. G. V. Acharya, B. A. ...	Coins of the Early Delhi Sultans.
,	Mr. R. S. Gyani, M. A. ...	A scrutiny of the mints of Shah Alam II.
	Mr. Y. K. Deshpande, M. A., LL. B.	Buddhistic remains in Berar and in Ancient Vidarbha.
	Mr. V. R. Talvalkar, A. R. I. B. A.	Antiquities of Gujarat.
	Mr. K. N. Dikshit, M. A. ...	A note on certain copper-plates found at Gaonri in Narwhal Estate near Ujjain.

18.	Mr. M. Rama Rao, M. A., B. Ed.	Antiquities of Pudur.
19.	Do.	Three new Kākatīya inscriptions fror Kazipet.
20.	Dr. N. P. Chakravarti, M. A., D. Litt.	A Buddhist inscription from Kara.
21.	Mr. Khawja Muhammad Ahmad.	Rare and important coins c Baihmani kings.
22.	Mr. Prataprai Girdharlal Metha.	The copper-plate Grant of Amreli.
23.	Mr. N. K. Bhattasali, M. A....	Location of Kriṣṇa's Capital Dvārā vati.
24.	Mm. Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar H. Ojha	Āhaḍa grant of Chaulukya kin Bhīmadeva II of Gujarat date Vikrama Saṁvat 1263.

SECTION VII.

FINE ARTS, ARCHITECTURE AND ICONOGRAPHY.

President:—MR. N. C. MEHTA.

Secretary:—Mr. V. V. VADNERKAR.

The sectional business at 11-0 A. M. on the 28th and 29th December, 1933. The Presidential address at 12 hours on the 28th.

1.	Mr. Sarasi Kumar Saraswati, M. A.	Mahalaksmi.
2.	Mr. Kalyanrai N. Joshi, B. A.	A queer and unknown requisite o ancient temples in Dwarka and its surroundings (or ancient stone tubs at Dwarka).
3.	Mr. M. R. Telang ...	Ancient Sanskrit works on Indian Music and its present practice.
4.	Mr. T. N. Ramachandran, M. A.	The Identification of a Buddhist Sculpture from Jagayyapeta.
5.	Rao Bahadur R. Krishna Rao Bhonsale.	Similarity between the Human body (vertebral column) and the Yāl (Vīṇā).
6.	Do.	Shorthand in ancient India.
7.	Do	Pearls.
8.	Mr. R. Subba Rao., M. A., L. T. F. A. U.	A new specimen of Kārtikeya from Rajahmundry.
9.	Mr. Niradbandhu Sanyal, M.A., B.L.	The proposed identification of the 'Mother and Child' images as Sadyojāta.
10.	Dr. B. Bhattacharyya, M.A., Ph. D.	Iconography of Heruka.

11.	Dr. R. Sama Sastry, B. A., Ph. D.	Significance of Temple Architecture.
12.	Rai Saheb M. Ghosh, M. A.	A study of Tibetan Paintings in Patna Museum.
13.	Mr. K. C. Sarkar, M.A., B.L....	A preliminary note on the newly discovered Kurkihar finds,
14.	Mr. V. V. Vadnerkar, L. R. I. B. A.	Architecture in ancient India.
15.	Do.	Town-planning in ancient India.
16.	Mr. Y. K. Deshpande, M. A., LL.B.	Temple of Sun-God in ancient Vidarbha,
17.	Mr. D. B. Dishkalkar, M. A....	Buddhist monasteries in Valabhi.
18.	Dr. B. Bhattacharyya, M. A., Ph. D.	Eight mediæval Hindu Images in the collection of Prince Pratapsinh Gaekwad.
19.	Mr. S. Ganguli. ...	A Golden Image of Tārā,
20.	Mr. G. K. Shrigondekar, M.A.	The Vaidyanātha and Nakules'vara of Kārvan.
21.	Mr. M. R. Majmudar, M. A., LL. B.	Some illustrated MSS. of the Gujarati school of painting.
22.	Do.	Significance of Nārī-Kuñjara Pictures.
23.	Mr. Ajit Ghosh, M. A. ...	An unpublished Naṭarāja Sculpture of the period of Rājendra Cola I.
24.	Prof. P. K. Acharya ...	The measures of Gods.

SECTION VIII.

AVESTA AND IRANIAN.

President:—PROFESSOR I. J. S. TARAPOREWALA.

Secretary:—MR. M. N. WADIA.

The sectional business at 11 A. M. on the 28th December, 1933.
The Presidential Address at 1-0 P. M.

1.	Prof. N. K. Venkatesam Pantulu, M. A., L. T.	Zend Avesta and Atharvaveda.
2.	Dr. Manilal Patel, Ph.D.	The dialect of the Gāthās and its relation with that of the Younger Avestā.
3.	Prof. Agha Pour-e-Davoud...	Some references about Buddhism in Iranian Literature and History.
4.	Prof. Fida Ali Khan, M. A. ...	The discovery of the affinity between Iranian and Indian languages.

SECTION IX.

ARABIC AND PERSIAN

President:—PROFESSOR AGHA POUR-E-DAVOUD.

Secretary:—MR. M. A. KAZI.

The sectional business at 11 A. M. on the 29th December, 1933.
The Presidential Address at 1–0 P. M.

1.	Dewan Bahadur K. M. Jhaveri, M. A., LL. B.	Some observations on the Mirat-i-Ahmadi.
2.	Mr. Kazi Ahmed Mian, Akhtar,	Sa'di's visit to Somnath.
3.	Prof. N. N. Bharucha, M. A...	The Controversy of Shakh-i-Nabat.
4.	Mr. Ziauddin.	The contents of the Tuh-Fatul Hind.
5.	Mr. F. M. Shuja, M. A., M. Sc., A. R. P. S.	A note on the development of Persian Music during the Pre-Islamic age.
6.	Do.	Hafiz, the greatest bard in the whole range of Persian poetry.
7.	Prof. Dr. Muhammad Iqbal, M. A., Ph. D.	The genuine collections of the Rubaiyyat of Khayyam.
8.	Mr. J. E. Saklatwalla.	Some stray thoughts on Omar Khayyam (with appendix).
9.	Mr. M. Abdulla Chughtai ...	What India owes to Central Asia in Islamic Architecture.
10.	Dr. Abdul Haq, B. Litt., D. Phil.	Abbasid Raids on the Roman territory mentioned in the Diwan of Abu Tammam.
11.	Dr. M. Nizamuddin, M. A., Ph. D.	The five epochs of Persian Literature.

SECTION X.

MARATHI.

President :—DR. S. V. KETKER.

Secretary :—MR. V. P. DANDEKAR.

The sectional business at 11 A.M. on the 29th December, 1933.
The Presidential Address at 12–0 hours.

1.	Mr. V. P. Dandekar, M. A. ...	Where Marathi meets Gujarati.
2.	Mr. V. R. Karandikar, B. A. ...	Narmadā Valley Civilization.
3.	Prof. C. N. Joshi, M. A. ...	A few thoughts on Kanarese and some other words from Jñānes'vari.
4.	Dr. H. R. Divekar, M.A., D. Litt.	Chāṅgadeva Vaṭes'varāchā 'Tatt-vasāra'.

SECTION XI.

HINDI.

President:- REV. RAHULA SANKRITYAYANA.

Secretary:— MR. ANANDAPRIYA ATMARAM.

The sectional business at 11 A. M. on the 29th December, 1933.
The Presidential Address at 1-0 P. M.

1.	Mr. V. P. Gautam, M. A., LL.B.	The life of Thakur Jagmohan Singh, a renowned poet of Hindi.
2.	Prof. Lalita Prasad ...	Modern Hindi Poets.
3.	Muni Himansuvijaya Nyāya-kāvyatīrtha.	Maṇḍapadurga and Amātya Pethaḍ.
4.	Mr. Punja Suri. ...	Times of the Vedas.
5.	Mr. Atrideva Gupta, Vidyā-laṅkāra.	Greatness of Āyurveda.
6.	Prof. D. N. Rania, M. A. ...	A Dissertation on Hindi Grammar.
7.	Rev. Rahula Sankrityayana. ...	Buddhism in Tibet.
8.	Mr. Krishna Sevak. ...	Mādhavānala -Kāma-Kandalā.
9.	Mr. Bhajanlal ...	Vedic origin of Gotras.

SECTION XII.

URDU.

President:—MOULVI ABDUL HAQ.

Secretary:—MR. M. F. M. LOKHANDWALA.

The sectional business at 11 A.M. on the 28th December, 1933.
The Presidential Address at 12-30 P. M.

1.	Mr. Kazi Ahmed Mian Akhtar...	The art of Warāqat during the Abbaside period.
2.	Mr. M. U. Nazim Ansari ...	The vowel signs in Urdu and Urdu curriculum.
3.	Mr. Shaikh Chand, M.A.,LL.B.	Misunderstandings about the life and poetry of Sauda.
4.	Kazi Nuruddin Hussain ...	Muslim dress in North Gujarat.

SECTION XIII.

GUJARATI.

President:—RAO BAHADUR V. P. VAIDYA.

Secretary:—MR. M. R. MAJMUDAR.

The sectional business at 11-0 A. M. on the 28th December, 1933.
The Presidential Address at 12-30 P. M.

No.	Speaker	Paper
1.	Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya, M. A., LL. B.	Gujarati in relation to Marathi.
2.	Mr. Jethalal Govardhandas Shah, M. A.	Nature of Universe according to S'uddhādvaita School.
3.	Mr. Keshavram Kashiram Sastri.	Mediæval Gujarati.
4.	Mr. Bhogilal J. Sandesara ...	Use of Vṛttas (Syllabic metres) by old Gujarati Poets.
5.	Mr. Durgashankar K. Shastri ...	Gurjara Desh and Gurjara Jāti.
6.	Mr. Punja Suri ...	Samskṛtaviveka-S'abdas'āstra.
7.	Dr. J. M. Mehta, M.A., Ph.D...	Ancient Polity.
8.	Pandit Lalchand B. Gandhi ...	The Historic Family of Ministers in Gujarat.
9.	Mr. Manilal M. Mistri. ...	Sun-worship and the Sun Temple at Modhera.
10.	Dr. R. K. Yajnik, M.A., Ph.D.	The Gujarati Comedy of Art.
11.	Swami Trivikrama Tirtha ...	The location of the river Sarasvatī.
12.	Mr. S. S. Oza, M. A. ...	The Mediæval writers of Gujarat (1030-1573 A.D.)
13.	Mr. M. R. Majmudar, M. A., LL. B.	Old Gujarati works on Ethics.
14.	Mr. Chunilal B. Bhatt, B. A., B. T.	Education of Ancient Aryans.
15.	Mr. M.P. Vaidya, M.A., B.T....	System of Ancient Education.
16.	Mr. Manu Girjashankar Pandya.	The Modern Researches in Science.
17.	Prof. A. K. Trivedi, M. A. ...	Comparative Religion.
18.	Mr. Jagjivandas Dayalji Modi...	'Mithyājñānakhaṇḍana', a Sanskrit drama of the 17th century.

SECTION XIV.

PANDITA PARISHAD.

President:—MAHAMAHOPĀDHYĀYA HATHIBHAI SHASTRI.

Secretary:—PANDIT K. S. RAMASWAMI SHASTRI.

The sectional business of the Parishad at 8 A. M. on the 28 and 29th December, 1933. The Presidential Address at 8-30 A.M. on the 28th.

No.	Name	Subject
1.	Prof. N. K. Venkatesam Pantulu, M. A., L. T.	S'aṅkara and his philosophy in the epics, the Purāṇas and other literary works.
2.	Pandit Manishankar Vasantram Upadhyaya.	Vedānām Apauruṣeyatvam.
3.	Pandit Vitthalram Lalluram Shastri.	Samudrayātuḥ Samvyavahāryatā.
4.	Pandit Amritlal Sharma, Vedānta-Vyākaraṇatīrtha.	Advaita-Ātmadars'anasamīkṣā.
5.	Mr. H. Gunde Rao, Vācaspati.	Sanskṛtabhāṣā-Jīrṇoddhāraḥ.
6.	Principal V. G. Apte, B. A. ...	S'aṅkarapādabhūṣaṇam.
7.	Mm. Hathibhai Shastri. ...	Prācīna Dwārakā.
8.	Pandit Embar Krishnamacharya.	Nityavijñāna - Kṣaṇikavijñānavādayorantaram.
9.	Pandit G. G. Trivedi, Vyākaraṇācārya.	Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣyagatānām-Bhaugolikasthānānām Saṅgrahah.
10.	Mr. Punja Suri. ...	Jaiminikṛta-Pūrvamīmāṅsāsūtram.
11.	Pandit Girijashankar Shastri.	Yogābhyāsasya-Āvas'yakatā.
12.	Pandit Hiralal Sharma Shastri.	Sāmājikadharmaḥ.
13.	Pandit Rupanath Jha, Tarkācārya.	Dars'anadigdars'anālokaḥ.
14.	Pandit Sripad Shastri. ...	Dharmaḥ.
15.	Pandit Embar Krishnamacharya.	Pramāṇasāmānyalakṣaṇavicāraḥ.
16.	Pandit T. V. Ramachandra Dikshitar, S'iromaṇi.	S'aṅkarāvatāropabṛmhaṇam.
17.	Principal H. Yoganarasimham, M. A.	Kannaḍabhāṣā Mlecchabhāṣetyatra S'āradātanayasya Sākṣyam.
18.	Pandit Raghuvaracarya. ...	Vis'iṣṭādvaitasvarūpam.
19.	Pandit Rangacharya Raddi Sastri.	Madhvasiddhāntavimars'aḥ.
20.	Tarkatīrtha Lakshman Shastri, Joshi.	Bhāratadharmetihāsatvam.
21.	Pandit Bhargava Shastri. ...	Adhyāsaḥ.

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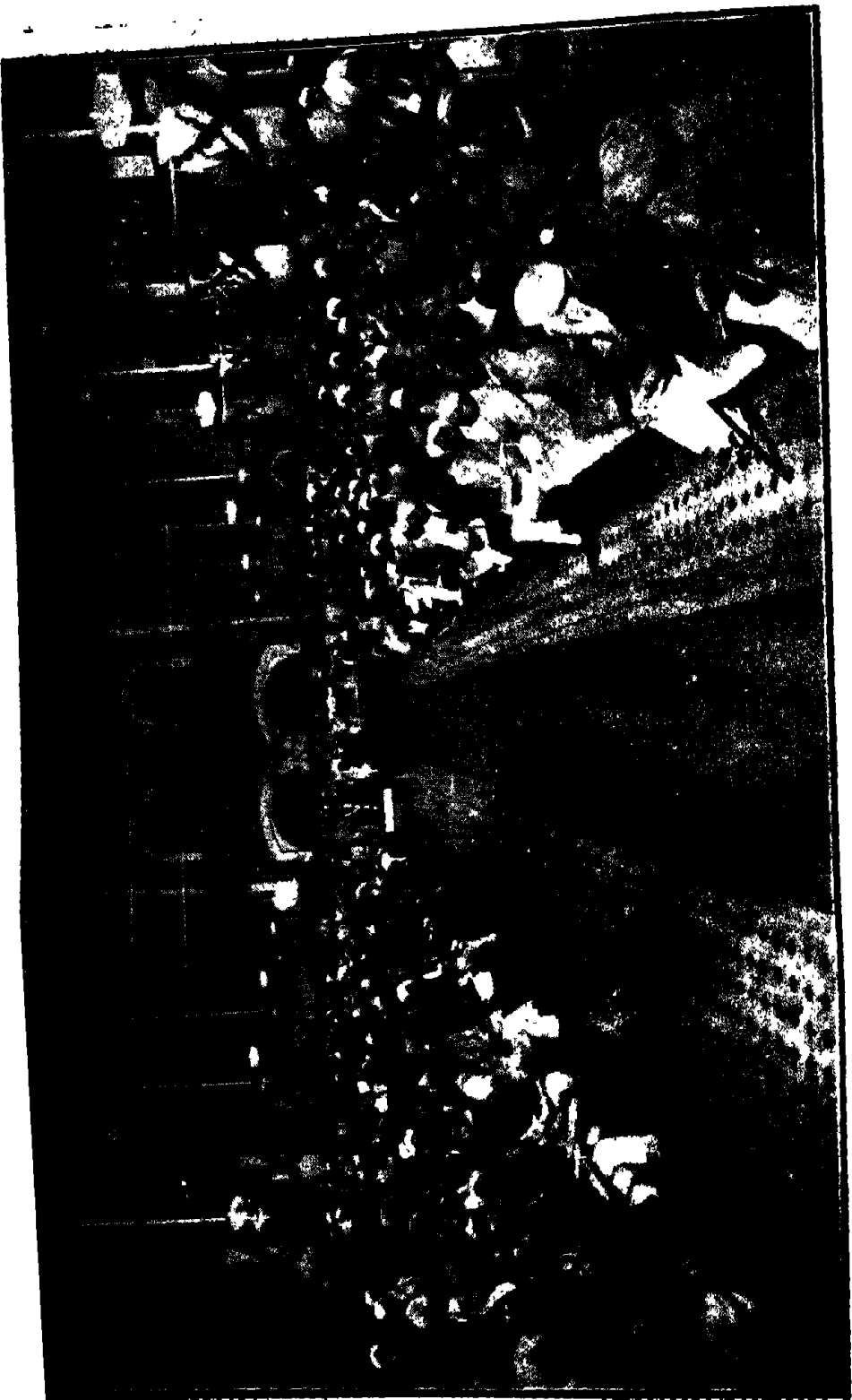
Proceedings and Transactions of the Seventh Oriental Conference.

Wednesday, the 27th December 1933.

INAUGURAL MEETINGS.

4–45 P.M.—Mr. Kashi Prasad Jayaswal, President of the Oriental Conference, was received at the entrance of the Nyayamandir Hall by the President and Members of the Central Committee for Reception.

5–25 P.M.—His Highness Maharaja Sir Sayaji Rao III Gaekwad, G. C. S. I., G. C. I. E., LL. D., Patron of the Conference accompanied by Her Highness the Maharani Saheb, arrived in state in the gold carriage, and was received by the President of the Central Committee for Reception at the entrance and conducted to the dais.

As Their Highnesses entered the Hall all present rose from their seats and remained standing till Their Highnesses had taken their seats on the dais. Mr. Kashi Prasad Jayaswal, the president-elect, was then presented to Their Highnesses, and he took his seat to the right of His Highness.

The members of the Executive Committee of the All-India Oriental Conference were then presented to Their Highnesses in the following order:—

1. Rai Bahadur Pandit Hiralal.
2. Professor Dr. A. C. Woolner.
3. Dr. S. K. Belvalkar.
4. Pandit Vidhusekhara Bhattacharyya.
5. Dr. Hiranand Shastri.
6. Mr. V. P. Vaidya.
7. Dr. Harichand Shastri.
8. Dr. Abdul Haq.
9. Dr. Lakshman Sarup.
10. Professor K. A. Subramania Iyer.
11. Dr. B. Bhattacharyya.

The Nyayamandir Hall was tastefully decorated with flags, buntings, flowers, etc. and was fitted with microphones, amplifiers and loud-speakers. Fourteen hundred ladies and gentlemen inclusive of guests, visitors, members of the Conference and Delegates, and members of the Reception Committee, officers and Sardars of the State were present. Among the distinguished guests mention may be made of the following:—

Shrimant Yuvaraj Pratapsinh Gaekwad.
Princess Ila Devi of Cooch Behar.
Prince Udayasinh Gaekwad.
Prince Khanderao Gaekwad.
Lieut. Colonel J. L. R. Weir.
Mrs. and Miss Weir.
Sir John and Lady Beaumont.
Nawab Saheb of Balasinor.
Sir and Lady Ghulam Hussain.

5-30 P.M.—**His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar** opened the Conference with the following speech:—

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I need hardly assure you that I am much gratified at the great honour you have done me in asking me to open the proceedings of the Seventh Session of the Indian Oriental Conference.

It gives me very great pleasure to-day to meet so large a body of distinguished orientalists assembled for this conference. We, in Baroda, feel happy to find that you have chosen this city as the venue of your conference, and I hope you will enjoy yourselves in our surroundings, and be interested in the modest programme we are able to offer you.

I am sure our first feeling to-day is one of sadness for the loss of two of our most distinguished and veteran orientalists; I mean Sir J. J. Modi and Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Haraprasad Shastri, who took so prominent a part in these proceedings by presiding at the fourth and fifth sessions respectively of your conference.

HIS HIGHNESS SIR SAYAJI RAO III, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., LL.D
MAHARAJA GAEKWAR OF BARODA.

To face page 1.

To-day, I recall to memory an old incident. When I had the good fortune of opening the Baroda Session of the Sanskrit Conference, I could not conceal my disappointment at the way the learned Shastris were wasting their time in scholastic discussions, in learning and teaching the same age-old books and harping on the same old tunes from generation to generation.

As early as 1915, I asked the Pandits and Shastris to emulate the example of Western scholars, broaden their vision and develop the historical sense. In one word, I asked them to modernize themselves, and prove their worth as useful members of society.

I give you this account of my previous experience in order that you may realize how very pleased I feel to meet to-day so large a body of research scholars who have devoted themselves to their studies critically, in the true scientific spirit. It gives me, therefore, special satisfaction to welcome you to my capital, and to listen to your deliberations.

What progress orientalists, both in India and in Europe, had made since pioneers like Sir William Jones first made such comparative research possible, has been admirably set forth by the late Sir Ashutosh Mukherji in his learned address before the Second Session of this Conference, held in Calcutta in 1922. Since then, within the last ten or eleven years further valuable work has been done. I do not feel competent to give a resumé of this great and varied work done by the admirable co-operation of scholars interested in oriental learning all the world over.

But I feel happy to think that by the co-operative endeavours of this enthusiastic band of devoted workers, much of that dark veil of ignorance regarding our past history and culture has been lifted and much that was dark even ten years ago has now become clearly illumined.

Gentlemen, I am no research student myself, but I can claim to be an humble devotee of learning. I

have been watching for a long time with pleasure and admiration the noble work our Indian scholars are doing in elucidating our past history and culture. In my State also, I have endeavoured to give encouragement to that branch of research work which I consider to be the most substantial and of the highest value at the present juncture, I mean, the publication of original works of oriental literature including Sanskrit, Prakrit, Apabhramsa, and even Persian, in a special series called the Gaekwar's Oriental Series. May it serve as a perennial source of information and inspiration to us-descendants of those great authors of past centuries !

Since 1915, the work has been going on unabated, and to-day the series has nearly seventy volumes to its credit. This I consider a very fair result, considering the immense labour involved in the study and preparation of each volume, where each line of the text has to be critically settled, and light from diverse quarters has to be skilfully focussed on the work, the author, and their time and place.

I feel gratified indeed that my series of oriental publications has been deemed worthy of approbation by scholars all over the world. Through the Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya in my State, I am constantly endeavouring to help the Pandits by giving them opportunities to learn English, and by prescribing texts embodying the results of historical and cultural research, for their examinations.

It is a matter of satisfaction to note that the endeavours of modern research scholars trained in western methods embrace the whole field of ancient Indian life. The wonderful unfolding of the life of our remote ancestors in all its various phases, social, religious, political, economic, administrative, scientific, artistic, architectural, and linguistic, right from the dawn of history, appears to my mind to be a great romance of modern scholarship. Think of the discovery, the greatest since the advent of the British in India, of Mohenjo Daro alone, where some five thousand years

ago, the highly civilized and cultured people of the Indus valley lived in their fine and hygienic dwellings and registered their thoughts in beautiful hieroglyphic writings and seals of consummate artistry. I hope the lecture on these discoveries will be largely attended, and I wish personally to welcome my friend the Director of Archæology.

One might dwell long upon a theme of such profound interest, but I tear myself away from it and turn, with your permission, to some modern problems of Indian scholarship. I seldom get an opportunity of meeting such a large body of orientalists, and therefore I venture to offer certain practical suggestions, not in a spirit of criticism but as a sincere well-wisher, for your consideration.

I often wonder why the practical aspect of research is so often neglected in India. I have some idea of the amount of concentrated effort necessary for research. And when a student finds his patient labours rewarded and sees a remote past yield up some of its secrets for the first time, he feels the joys of a discoverer; this also I can appreciate to some extent. All the same, I hope my friends will bear with me when I point out that they have duties to perform to their less intellectual and less fortunate brethren. The research scholar is as much a member of society as any other, and has his own duty as a citizen of the time and place to which he belongs.

I have always kept the interest of the masses in the very forefront of my administration. I have made education compulsory in my State, so that all may obtain facilities to educate themselves and go out into the world equipped by developing their intellectual faculties to the fullest extent possible.

I have always had the greatest admiration for Sanskrit, and for the practical knowledge and spiritual wisdom stored for all time in this great literature; but

I could never be satisfied with merely getting the texts of the classics edited and published, which the masses—the men in the street—cannot utilize. In order that the masses also may share, and the gain become common property, a further labour of devoted love and scholarship is called for; the unearthed classics have to be translated into English and into the vernaculars; and the translations should be both as scientific as the profoundest learning and as readable as the greatest skill can make them. I have had a large number of Sanskrit works translated into Marathi and Gujarati. And later on, I made an endowment of two lakhs of rupees, from the interest of which I ordered the publication of a series of vernacular books containing translations of valuable works on various subjects from other languages, including Sanskrit. This series has now more than 3 0 volumes to its credit. I may mention here that I shall not be satisfied until our best scholars turn their attention to their less intellectual fellowmen, and present to them the results of their researches in the vernaculars and in a form which may be readily intelligible to the masses. Nor must we neglect the urgent task of collecting and editing the folk-songs and folk-lore of the people.

This is a field of orientalism which is too much neglected: if we do not act now, much treasure will be for ever lost. The good earth will go on guarding sculpture and inscription and buried city, but the folk-ways change and the folk-songs are no longer sung. With our new ways of recording, such as gramophone records and our new ways of popularising, such as the radio, we may preserve and perpetuate this ancient culture. I call you to this task of preserving and of recovering our precious heritage and of making it available to the people.

Then, there are the burning social questions of the day arising out of the contact of two opposing cultures, of the West and the East. These problems have to be handled boldly, intelligently and in a true human spirit. They have all a bearing on ancient literature and civilization,

and they all have their roots in our ancient customs. The research worker here finds his greatest opportunity to render valuable service, with his superior knowledge of the ancient texts and his intimate acquaintance with the various phases of ancient thought. He can lay his finger on the period at which particular privileges and restrictions arose, and inform us about the dangers against which those customs were intended as safeguards. In other ways, too, he can employ his expert knowledge to take us behind the letter to the spirit, and so enable us to judge all the better why and what alterations are called for in our very different times and circumstances. No society can maintain its position and its vigour for long by mere conservatism. Let us cling to the old, by all means, as long as it continues to suit us; but with every great change in the circumstances, customs have also to be recast. Otherwise the more we cling to the letter the less shall we be able to maintain in us the spirit of our great ancestors. And who are better qualified to lead us in this field of our manifest duty than our great research savants, who read century after century of our long history like an open book ?

In my library of the Oriental Institute, as I already told you, only seventy volumes have been published, and this, out of a library of nearly 20,000 works. At Patan, in the Mehsana District of my territories, we have no less than 13,000 manuscripts, in the world-famous Bhandars of the Jains, and most of these remain unpublished. I do not know how many hundreds of years it will take at this rate to publish even the most important works discovered in my State alone. You know well the condition of other famous libraries at Poona, Calcutta, Madras, Benares, Nepal, Oxford, London, Berlin, Paris, and other places. Hasty and premature compilations or editions without a complete survey of all available matter are of course useless; they are even worse, since hasty generalizations and crude theories do not really further knowledge or understanding at all. Let us always cling to our own high standards.

Original research adds to our stock of facts an ideas; but every one of the new ideas it puts forth mu be well digested, every one of the new facts it claims t discover must be scientifically authenticated. Me novelty in speculation and mere boldness in assertio avail merely to start a controversial flutter here and ther I repeat, let us always cling to our high standards. An here, if I may, I wish to say a word of warning t our Universities, young as well as old: your theses th world of scholars will judge, not by their bulk, novelt or number, but solely by the qualities of ripe judgmer critical acumen and scientific method.

Thus I expect the research scholar to be also a original worker and a deep thinker of sound judgment. Th number of such leaders in the advancing march o knowledge must needs be small. Besides, for mar decades only such of our best qualified *alumni* ca receive the necessary training for this exacting line : can proceed to Europe or America and spend years the feet of great scholars. I hope, however, that with th increase in the Universities, academies and archæologic departments in our own land, the need for such lo periods, so far away from home, will diminish, and th we shall soon be able to train a sufficient number home.

It is only as such increase materializes that we ca expect a living interest in these subjects, so vital to o all-round progress, to spread even among our inte ligentsia. How extremely limited such interest is to-da I may be permitted to suggest by a concrete instanc In the Gaekwar's Oriental Series, we are printing on 500 copies of each work, and of this small number 1: copies are being distributed free to libraries and disti guished orientalists. In spite of this it takes an avera period of 15 to 20 years, to dispose of the remaining sto of 375 copies. Had the sales been more encouraging, would have given me immense pleasure to redouble th grant for the series. Does this not show that there is

sad dearth of original workers as yet? Does it not also prove that the general interest to-day even amongst our intelligentsia is as yet almost negligible? I stress this point of our backwardness to-day in the hope that it may soon become a thing of the past.

The value of translations which are both scholarly and readable I have already indicated from the point of view of statesmanship, seeking to better the condition of our masses. And from this point of view the value of good translations with all the apparatus needed by the man in the street to place a century or an author before his mind's eye as a living entity, is certainly, far in excess of the value of such second-rate theses and ill-digested excursions into our past culture as some of our Universities, I hear, are rewarding with high degrees. May I humbly suggest to these high academic authorities that they give such degrees to model editions also?

Gentlemen, I need not repeat here the oft-quoted maxim that the proper study of mankind is man. We should not only study him as he is to-day, but also in his gradual transformation from the primitive stage to the highest civilized condition, his hopes and fears, his slow ascent through various ups and downs, as in a spiral. And for this we have to take the help of Palæontology, Comparative Philology, Comparative Archæology, Ethnology, Anthropology, Comparative Religion and Mythology, and even Geology; and the final conclusions must harmonize with the results achieved in all these different branches of scientific investigation.

Though the modes of East and West are different, they are nevertheless complementary to one another, and it is of the utmost advantage to mankind that each should develop on its own characteristic lines. And if this be true, it follows also that each of the two complementary halves should study the other. But of course, within each of these halves, there are many varieties and

stages of civilization. Men can only understand the world in which they live when they know the development of culture in various ages and lands.

Thus while we Indians, should know our own history, to see it in proper perspective, it has to be studied as part of Asiatic history, and requires at the same time some insight into the cross-fertilization of cultures and the migrations of races both eastwards and westwards, with the consequent conflict and synthesis of cultures. It is time our Universities appreciated this aspect of modern education, and included courses in these fields in the general curriculum of schools and colleges. Existing courses can be easily enriched by lectures dealing with these aspects of Indian history, art and politics; and an additional course should be given on China and Japan. The countries of Asia must understand one another and prepare to work out a new partnership in the light of past cultural relations.

I do not wish further to encroach upon your valuable time; I feel I am keeping you from the sumptuous intellectual feast that is awaiting you. I only wish to remind you that the profession of research scholar is one of the hardest yet noblest callings of modern times. Materialists as we have become to-day, there are only a few men available who are intellectually so advanced as to appreciate, admire and devote themselves to this kind of work. You will, therefore, encounter many difficulties, often very serious ones; but I would ask you not to be discouraged, but to pursue your studies with optimism and determination, that you may shine as beacon-lights to guide and inspire your fellowmen.

I now declare the conference open with the mantra our forefathers used on such occasions :

अयमारम्भः शुभाय भवतु ।

(May this start conduce to well-being.)

KASHI PRASAD JAYASWAL, M.A. (Oxon), Bar-at-Law

President of the Seventh Oriental Conference.

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5-45 P. M. **Mr. Kashi Prasad Jayaswal then delivered his Presidential Address.**

YOUR HIGHNESSES,

SIR V. T. KRISHNAMACHARI, RAI BAHADUR G. B. AMBEGAONKAR, BROTHER DELEGATES AND MEMBERS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

अनेक-विद्वज्जन-रत्न-पूर्णं
शास्त्रोदक-न्याय-तरङ्ग-रम्यम् ।
अलङ्घनीयं गुरुतीर्थमेकं
सभा-समुद्रं शिरसा नमामि ॥

In obedience to your call I stand before you as a servant. A servant has no option but to carry out the wishes of those he has undertaken to serve. In this right alone, I take this Chair.

It is an occasion which will be recalled in future that you—the representatives and advocates of Indian culture—should be holding your session under the patronage of the most cultured ruler of modern India—our Revered Maharaja Gaekwad—the modern Bhoja. In his kingdom, you will practically find no unlettered man as none was to be found in the kingdom of Bhoja. King Bhoja made gems of ancient Hindu literature available to his contemporaries through his treatises and cyclopædias: Maharaja Sayaji Rao III is repeating the process through his world-famous Oriental Series. He has led Indian renaissance by various measures including personal discourses, the latest being one before the Parliament of Religions at Chicago. The great Hindu Prince of Peace—Lord Buddha—you find installed prominently in his magnificent capital. A bust of R. C. Dutt is honoured in the Hall of Audience at the Lakshmī Vilāsa Palace, where Dr. Tagore, Sir C. V. Raman and other scholars have almost annually lectured. In his State every village possesses books; in his capital his subjects have at their disposal one of the largest libraries in India. In his city of Pāṭan, you have one of the largest and most important

libraries of Jaina manuscripts. In his Kāthiāwāḍ, you have the dear Dvārakā. In his person you have the ideal Hindu Ruler and the ideal patron of an Oriental Conference.

Let us hope that we shall achieve something in this session of ours which may partake of the constructive genius of our Patron and which will be fittingly associated with Baroda, the home of progress and reform. When we think of new measures and of a constructive programme, and look round for guidance, we are at once reminded that we have no longer amongst us the two eldest of the Elders of our Saṅgha. We miss to-day Mm. Haraprasad Sastri and we miss Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi. How poorer are we to-day by the loss of that monument of Hindu learning, that store of historical knowledge, our Fifth President, Dr. Haraprasad Sastri! He had, in fact, presided over Indology for three generations. He produced such pupils as the late R. D. Banerji, with whom a new era in research opened through his Mohenjo Daṛo discoveries. He was a source of inspiration in Eastern India for nearly half a century, as Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar had been in this Western India. I had the privilege of his friendship for twenty years and in his company I felt I saw a series of moving pictures in quick succession of stages and decades, of cults and culture–of various aspects of Hindu history. It is difficult to fill the void, but as I firmly believe that my race is alive, I expect the void caused by his absence will be filled up by Indian scholars though not in the person of one man, at any rate, in the aggregate. He has, in any case, left behind one who can be confidently expected to help in making up this loss—I mean Dr. Binoytosh Bhattacharya, the distinguished editor of the Gaekwad's Oriental Series. To keep up his tradition would be the most appropriate memorial to that departed *Sārvabhauma* scholar.

The rishi-like, lovable personality of Sir Jivanji Jameshdji Modi we cannot help missing and more particularly when the Conference is meeting for the first time in his own homeland of Gujarat. Iranian and Hindu

are the twin pulses of that whole grain which is known as Aryan Civilization. In the person of Sir Jivanji the two were united and his personality was a constant reminder of that unity in the sessions of our Oriental Conference. That unity, I am glad to see, is being realized both here and in modern Persia which has deputed Prof. Poure Davoud, the leading Persian scholar to S'āntiniketana, whom we have elected as one of our Sectional Presidents. In India itself Dr. Taraporewala and others will, no doubt, carry on the mission of Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi. It is a good sign to see Hindu scholars like Mr. Jatindra Mohan Chatterji taking up the study of the Iranian Gāthās from the Indian point of view. I must add that I would wish to see in this country more Vedic scholars taking to the study of the Avesta and more Avestic scholars taking to the study of the Vedas than is actually the case at present. In Europe the two studies are hardly ever divorced from one another as is illustrated by Oldenberg, Geldner, Hertel, and others.

Gujarat has been the first province to contribute to the foundation of modern Indian scholarship. Dr. Bhau Daji's and Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji's are the names which have always to be invoked and cited by the present and future scholars of this country. Only those who had intimate personal knowledge of Dr. Bhagwanlal Indraji and Dr. Buhler could realise what an influence the former exercised on the great contributions of the latter to the history of India. Gujarat is gifted both with the practical and the analytical mind, and Gujarat should never lose her leadership in epigraphy and Sanskrit in the growing specialization of Indian scholarship.

The most notable and satisfactory feature of the present time in our field is the high level of achievement attained by Indian scholarship in its many-sided and varied activities. Here I should like to quote from a competent surveyor, Prof. Sylvain Levi, a member of the French Academy, the Second President of this Oriental Conference, the foremost Indologist of France. In a letter dated the 7th of November, 1933, he writes to me:

"Do not fail to tell the scholars assembled for the Seventh Oriental Conference that I shall be ever grateful to them for the honour that was conferred by them upon me at the 1922 meeting. Indian scholarship in India has made wonderful progress in the meanwhile, and the many periodicals now published by Indian savants in India can, almost all of them, compete with the best scientific journals published in the West."

This is the best brief review which can be rendered in the sūtra style; and coming as it does from an elder Elder of our Saṅgha, I am relieved from the task of essaying to render it myself. When we have authority, it is enough to quote it. But, while quoting it, I as your spokesman cannot but assure our Second President and his colleagues in the West that we will never forget the debt of gratitude we owe them for having devoted their lives to our country and , to quote the Professor's words once more, "*restored to India her forgotten glory.*"

Our work has suddenly taken a new turn. Altogether a new orientation has come into play. Indian matters, recently come to light, are refusing to own geographical boundaries of the present or ancient India. The Indus script is claiming a world-wide range. It seems that we are on the verge of the conclusion that the script on the seals found at Harappa and Mohenjo Daro is closely allied to signs recorded from Elam, Cyprus, Crete and probably further. We see on the horizon a light which seems to have lighted the lands from the Indus up to the Atlantic. And if this is established, the credit of the discovery will be that of an Indian scholar, namely, Dr. Pran Nath. Two years back, this was the conclusion already formed by Dr. Pran Nath. Since then, Mr. Piccoli (*Indian Antiquary*, November, 1933) has pointed out the identity of our Indus signs with the undeciphered signs found on ancient pottery and sepulchral remains in Etruria. M. Guillaume de Hevesy, in a paper published in the *Bulletin de l' Association Francaise des Amis de l'*

Orient [Nos. 14–15, 1933, Paris, Musée Guimet] has shown that 52 Indus signs occur exactly in the same form on tablets recovered on the Easter Island in the Pacific Ocean. In India itself, we have discovered a long inscription at Vikramkhol, in the district of Sambalpur, the plates of which have been published by Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham in the *Indian Antiquary*, 1933, at a great cost, from copies and photographs taken by the authorities of the Patna Museum. This record seems to show a stage midway between the Indus script and Brāhmī. It is inevitable that our views on the origin of ancient scripts be radically revised. This much is certain that we have been brought face to face with a very wide-spread and long-standing civilization extending, at least, from India to the Mediterranean, traces of which have already been recovered from sites in North and North-Western India, Baluchistan, Sīstan, Iran, Mesopotamia and westwards. In India itself the terra-cottas found at Buxar and at Pāṭaliputra seem to extend the area of that culture much eastwards. It seems premature to limit the "Indus Civilization" to the valley of the Indus alone. Possibilities of its discovery in the Western Coast line of Kāthiāwāḍ are promised by a passage in the Mahābhārata which mentions seals which were considered ancient and peculiar when the Mahābhārata was compiled. The sands of Rajputana and certain sites in the Central Provinces may yet disclose similar evidence. There lies an immense task of sorting and collating the mass of material recovered and of deciphering the new documents. This task almost ceases to be Indian as we understand it to-day. Without a broader area beyond the pale of India proper having been brought within the ambit of our inquiry, we cannot attain a solution. Yet, here I may tell you my personal conviction that the solution of race-origins and the identification of this ancient civilization will be found in the Purāṇas. The Purāṇas are amongst the most ancient documents on race-history, and the tradition and data embodied therein go back to the Flood and even earlier. The Flood recorded in the Śatapatha-

brāhmaṇa is the greatest land-mark in the pre-dyna
history of India. The Flood has been proved to l
historical fact by Dr. Woolley's excavations. The a
of the Flood was certainly the continuous land fr
Mesopotamia to Rajputana, and there is the comn
tradition at both ends of this area, embodied in
ancient literatures of the Semites and the Hindus. (
dynastic history in the Purāṇas almost begins from
Flood, and the Mohenjo Daro civilization is a post-Fl
event. Here I may mention the discovery made
Mr. Karandikar that there is a positive statement in
Purāṇas that the Narmadā valley was not affected
the Flood. In the Narmadā valley we may therefo
expect to find evidence of a civilization which may
with that of the Nile valley in antiquity. The Purā
are the richest documents on the race-movements
India and its adjacent West. They possess a detai
knowledge of the Central Asian geography which g
back at least to the second milennium before the Christ
era. The task of properly interpreting Indian texts,
the light of our archæological finds, requires spec
training in Assyriology and cognate subjects. It is n
becoming clear that the history of our own country
intimately connected with the history of the rest of t
Ancient East, lying to the west of India, and that t
truly Ancient Indian History passes beyond the conti
of the Indianist. Our Indian scholars, if they aspire
the glory of interpreting history from this wider stan
point, will have to acquire knowledge of the science
Elamite, Mesopotamian and Western Asian archæolog
States and Universities ought to send out and train spec
students for the task.

Coming now to the historic periods, welcome fin
have been brought to light recently. At Mahāsthān in th
district of Bogra, North Bengal, a small tablet on a pie
of white stone has been found. It is a secular docume
composed in the Maurya Imperial vernacular. Its lette
forms agree with the Sohgaurā copper-plate on the o

hand and with the early forms of Aśokan letters on the other. Its somewhat difficult language has found an able interpreter in Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar. The document is an administrative order on famine relief, issued by the Council of Ministers at Puṇḍra. In my opinion, it is a sister document to the Sohgaurā notification which I have recently read at the request of Dr. Bhandarkar. The Sohgaurā tablet is a copy among several copies cast in a mould, thus serving the same purpose which is achieved to-day by printing a hand-bill. This document also provides against drought—(*usāgame=ushmāgame*) when grain was lent out or freely distributed to peasants. Both these notifications, in my opinion, refer to the prolonged or repeated droughts occurring in the reign of Emperor Chandragupta Maurya. The Sohgaurā order also issued by a Provincial Council, the Council of Oudh, called the Ministers of Śārvastī. These two Provincial Governments to the north of the Ganges were under Maurya Ministers as opposed to Viceroyalties where a prince-royal with a Council of Ministers ruled in the name of the Emperor, e.g. at Takshaśilā, Ujjain, and other places. We further gather an important piece of information, that the North Bengal people at the time were called Sam-Vaṅgīyas, i.e., a confederated community like that of the Lichchavis, Śākyas and others, and were evidently a people allied to them, a non-Brahmanical Aryan community. These are the first administrative inscriptions embodying a governmental order that we get of the Maurya times. These two orders carry the Maurya epigraphy to nearly three quarters of a century before As'oka. On the Sohgaurā plate there is a royal monogram devised for the name of "Chandragupta Maurya". There is a *chandra* covering the top of a cluster of three arches, two placed side by side and one on the top of these two arches. They are a combination of the Brāhmī letters '*ga*' and a double '*ta*' the whole combination giving the name *Chandragutta*. A similar combination is found on the coins of Agnimitra about a century and a half later. By

the side of the monogram we have the letter '*mo*' which

is the initial of *Moriya*, the vernacular form of the Sanskrit *Maurya*. The same monogram is found at the bottom of the Kumhrar pillar at Pāṭaliputra, dug out from the remains of the Maurya palace, where the word *Moriya* is written in full by the side of the same monogram. I have traced the same monogram on all the ten cast coins, found in the Pāṭaliputra excavations at the Maurya level, and one coin found at the base of the Aśokan pillar at Sārnāth, and on potteries supplied to soldiers in the Pāṭaliputra palisade fortifications found with their swords and other remains. The monogram was, therefore, the Government mark or Rājāṅka in the language of the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya.

At Yeraguddi and Kopbal, new Aśoka inscriptions have been recovered. The Yeraguddi record establishes the long suspected fact that our Brāhmī writing was originally boustrophedonic, and probably, it is this method of writing which gave rise earlier to the jaṭāpāṭha and the ghanapāṭha method of reciting, that is, reading the Vedas. In making this document quickly available to Indian scholars the *Indian Historical Quarterly*, which now occupies a leading position among our research journals, did a good service. And similarly, that journal has been the first in India to give valuable information on the newly discovered Gilgit Manuscripts. Dr. Narendra Nath Law who devotes his learning, time, and financial resources to the maintenance of this journal, deserves the thanks of his countrymen.

The various activities in the field of Indology, both through the medium of English and vernaculars that are going on in different parts of India have been exhaustively and brilliantly reviewed by the last President, Dr. Hira Lal, at our Patna Session and it is not necessary to repeat them here. He has also noted the contribution of the Indian States. I would take this occasion to thank publicly on your behalf the State and Government of Gwalior for the care which they take in the preservation of ancient monuments in their State. Mr. Garde, the

Archæological Superintendent, deserves special mention. Their administration in this behalf is an example to the rest of India. Every ancient building, both major and and minor, is carefully conserved, roads made for its approach, and the approaches to the buildings notified and placarded on the spot. The Government of Hyderabad have won the admiration of scholars and artists by the scrupulous care they take of the Ajanta frescoes and by their admirable volumes on the Ajanta paintings and sculptures. The publications of the Archæological Department of His Exalted Highness the Nizam and of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore are always awaited with interest. The able officers of Mysore have edited and explained the interesting drama in Greek and Kannaḍa, in addition to their archæological work. Their volumes on castes and tribes are valuable additions to the ethnological literature published by different local Governments of British India.

It is, however, a matter of regret that in some of the Indian States monuments are suffering from a terrible neglect. The State of Ajaigarh has allowed a most important temple at Nachnā to be destroyed by its subjects. This was a pre–Guptan or early Guptan monument the like of which was nowhere to be found in the whole of India. Historical and artistic remains are so widely scattered all over India that unless the public take a dutiful interest in their preservation, they cannot be effectively protected from vandalism and natural decay. An Indian State is especially expected to protect its ancient temples and objects of art.

The work of the Imperial Archæological Department has been great in the past and the British Indian Government may look back upon it with a rightful pride. In recent years, however, the work of the Department has suffered for want of adequate financial provisions at the hands of the Imperial Government. Owing to financial difficulties, every State–undertaking has suffered, but the Archæological Department seems to have been

outstandingly a victim. This has been due to want o
interest at the hands of public men and politicians. Th
Department has found no advocate for its help. Thi
is, indeed, a deplorable fact. The work of the Archæo
logical Department should be a matter of keen interes
of the cultured members of the Imperial Assembly.
They should note that not a single pre-Buddha site of
importance has yet been excavated in India. The
interest of the late Director-General of Archæology
centred round post-Alexander sites, and it was by a
mere chance that Mr. R. D. Banerji lighted upon Mohen-
jo Daro and by his genius realised its significance.
History in India does not begin with Alexander, and the
sites which are well-known and are lying in numbers,
crying for the spade, remain untouched. Add to this a
number of new sites along the fringe of the Khirthar
range, in the Ravi valley, in the ancient Sarasvatī-Ghaggar
basin, etc., which have been recently traced. It will be
a great pity if the present apathy and neglect continue.
If steps are not taken to direct our energies to this vast
and virgin soil, the result will be that expeditions from
foreign countries will possess the fields and crowd us out.
We must remember that no inscription in Brāhmī has
yet been found of a period before the death of the
Buddha. This is for the simple reason that no truly
ancient Hindu site has so far been excavated, with the
consequential result that what is mediæval in the eyes of
the Hindu historians is being treated as the beginning of
Indian history. In the eyes of the Hindu historian, ancient
history ends with the Mahābhārata War, at about 1400
B. C., while the spade knows nothing apart from Mohen-
jo Daro, anterior to 500 B. C. In this connection, I might
appeal to private societies, like the Historical Society of
Allahabad, to undertake the excavation work which the
law now permits. If they dig at Kauśāmbī, I am confi-
dent that pre-Buddhan remains and documents will be
discovered. The dynasty of the Bharatas, after giving up
Hastināpura, came and settled at Kauśāmbī. Personally,
I have not the least doubt, if proper operations are

conducted and the right sites selected we shall get at the remains of the family of Śātānika and Sahasrānīka.

We cannot shut our eyes to what the academic institutions in Europe and America are doing to fit out costly expeditions of exploration in distant lands. The other day we read of a proposed Italian expedition to Nepal. Are our Universities and other insitutions merely to sit and look on while others win undying glory in fields which legally belong to us?

What private effort can do in one field is well illustrated by the Museum of the Allahabad Municipality, equipped in less than three years. You have there sculptures and remains from the Aśokan time down to the eleventh century A. D., almost every period being represented. You have two unique inscriptions there—one being on copper in inlaid gold letters. A single individual, Mr. Vyas, the Executive Officer of the Municipality, has built up this Museum in a spare building of the Municipality—without spending any significant funds. If every Municipality did the same, what a treasure we should gather with but little effort. Such Museums should be objects of local civic pride, and collectively a national wealth. The Allahabad Municipal authorities have similarly gathered a number of ancient coins through their peons and employees and a number of paintings as free gifts from the citizens. I mention this in detail for guidance in founding such priceless civic institutions—priceless both in the sense of being costless, and priceless in the sense of being immeasurable in value.

The educative value of museums needs not to be told to the modern world. It is self-evident. And when we hear that the State of Kashmir has made a retrenchment by abolishing its Museum, we have to draw the attention of the Darbar that the institution should be resuscitated. No State in the Twentieth Century can afford to be without a museum, when even a municipality realizes the necessity and utility of such institutions.

With deep regret we have to note that from this month the *Indian Antiquary* will cease to exist. This was the most powerful journal in the field of research in India. For sixty-two years it has served the cause of Indian history in its widest significance and is a record of wisdom and patience. A succession of brilliant writers has filled its pages, and its volumes are referred to and will be referred to almost on every page of any standard text-book on Indian history. Bands of English scholars carried on the Journal for four generations, and every Indian, proud of his past, will turn its pages in admiration and gratitude to the founders and the successive editors of the Journal. Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham, its last editor for some years, after his retirement from a brilliant career in the Indian Civil Service in Bihar and Orissa, devoted his whole time to the *Antiquary* and bore the entire expenses of its publication in its last stage. Even the last volume is full of matters of such abiding value as to cause our grief at its end to be more poignant. A journal to which Bühler, Burgess, Bhagwanlal, Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, Fleet and Sir Richard Temple gave their best, should not have been allowed to die.

Another matter of regret is the early retirement of Dr. Hirananda Sastri from the post of Epigraphist to the Government of India and from the editorship of the *Epigraphia Indica.* To quote an English scholar:—"*The retirement of that learned and reliable scholar will mean a great loss to the Archæological Department.*" The care and caution which he displayed throughout his career in the Archæological Department will stand as a credit to Indian scholarship. At excavation, e. g., at Kasiā, Sankisā, Nālandā etc., and at deciphering inscriptions, at editing Sanskrit texts and at interpreting art, he displayed an equal thoroughness. His monograph on Nālandā seals and inscriptions will be awaited with eagerness. Therein he has made corrections to Gupta genealogy and set at rest several problems of importance including the existence of the association jānapada. His *Guide to Elephanta* is a piece in line with the Guides to Takshaśilā

and Sāñchī by Sir John Marshall. Let us wish him a long and useful career in the service of the various branches of his learning. One by one, we regret, the old batch of Sir John Marshall is leaving the Imperial Archaeological Department, making it for the time-being at least, visibly weaker. I am, however, sure that Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, our present Director-General, will maintain the high standard of efficiency for which his Department has been so far noted. In this connection I might quote here the opinion of an Indian scholar of great standing which may prove of considerable practical value. 'The Department should change its policy and enlist extra-departmental co-operation, and this they can do without loss of efficiency or dignity.' I also think that by a policy of exclusiveness, the Department loses much needful assistance. Publication, for instance, of important documents, will not be delayed as it is delayed at present, if a more liberal policy is followed.

Outside the official world, we have to notice the striking work of Mr. Durga Prasad of Benares on the Punch-marked Coins, the most ancient coinage of Hindu India. In a private booklet he has offered a wealth of thoughtfully digested material and an important addition to our knowledge on the subject. For nearly a century the punch-marked coins had baffled all attempts at a chronological arrangement. The only guide we have had was the rough calculation possible on the basis of wear and tear of those coins. But Mr. Durga Prasad is the first authority to dispel darkness and show us light, by finding a clear chronological line through his identification of the Maurya coinage, the provenance of which extends from Afghanistan to the Deccan. These have a definite and exclusive class of symbols methodically employed. From this class, one sub-division which is again sufficiently marked off in individuality, he found on an analysis, to agree exactly with the constituents of the alloy prescribed in Kauṭalya's Arthaśāstra for the royal Kārshāpaṇas of silver. This is the Class B on his plates. He concludes from their wide distribution from the North-West Frontier

up to the Deccan and the analysis that these are imperial coins of the early Mauryas. That conclusion I have now verified. The monogram on the Sohgaurā plate and the Kumhrār Maurya stone pillar giving the name Chandragupta Maurya or *Chandiagutta Moiiya*, are invariably found on his Class B coins. They are further verified by the cast coins found at the base of the Aśoka pillar at Sārnāth and at Pāṭaliputra wherein the royal standard and a figure of the elephant facing it also appear. The symbol of the standard by the side of an elephant seems to mean that the royal mark on the standard was the elephant, which is a prominent sign on Aśokan monuments. Here we should recall to our mind the story found in Greek writers that Chandragupta was placed by an elephant upon its back and also that he was licked by a lion. We have uptil now discarded the Greek stories as being legendary. But with the identification of the monogram of Chandragupta we recognize at once that these were stories which obtained currency at Takshaśilā on account of Chandragupta's Takshaśilā issues of his Kārshāpaṇas. The king's monogram on these coins is placed on the back of the elephant and the monogram faces a lion with an open mouth and a protruding tongue. The origin of the story is the coinage, just as the origin of the Muhammadan story about Alexander's having a horn originated from his head-gear on his coins. It is also now possible to distinguish the coin of Aśoka and his monogram —a subject which I shall reserve for the Numismatic Society. There is a tree on the B series coins of Mr. Durga Prasad and on the coins found in the Pāṭaliputra excavations and at Sārnāth. This is obviously a representation of the pāṭali tree denoting the name of the Capital, Pāṭaliputra.

It is a notable and welcome feature of our time that our countrymen outside the official circle of archæologists and specialists are adding every day to the sum of our knowledge by their individual efforts. The recent Aśokan edicts have been brought to light by Mr. A. Ghose, Engineer, and the site of the Buddha's hermitage in the

Rajgir hills has been identified by Mr. P. C. Chaudhuri, I. C. S., who has also done some useful excavations at his own cost, near Rajgir. Mr. N. C. Mehta, one of our sectional Presidents, and Mr. O. C. Ganguly have been constantly employing their leisure to Indian Art with substantial results to their credit and to the credit of their subject. Rai Krishna Das of Benares has privately gathered and made over a valuable Museum of Indian Art to the Kāśī Nāgarī-Prachāriṇī Sabhā. This class of workers are entitled to our grateful recognition. In this connection I may bring to your notice the devoted interest of a friend of mine which has resulted in one of the most remarkable artistic finds of the Maurya or pre-Maurya period. The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Radhakrishna Jalan, one of the Vice-Patrons of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, has got his house in the Patna Qila area, where the most beautiful sculpture with Maurya polish at its best was discovered, namely, the Didarganj female figure, lifesize. From that very area Mr. Jalan has found a group of two gold figures in a half-round repoussé relief, evidently a miniature copy of stone images. They are exactly in the same style as the Patna S'aiśunāga and the Didarganj statues. They represent clearly Śiva and Pārvatī, for the male figure bears a serpent on the chest, very artistically done and the moon below the hair-knot. We have here the oldest Hindu plastic representation of *Hara-Gaurī* yet discovered in the country. The reliance on volume in art which we trace in the Parkham, Besnagar, and Patna statues and which disappears under Aśoka, is the visible feature in the male figure in this gold group, while the female is as delicate as the Didarganj image, executed with exquisite feeling. In my opinion the gold plaque and the Didarganj image are old remnants of the Nanda Palace called Su-Gāṅgeya. Mr. Jalan has collected many rare things in his private collection, including the only known gold coin of Yaśodharman. Svāmī Jñānānanda and Mr. Lochanaprasād Pāṇḍeya, two private individuals, have discovered and brought to our notice the Vikramkhol inscription, and earned our gratitude.

A great stride has been made in the last two years in the philology of our post-Prakrit vernaculars. Dr. Hiralal brought to light a class of Jaina literature dated from 900 A. D. onwards. These texts found at Karañjā have now been carefully edited by the Jain community and scholars in the *Karañjā* Series. They throw unexpected light on the development of Western Hindī. But still more powerful light has been thrown by the labours of Mahāpaṇḍita Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana, an Indian Buddhist monk of the Ceylonese school. Bhadanta Sāṅkṛtyāyana has recovered a complete personal history of a series of *Siddhas* who flourished and wrote in Magadha. His paper on this history has been translated into French and is being published in the *Journal Asiatique*. From this recovery of personal biographies of these writers we can now fix with certainty the chronological sequence of the *Siddha* authors. Now these authors have left examples of their vernacular poems which were also translated into Sanskrit about 1000 A D. and which were also translated into Tibetan. Their original poems range from about 750 to 900 A. D. Some of these authors, or rather most of them, contributed also in Sanskrit. They were great exponents of a particular cult of philosophy, and to popularise their views and teachings, they composed in their own mother-tongue, the vernacular of the time. Some of these pieces have been recovered and published by the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasad Sastri. Now according to the positive history recovered by Rev. Sāṅkṛityāyana, these compositions were all made at Nālandā or Vikramaśilā, places in Bihar, and by natives of Bihar, men born and bred there. From a comparison of their language with modern Magadhi, the vernacular current in the district of Patna and Gaya, that is, the modern representative of ancient Māgadhī, and with Old Hindī of the Eastern variety, the language of the *Siddhas* turns out to be the oldest Eastern Hindī, going back to 750 A. D. We have thus the good fortune of having specimens of Old Hindī in its Eastern branch going back to 750 A. D. and in its Western

branch going back to 900 A. D. The Eastern specimens are mostly free from Prākritisms, while the conjunct letters and doubled consonants still persist in the Karañjā Texts, and they lean back to Prākritism.

Bhadanta Sāṅkṛityāyana has rendered and restored into Sanskrit the *Vijñaptimātratā-siddhi*, a text which had been lost to the country for centuries and which is the basis of Śaṅkara's system. We are glad to have him in our midst in our Conference as one of our Sectional Presidents.

On philosophic literature our wealth is rapidly increasing. The *Brahmasiddhi* of Maṇḍana Miśra, contemporary of Śaṅkara, is under publication by Mm. Kuppuswami Śāstri, and in the meantime Maṇḍana's *Vibhramaviveka* has been brought out by Mr. T. V. Ramachandra Dikshitar under the guidance of that learned Mahāmahopādhyāya. On the pre-Śāṅkara period in addition to the *Vijñaptimātratā* (J. B O. R. S.) we have now before us the important work Tattvasaṅgraha by Śāntarakṣita, a Buddhist author who flourished just before Śaṅkara. In his Tattvasaṅgraha, in 19,000 ślokas, he gives us the different philosophic theories prevailing in his time, and we come to know of a number of authors who had been lost to us. This book had been considered as lost, and was known only from its Tibetan translation. This is one of the several outstanding publications of the *Gaekwad's Oriental Series*, which has also given us a class of literature on Tantric Buddhism, so far neglected.

In our ethnological research I would like to draw your attention to Mr. Hutton's view in the newly published Census Report that the distribution of the brachycephals of the Eurasiatic Alpine type corresponds fairly well with that of the speakers of the 'Outer Band' Indo-Aryan vernaculars—a point worth consideration both by Indian philologists and ethnologists. I would also draw your attention to the high excellence of the Baroda Census Report by Mr. Satyavrata Mukherjea, which, as a high authority in British

India told me, is difficult to compete with. Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy, one of our Sectional Presidents, has kept up his intensive and detailed study of the aboriginal tribes of Bihar and Orissa.

The field of Indian research for the known historical times too is extended beyond the limits of the present-day India by our having realised the fact that Indian history embraces within its fold the Hindu colonies in Indo-China, Cambodia, Siam, Sumatra, Java, Bali, Borneo, etc., to the East, and Central Asia to the North. The movement started by my friend and pupil Dr. Kalidas Nag in this country through his Greater India Society, is primarily responsible for impressing upon Indian scholars the importance of Insulindia and Further India. It has been my good fortune to receive inspiration from my own ex-pupil in leading me to identify references to the eastern portion of Greater India in our own literature, the Purāṇas, the Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa, and the inscription of Samudra Gupta on the Allahabad pillar, which I have placed before the scholarly world through some recent publications. In our literature the word *Bhāratavarsha* stands for Greater India as opposed to Kumāri, and Mānava-Dvīpa for India proper. Bhāratavarsha includes Insulindia and Further India to the South-East and up to the Pamirs and Herat in the North. Fortunately for us, the material on Indo-China, Cambodia, and Siam has been worked up and made ready for us by l'ecole Francaise d' Extrême Orient; and that on Insulindia by the Dutch Government and the Dutch Scholars. This is a labour of love to science and search for truth, extending over a period of some thirty years. The results of the work of the French and Dutch scholars on the history of this part of the Extreme Orient are as important and marked with as much thoroughness as the work of the Indologists for India proper. We owe a debt of gratitude to our French and Dutch colleagues for their patient and laborious contribution which is an indirect contribution to India itself. Our knowledge of the expanse of Indian culture in Central Asia is being widened by the

various European and American scientific expeditions e g., the American Central Asian Expedition in Mongolia and North-West China, the Sven Hedin (Joint) Expedition in Central Asia, the work of von le Coq and Grünwedel in the Turfan Depression and the neighbouring districts, and last but not least, the explorations which have been done and are being done by our own indefatigable scholar Sir Aurel Stein. Even a side-light has been thrown on our own history from such an unexpected quarter as the Paikuli Sassanian Inscription of 293 A. D., thanks to the researches of Dr. Herzfeld.

On our own programme of work in India itself, I should like to suggest the preparation of a critical text of the Rāmāyaṇa on the lines of the edition of the Mahābhārata, so ably being executed by Dr. Sukthankar. The first volume of this critical edition of the Great Epic of India, embodying the whole of the Ādiparvan has been just sent to me by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute of Poona for presentation to the Conference. The achievement eminently fulfils the expectations formed and the world-wide interest aroused by the undertaking. As to the Rāmāyaṇa Dr. Harichand Sastri has recently established at the Oxford Session of the Oriental Congress that the Rāmāyaṇa has four families of recensions in the manuscripts, namely, the Bengali, Southern or Devanāgarī, Kashmirī and Eastern. A distinctive recension is found in a class of Mithilā, Nepal and Oudh manuscripts which may be termed the Eastern recension. An old manuscript of this family which is in the possession of the Rāja-Guru Pandit Hemaraja of Nepal, is dated Saṁvat 1076 (=1019 A. D.). Curiously enough the Kashmirī text agrees more with the Eastern text than with the other two. It becomes now incumbent upon us to distinguish and settle the authentic version out of the material to be gathered from the four families of manuscripts. The Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata are our most valuable treasures and no amount of attention bestowed on them can be too much. We stand in danger of losing old manuscripts and texts. The matter, therefore, needs an early attention.

I will beg your leave now to emphasize a matter of national importance. An Indian State is the best place or emphasizing the necessity of keeping alive the old system of Sanskrit education. Both Indian and European scholars from the Chair of the Oriental Conference and rom other platforms have expressed the greatest concern it the decay of that system. In the passage of centuries, nay of millennia, the traditional Sanskrit learning persisted and survived in this country. There were giants in the Sanskrit College at Benares when I was at chool and there was Pandit Gaṭṭulalji in Western India of whom I heard as a boy. They were representatives of the ld learning and they were products and representatives f the old system. But at present, there is a visible ecay. This decay is mostly due to lack of demand and atronage. The modern colleges in India where Sanskrit taught through the English medium, do not produce the pe of scholars who can hand down the true Sanskrit arning. The British Indian Government is doing a good eal to save the old method, but that is not sufficient. ther agencies as well must come to the rescue. And ere can be no better agency than Hindu States. There e various means open to a Hindu State which are not ailable to a purely secular administration like that of itish India, to encourage and patronize Pandits and strīs trained in the traditional method. These Pandits d Śāstrīs have been and will remain the custodians that national culture which has given Indian ilization such a phenomenal longevity. We cannot ord to neglect them. It is a fashionable charge to say t the old method lacks the critical faculty. The charge ıes from an unfamiliarity with the method. When we e the charge we forget that the essential curriculum e old method–vyākaraṇa and darśanas as learnt by a traditional system—is nothing but analysis and cism from beginning to end. There is no method can make the mind so logical as the old Hindu sys- and there is no method of composition which can ell train a man to express himself in the least possi-

ble words as the Sanskrit system. It is a matter of regret that such a day should have arrived when we should feel the necessity of being reminded of these matters. There lies a heavy duty on the present generation to transmit and hand down to the future that tradition which produced in the recent past a Madhusūdana Sarasvatī in the Moghul time and a Dayānanda Sarasvatī in the British time. The method may be improved, its vision widened, its defects removed, but it is not to be abandoned as useless and obsolete. Every classical system has its own value. It has to be preserved though the technique may have to be revised from time to time.

Within the last few years the attention of Indian historians has been drawn towards composing text-books on individual provinces or dynasties. This scheme affords scope for intensive studies, and our notions become more definite. Several such manuals are already in the fore—namely, the volumes on Rajputana by Mahāmahopādhyāya Gaurīśaṅkara Hīrāchand Ojhā, one of our Sectional Presidents, the volumes on Orissa and on Bengal by the late Mr. R. D. Banerji, the volumes by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar on Tamil India, the *Kadamba-Kula* by Mr. Moares, the History of the Rāshṭrakūṭas by Dr. Altekar—who leaves out no aspect of life from his survey, and the volumes on Vijayanagara by the Rev. Father Heras, who has created around him a virtual school of historians for such studies. Yet, the main task of writing a general and cultural, synthetic history of India of Hindu period has remained unexecuted. As our last President Dr. Hira Lal said in his Presidential Address—"*There is* * * * * *a great desideratum which is now keenly felt*", that is, the absence of a general history "*written from an Indian point of view.*" That every country should write its own history is a settled principle. We have reached a stage where spade-workers have gathered and stacked huge building material. Without architects and builders they are being neglected. The labour spent on them has to become productive. The text-book of Dr. Vincent

Smith has, in many portions, become obsolete. That text-book and similarly the one by Prof. Rapson failed to satisfy our wants. In these volumes, Ancient Indian history does not go back beyond 600 B. C., while Indian history, according to Indian historians of the past, stops being ancient at about 1400 B. C From Parikṣita to Mahā-Nanda (about 400 B. C.) was their Classical Period, and from Mahā-Nanda onwards their Modern or Imperial Period. When they talked of Ancient India they spoke like this :—

Sañjaya to Yudhiṣṭhira :—

अत्र ते कीर्तयिष्यामि
वर्षं भारत भारतम् ।
प्रियमिन्द्रस्य देवस्य
मनोर्वैवस्वतस्य च ॥
पृथोस्तु राजन् वैन्यस्य
तथेक्ष्वाकोर्महात्मनः ।
ययातेरम्बरीषस्य
मान्धातुर्नहुषस्य च ॥
तथैव मुचुकुन्दस्य
शिबेरौशीनरस्य च ।
ऋषभस्य तथैलस्य
नृगस्य नृपतेस्तथा ॥
कुशिकस्य च दुर्धर्ष
गाधेश्चैव महात्मनः ।
सोमकस्य च दुर्धर्ष
दिलीपस्य तथैव च ॥
अन्येषां च महाराज
क्षत्रियाणां बलीयसाम् ।
सर्वेषामेव राजेन्द्र
प्रियं भारत भारतम् ॥

[भीष्म । ९ ।]

I say, now, O Bhārata, I am going to tell you history of your Land Bhārata—the land where Indra w worshipped—the land dear to Manu Vaivasvata, the la dear to the first sovereign Pṛthu, the land of Ikṣvā the land of Māndhātṛ and Nahuṣa, the country Mucukunda, and Śibi the Auśīnara, of Ṛṣabha, Aila a Nṛga, of Kuśika and Gādhi, of Somaka, and Dilīpa India of theirs and dear unto them.

There is thus a fundamental difference between Indian point of view and that of others. To begin Ind history at 600 B. C. is to present a headless bo Imagine an ancient history of Egypt which begins w the Ptolemies and leaves out the Pharaohs! Accordi to Indian historians, they have recorded fully the Dyna of Manu:

इत्येष कथितः सम्यक् मनोर्वंशो मया तव ।

In view of the new vistas opening before our eyes in Indus valley, in Mesopotamia and elsewhere, we have reconstruct our ancient chronology to see where preceding civilization ends and our own begins. We a extremely fortunate in having a written record of our ov

The Indian scholars, beginning with our doy Mr. C. V. Vaidya, whom I have consulted, are unanim that an Indian history by Indians should be undertak The only difficulty which they feel is over the quest of finances. Personally, what I demand of you a what I aspire to secure is your desire, interest a approval. The finances I hope to secure without trou ing you as an institution. If England can find mo for an Indian history, India should and will readily fi money for an Indian history. Thanks to the text of Mañju mūlakalpa, made available by the Government of Trav core, and thanks to the labours of Bhadanta Sāṅkṛtyāya in correcting its text from the Tibetan translation there we have, in my opinion, no gaps left any more in historical period down to the rise of the Pāla Emper (*c.* 750 A. D.). Time is in every way ripe for the an ṭhāna. At this moment we have present amongst us

group of workers who have 30 to 25 years' intensive research-work behind them. Mr. C. V. Vaidya, Rai Bahadur Dr. Hira Lal, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, Dr. Hirananda Śāstri, Dr. Belvalkar, Dr. Coomaraswamy, Mm. G. H. Ojha, Rai Bahadur Ramā Prasad Chanda and others compose a group of elders whose services we must exploit, they being yet fortunately in the field of action. There is a brilliant group of younger men like Dr. Taraporewala, Dr. Sukhthankar, Dr. S. N. Das Gupta, Dr. R. C. Majumdar, Mr. P. V. Kane, Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya, Dr. Altekar, Mr. N. Majumdar, Dr. H. C. Ray Chaudhury, Dr. P. C. Bagchi, Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Dr. Kalidas Nag, Mr. Ramachandra Dikshitar, Mr. Ramakrishna Kavi, Mr. Jaychandra Vidyālaṅkāra and others, who would be, I am sure, of assistance to the elder workers. Mr. Jaychandra Vidyālaṅkāra has already by himself attempted a comprehensive history in Hindī, and Drs. Majumdar and Ray Chaudhury and others have already tackled various periods and points in detail.

I thought that this would be the most opportune moment and place to press the cause of an Indian history by Indians on you to-day in the presence of His Highness the Gaekwad, who is one of the makers of modern India and who is in his person the sovereign of the two sister communities of ancient times—Pārsī and Hindu. He is the ruler of Dvārakā. And to Dvārakā we have always looked for jñāna. For the realization of the jñāna of our past, we may to-day put our heads together under the august and inspiring presence of Maharaja Śrīmanta Sayaji Rao of Dvārakā.

In calling upon you to begin your deliberations, may I now invoke the Deity of our common *gotra*, Goddess Sarasvatī, the presiding goddess of the family of our First President and the gotra adopted for us by our subsequent Presidents :

पातु वो निकषग्रावा मतिहेम्नः सरस्वती ।

6–45 P. M. The President of the Conference then moved the following condolence resolution from the Chair which was carried unanimously, the whole assembly standing up. The resolution was as follows :—

THE CONFERENCE MOURNS THE LOSS OF SIR JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI AND MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA HARAPRASAD SHASTRI, EX-PRESIDENTS OF THIS CONFERENCE WHO WERE PILLARS OF INDIAN LEARNING AND SOURCE OF INSPIRATION TO INDIAN SCHOLARSHIP FOR THREE GENERATIONS AND AS MEN REPRESENTATIVES OF INDIAN CULTURE AND HIGH CHARACTER.

6–50 P. M. Professor Dr. A. C. Woolner, Vice Chancellor of the Punjab University while proposing a vote of thanks to His Highness the Patron said that he felt both pleased and honoured at the opportunity given to him to propose a vote of thanks to His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad. He felt that in doing so he was only voicing the sentiments of all those present at the Conference. He said that every one of the delegates was grateful not only for the wonderful hospitality offered to him by a most learned and highly intellectual ruler like His Highness, but also for the opportunities afforded of visiting the cultural institutions of the State which had made Baroda the home of culture and education. He further said that the opening of the Conference by His Highness, known throughout the length and breadth of the country as a patron of education, had been very appropriate, because he felt that under his royal guidance the Conference was sure to gain in strength and vitality. He added that the reforms he had introduced in his State in matters educational, social and administrative had made his fame spread all over India and his name to-day has become a household-word in India. He reminded the assembly that the whole of India appreciated the efforts of His Highness in introducing reforms for the benefit of his people. Dr. Woolner concluded by saying that he was able only to touch a few salient points of the many sided activities of His Highness, and that whatever he could say in praise of the remarkable achievement of His Highness would fall far short of what he really deserved.

Professor Agha Pour-e-Davoud who was sent to India for researches in Iranian culture by His Majesty the Shah of Persia, while seconding the resolution said that the enthusiasm of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad in the pursuit of knowledge and in the field of culture was well known to all of them. Since the Seventh Session of the Conference was opened by the auspicious hands of His Highness there was no doubt that the Conference would prove a great success. He pointed out that the Conference was meeting at Baroda for the seventh time and the number seven was sacred, for it had been associated with the seven Ādityas in India and seven *Ayesa spenta* in Iran who were reputed to be the protectors of all beings. He maintained that in the sacred land of India, the Seventh Session of the Conference held under the patronage of His Highness and opened by him would afford invaluable opportunities for higher studies, and this made him realise the sanctity of the number seven all the more. He felt very pleased at the opportunity given to him to thank one of the most erudite rulers of Aryan India, the sister of Iran, from where he came. He wished His Highness health, happiness and long life and invoked the blessings of Brahma and Ahura Mazda on the Royal couple for their happiness and prosperity.

Reverend Father H. Heras of the Indian Historical Institute, Bombay in supporting the resolution thanked His Highness in rescuing his countrymen from the darkness of ignorance and for the reforms he had introduced for the betterment of the present society, and incidentally referred to his great love of culture and his unceasing efforts in promoting it.

His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad while thanking the assembly for their good wishes made the following speech:—

"I do not wish to take much of your valuable time by making a lengthy speech on this occasion. But I should like to express my gratitude for the high encomiums of praise you have bestowed on my efforts at reforms and for your good will and appreciation. It gives me great satisfaction to-day to see here assembled such a great number of well-known

and learned scholars and I feel that I have received an ... return for all my efforts at the revival of Sanskrit learni... and research. But I must confess that in this respect als... have done nothing more than what I consider to be my dut... By praising my efforts I am conscious you are giving expre... sion to your feeling of love and good will. In Baroda, I kno... the materials with which I have to work are insufficient a... my powers are also limited. I know also the great diffic... ties that beset a ruler in understanding the condition ... modern society and to initiate adequate reforms. I am n... personally a great student of philosophy or learned in researc... But I can declare without fear of contradiction that I ha... great respect for oriental learning and culture and whatev... efforts I have made for their revival are a token of my lo... for these studies and I am doing this in a spirit of servi... being actuated by the high regard I have for orient... scholarship.

For this reason I have started the Gaekwad's Orient... Series, and through this are published works on various su... jects such as ancient religion, philosophy and sciences. It ... one of my special desires that this kind of useful and cultur... knowledge should be made available to all. To this e... I am making all possible endeavour. I consider myse... fortunate that I have been able to obtain the necessa... co-operation of scholars in all literary undertakings. And wh... great scholars like you appreciate my efforts I feel that m... labours have been amply rewarded.

Now I am rapidly advancing in age and perhaps I a... older than many amongst you. You can believe me whe... I say that I have full sympathy for all the reasons and co... clusions ably set forth by the learned President in his speec... I do not feel competent to criticise the contents of his speec... nor do I wish to say anything which may strike a note ... discord; I will only say that his address is very learne... thoughtful and worthy of deep study. I am confident th... it will afford materials for study and thinking not only f... those who take an active interest in oriental research but al... for average men. I can assure you both on my behalf,

well as on behalf of all present here, that we all share in the great hopes and aspirations voiced by the learned President of the Conference.

I wish all success to the future plans and objects of the Conference, and once again thank you for the great honour you have done me in asking me to open the Conference, and for the kind expressions of your love and good will."

7-25 P. M.—The President then read messages of sympathy and good wishes for the success of the Conference sent by the Home Secretary to the Government of H. E. H. the Nizam of Hyderabad, Sir Akbar Hydari, and referred to those received from the following institutions in the different parts of the world.[1]

Institute of Indian Civilization, Paris.
Institute de France, Paris.
University of Lyon, Lyon.
British Museum, London.
Royal Historical Society, London.
University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh.
Leiden University, Leiden.
University of Uppasala, Norway.
Smithsonian Institution, Washington.
University of Melbourne, Australia.
Academy of Sciences, Leningrad.
Prussian Academy of Sciences, Berlin.
Academy of Sciences, Vienna.

The President of the Central Committee for Reception then garlanded Their Highnesses and the President. A flash-light photograph of the Assembly was then taken. At the close of this meeting when Their Highnesses rose from their seats all those present stood up and remained standing, until Their Highnesses had left the Hall.

The meeting was then adjourned for half an hour to enable the seats to be rearranged for setting up the screen for the Lantern Lecture on Mohenjo Daro.

1. The message sent by the Dhyan-Bodh Universal movement on behalf of the Chinese Buddhist society came to hand at a later date.

LANTERN LECTURE SERIES.

8-30 P. M.—Sir V. T. Krishnamachari, the Minister, formally opened the Lantern Lecture Series which at the express desire of His Highness the Maharaja Saheb was a special feature of the Seventh Session. Rai Bahadur Daya Ram Sahni, Director-General of Archaeology in India delivered the first lantern lecture on the Indus Valley Civilization illustrating it with excellent photographs of the excavations and important finds and seals written in the unknown script. His Highness the Maharaja Saheb was present at the lecture.

INDIAN MUSICAL ENTERTAINMENTS.

9-30 P. M.—Gifted artists from Baroda entertained the delegates and members of the Conference and other guests with an after dinner variety programme consisting of solo music, sitar solo and Indian Concert. The special feature of the entertainment was the presentation of Gujarat folk-dances in two Garbas in which girl students from the Maharani Chimnabai Mahila Pathashala and the Training College for Women took part.

Thursday, the 28th December 1933.

PANDITA PARISHAD.

8-30 A. M.—The Pandit Parishad met at the Tarakeshvara Temple in which many Pandits from Poona, Jamnagar, Indore, Devas, Wai, Petlad, Pattan, etc. took part. Mahāmahopādhyāya Hathibhai Harishankar Shastri of Jamnagar was unanimously elected President of the Parishad and he conducted the business of the meeting. Papers written in Sanskrit on various branches of Sanskrit culture were read and discussed. All the speeches and discussions were in Sanskrit and the audience included many prominent delegates and State officials. The Parishad adjourned at 10-0 A. M.

SECTIONAL MEETINGS.

11-0 A. M. to *2-0 P. M.* Sectional business such as the reading of Presidential addresses and of papers concerning

the undermentioned Sections was conducted in different rooms of the Baroda College :—

1. Archæology.
2. Vedic Sanskrit.
3. Anthropology.
4. Philosophy.
5. History.
6. Fine Arts.
7. Philology.
8. Urdu.
9. Avesta-Iranian.
10. Gujarati.

Many of the Sections could not conclude their business on the first day, and this was continued on the following day. Their Highnesses evinced keen interest in the business of the sectional meetings and attended the Archæology, Vedic-Sanskrit and Fine Arts Sections and took part in the discussions that followed the presidential addresses and papers that were read before them.

2-0 P. M.—Light refreshments were served on behalf of the Reception Committee in the Shamiana on the College grounds.

VISIT TO THE EXHIBITION.

2-30 P. M.—The delegates visited the Exhibition specially organised for the Conference in the Baroda Museum and Picture Gallery. The Director General of Archæology of India had specially brought with him some of the valuable finds of Mohenjo Daro and the visitors were immensely interested in these exhibits. There were other interesting exhibits from the Oriental Institute, Baroda, and the Jain Jnana Mandir, along with several Chinese paintings on Buddhistic subjects.

3-30 P. M.—Dr. Arnold A. Bake of the Royal Dutch Academy delivered a very interesting lecture on the Music of Sāmaveda with demonstrations from gramophone records which he had himself prepared at various places in India directly from the songs of the Sāmavedi priests.

[illegible]

His Highness the Maharaja Saheb was present at the [illegible]
The substance of the lecture is printed in the [illegible]
Section.

ARENA SPORTS.

4–30 P.M.—The delegates were taken to the Arena Sport which were specially organised for the occasion. Wrestling bouts, bull and elephant fights, and the mimicry of parrot and elephants were a source of great amusement to th delegates. Afternoon tea was served in the visitors' gallerie at Bhadra.

7–0 P.M.—Mr. N. C. Mehta, I.C.S., President of the Fine Arts Section delivered a lantern lecture on "Provincial School of Indian Painting" which was profusely illustrated with slide and illustrations from books. His Highness the Maharaja Sahel was present at the meeting. This lecture was the second o the Series of Lantern Lectures specially organised for th Seventh Session. The substance of the lecture is printed in th Fine-Arts Section. Towards the conclusion of the lectur Dr. M. H. Krishna showed some excellent slides on th Architectural remains of Mysore.

The third lecture of the Series, on the Antiquities o Gujarat, was delivered simultaneously by Mr. V. R. Talvalka in another room of the Baroda College.

MUSHAIRA.

9–15 P.M.—There was a Mushaira in the Baroda College Hall in which famous poets from outside Baroda and prominent local poets took part. The gathering was large and the Mushaira attracted great popular interest. Moulvi Syed Nawab Ali, Prof. Fida Ali Khan and Moulvi Abdul Haq acted as Judges and awarded a medal to each of the three outstanding compositions. The recipients of the prizes are—

1. Seemab Akbarabadi.
2. Mahmud Hasan Afsar.
3. Muzaffar Ali 'Asar' Saleri.

The Mushaira terminated at 1 o'clock at night.

The poems reproduced below from Seemab Akbarabadi were highly appreciated by the audience.

ہے کرم مجھ پر مگر ایسا کرم کس کام کا
تیرے لطف خاص میں ہے رنگ لطف عام کا

میںنے اس خوا بیدہ عالم کو بنایا کام کا
گرمئی محفل نتیجہ ہے میرے پیغام کا

کاهش غم میں مداوا ہے غم ایام کا
ہے شفق کے خون سے رنگین گیسو شام کا

دل کبھی ٹوٹا، تو سرگشتہ نہ درمان کا ھوا
میں کہ تنہا دیکھے ھوئے عالم شکست جام کا

سب میرے انجام پر آمادۂ تنقید ھیں
اور پھر ضامن نہیں ھوتا کوئی انجام کا

اسکی ھستی وھم، مستی وھم، اورپسی بھی وھم
نام ہے انسان، اک مجموعہ اوھام کا

ہے فریب طول عشرت، محفل ھستی کی شام
صبح ھونے تک ھے وقفہ گردش یک جام کا

عشق کے عنوان سے تجدیہ ایمان کیجئے
بے مزہ نکلا فسانہ کفر اور اسلام کا

کم نگاھی سے تری ساقی وہ کیا مسرور ھو
جسنے ان آنکھو نسے دیکھا ہے چھلکتا جام کا

صبح منزل اور شام کا روان ھون ھمکنارے
کاش ایسا دور بھی ھو گردش ایام کا

وہ تیری خود مست آنکھین، وہ تبسم بادہ ریز
آجتک نظرو نمیں عالم ھے چھلکتے جام کا

ہے تپش اندوز دل اک برق نا معلوم سے
پوچھئے کس سے تپہ اس جنس بے نام کا

مگر پھر سینے میں درماں کی خلش باقی رہی
ایک کانٹا چبھ گیا تھا آرزو کے خام کا

شام غربت کی درخشانی کا یہ ہے انتظام
بنگیا ہے صبح کا آنسو، ستارہ شام کا

رونے والو! موت آئی ہے سکون میرے لئے
یہ خوشی کا وقت ہے یا وقت ہے کہرام کا

رہنے دے درد آشنا نظروں کو صرف التفات
تکملہ جب تک نہ ہو میرے جنون خام کا

پہلے اسے سیماب اس دنیا میں ملتا تھا خدا
اب تو ٹکڑا بھی نہیں ملتا خدا کے نام کا

سیماب اکبر آبادی
۲۷ دسمبر ۳۳

وہ تنہائی ہو یا محفل ہو، تسکین دلکی مشکل ہے
بنا لیتا ہے خود اپنے لئے جلوے - یہ وہ دل ہے

ہے باطل محفل عالم، تو پھر مشکل ہی مشکل ہے
مری نظریں بھی باطل ہیں ترا جلوہ بھی باطل ہے

کمال علم وتحقیق مکمل کا یہ حاصل ہے
ترا ادراک مشکل تھا، ترا ادراک مشکل ہے

غلط سمجھا، جو تو محدود سمجھا راہ ہستی کو
جہاں ہوتی ہے منزل ختم وہ آغاز منزل ہے

یہ ویرانی تصور کی، وہ رنگینی خیالوں کی
کبھی محفل میں خلوت ہے کبھی خلوت میں محفل ہے

جنوں کا ہاتھ دامن سے نہ پہونچا پردۂ دل تک
ابھی باقی وہی پابندی آداب محفل ہے

بقدر ظرف وہمت سہل و مشکل ہے رہ الفت
یہاں ساحل بھی دریا ہے، یہاں دریا بھی ساحل ہے

اڑاکر دھجیاں پیراہن ہستی کی خوش تھا میں
ندا آئی - ارے یہ تو جنون کی پہلی منزل ہے

ہوگئی معلوم وجہ اضطرب وشو رش عالم
یہاں دل ہے ہر ایک ذرہ ہراک ذرے میں ایک دل ہے

میں غافل ہو کہ دانستہ خراب بزم ہستی ہون
سمجھتا ہون کہ محفل نہیں ہے، خواب محفل ہے

نہ چھیڑاے نغمہ گر تسکین بے ہنگام کے نغمے
فضاؤن میں ابھی گنجائش شور سلاسل ہے

وہ آئینہ ہو یا ہو پھول، تارہ ہو کہ پیمانہ
کہیں جو کچھ بھی ٹوٹا، میں یہی سمجھا مرا دل ہے

اجالا ہو تو ڈھونڈون دل بھی پروانون کی لاشون میں
مری بربادیون کو انتظار صبح محفل ہے

وہان ہون میں تمیز حسن وشق مشکل ہے
ہرایک جلوہ اب آغوش نظرمیں جلوہ دل ہے

الہی غفلت عالم کو رنگ ہوشیاری دے
کہ تو غافل نہیں دنیا سے، دنیا تجھ سے غافل ہے

وہ اے سیماب کیون سرگشتہ تسلیم وجنت ہو
میسر جسکو سیر "تاج" اورجمنا کا ساحل ہے

وہ دل لے کر ہمیں بے دل نہ سمجھیں ان سے کہدینا
جو ہیں مارے ہوئے نظرون کے اُن کی ہر نظر دل ہے

سیماب اکبر آبادی
۲۷ دسمبر ۳۳

Friday, the 29th December 1933.

Pandita Parishad.

8-0 A.M.—The adjourned meeting of the Pandita Parishad was held at the Tarakeshvara Temple when the reading and discussion of papers were continued. At the conclusion of the meeting, the President of the Parishad was garlanded by the Local Secretary and a Photograph of the Assembly was taken.

8-30 A.M.—Many delegates visited the Vitthala Krida Bhavana, a physical culture institution, to witness the sports organised by Prof. Manikrao, and evinced great interest in the success achieved by the institution.

10-45 A.M.—A group photograph of the delegates and members was taken at the Baroda College.

Sectional Meetings.

11-0 A.M. to 2 P.M.—Sectional business such as the reading of the Presidential addresses and papers of the undermentioned sections were carried on in the Baroda College:—

1. Archaeology.
2. Vedic Sanskrit.
3. Anthropology.
4. Philosophy.
5. History.
6. Fine-Arts.
7. Marathi.
8. Hindi.
9. Arabic Persian.

As on the first day, Their Highnesses were present at some of the sectional meetings to listen to the Presidential addresses and important papers.

Simultaneously with the sectional meetings, the annual meetings of the Linguistic Society of India, and the Numismatic Society of India were held in the Baroda College.

2-0 P.M.—Light Refreshments were served to the delegates and members of the Conference on behalf of the Central Committee for Reception.

2-30 P.M.—Motor buses were provided to enable delegates to visit the Central Library, the Zaverkhana where the State jewels are kept, the Food Exhibition at the Nyayamandir Hall, and the Makarpura Palace. The delegates were very appreciative of this trip, and many of them in the course of their excursion visited the exhibition of Indian Paintings organised by the students of the Kala Bhavan Technical Institute of Baroda.

4-0 P.M.—A meeting of the Executive Committee of the Indian Oriental Conference was held in the Baroda College, which was followed by a meeting of the Council in the College Central Hall. Proceedings of these meetings will appear later in the General Secretary's Report.

Garden Party of His Highness.

5-0 P.M.—A Garden Party was given by His Highness the Patron of the Seventh Session at the Motibag Palace grounds to which the delegates and members were invited. The party, which was largely attended, was a very successful function. Many delegates utilized the occasion to visit the Durbar Hall at the Laxmi Vilas Palace in which the gold throne was specially set out.

Closing Session.

6-0 P.M.—The closing Plenary Session was held at the Baroda College when Sir V. T. Krishnamachari, the Minister, delivered his valedictory Address. The Address is printed along with the proceedings and the General Secretary's report (see below). His Highness the Maharaja Saheb was present at the meeting and in reply to the expressions of gratitude from the speakers made a very effective and moving extempore speech.

Lantern Lecture.

7-0 P.M.—Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi of the Calcutta University delivered the fourth lantern lecture of the Series on the Cultural Relation of India with Central Asia. His Highness the Maharaja Saheb was present at the meeting. Before the lecture terminated, the President invited Dr. Pran Nath to show his slides on the Mohenjo Daro Script.

Simultaneously another very interesting lantern lecture the fifth of the Series, was delivered in a room of the College by M. R. Ry. S. Paramasiva Aiyar, Avl. on 'Science in the service of Archæology' and showed how the latest discoveries of Radium, Violet Rays, X-Rays, etc. help an archæologist a great deal in fixing the age of ancient finds and to distinguish them from spurious imitations.

The Sanskrit Drama 'Mālavikāgnimitra'.

9-15 P.M.—The Sanskrit Drama 'Mālavikāgnimitra' was staged at the Lakshmi Pratap Theatre by the students of the Baroda College who were trained by Professors G. H. Bhatt and S. S. Bhave. The performance was very successful and much appreciated by the large audience. Mr. V. P. Vaidya, Drs. P. M. Modi and Har Dutt Sharma kindly consented to act as judges for the distribution of three medals to three of the most successful actors. At the conclusion of the performance the President after a brief speech which was most encouraging to the students and the organisers alike, distributed the prizes to (1) Mr. V. M. Joshi, (2) Mr. K. R. Salvi and (3) Mr. B. V. Bedarkar who played the parts of Vidūṣaka, Mālavikā and Agnimitra respectively.

Saturday, the 30th December 1933.

11-0 A.M.—The Annual Meeting and reading of papers of the Numismatic Society of India were continued in the College premises.

6-0 P.M.—A lantern lecture on punch-marked coins was delivered by Babu Durga Prasad of Benares illustrating it with numerous slides of punch-marked coins, a collection of which he brought with him and exhibited before the members of the Numismatic Society. He expounded his new interpretations of them, and indicated the method by which these coins could be dated.

These two meetings were held under the auspices of the Seventh Session of the All-India Oriental Conference and were attended by scholars who were interested in the coins of ancient India. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, the President took an active part in the deliberations and also read a paper.

This brought the work of the Seventh Session to a close. Several prominent delegates were invited to dinner at the Lakshmi Vilas Palace given by His Highness the Maharaja Saheb the same night. Early next morning many of the delegates left some for their homes, others to see on their own account, places of archæological interest in the neighbourhood such as Dwaraka, Junagadh, Mount Abu, and Siddhpur.

Proceedings of the Sanskrit-Vedic section.

The business of the Sanskrit-Vedic Section commenced at 11 a m. on the 28th December, 1933 with Prof. Dr. Woolner in the Chair. Out of the list of papers referred to in the programme, all except two were actually received. The paper 'Home of the Kapiṣṭhalas' by Prof. Lachmidhar Shastri was transferred to this Section from the Anthropology Section. Thus in all there were 30 papers to be disposed of in this Section.

The President at the outset explained the procedure to be followed in connection with the work of the Section. He said that the papers of those who were absent would be taken as read. In case of papers the summaries of which were already published, he requested the writers to limit themselves to a few points which according to their opinion required emphasis or elucidation. The other papers were to be given time as it was available.

After the Presidential Address, 9 papers were read. There was valuable discussion on some of the points raised in the papers. At 2 p. m. the session was adjourned for the next day. The work of the Section was continued on 29-12-33 at 11 a. m. The remaining papers were read and the session terminated at 1-45 p. m.

B. C. LELE,
Secretary.

Proceedings of the Philology and Grammar section.

The President delivered his Presidential Address on the Present and Future of Linguistics, at 12 noon on the 28th December, 1933.

The reading of papers then began and the under-mentioned paper was taken up first.

Polyglottism in Ancient India. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, M. A., D.Litt.

After this the meeting adjourned for the next day.

On the 29th December the following papers were read in the order given:—

Homogeneity of letters in the Pāṇinian System, Mr. S. P. Chaturvedi, M. A., Vyākaraṇācārya.

The President raised some difficulties in connection with the subject, which were answered by the author.

The Kāśikā and the Kāvyālaṅkārasūtravṛtti, Mrs. Malati Sen.

As the authoress of the paper was absent, the President gave a resumé of the same and expressed satisfaction at the excellent manner in which the paper was written.

The Suffix-wālā in modern Indo-Aryan, Baburam Saksena, M. A., D.Litt.

As the author was absent, the President gave a summary of this paper too. Some discussions followed in which Prof. Bhave, Dr. Chatterjee and Prof. Chaturvedi took part and the President also offered his own remarks.

Studies in Burushaski Dialectology, Prof. Dr. Siddheswar Varma, M.A., Ph. D.

As this paper was very lengthy, as was but natural in the case of such difficult subject, the author gave short summaries of some of the important points therein. Keen interest was shown in the paper by the philologists present.

With the reading of President's paper the major part of the sectional work was over. Dr. S. K. Chatterjee then proposed a vote of thanks to the Chair. It was duly seconded by the Secretary and was passed amidst cheers. This brought the work of the Phiology Section to a close at 1-20 P. M. on the 29th December, 1933.

For the sake of convenience the meeting of the Philology Section met in the same room in which the Avesta-Iranian Section met by the consent of both the Presidents.

S. S. BHAVE,
Secretary.

Proceedings of the Anthropology, Ethnology and Mythology Section.

The business of the Anthropology Section commenced at 11 A. M. on the 28th and 29th December, 1933, with Rai Bahadur Sarat Chandra Roy in the Chair. The following papers were read :--

1.	Some Interesting forms of Divination,	Prof. F. C. Davar, M. A., LL. B.
2.	The Narmada Valley Civilization,	Mr. V. R. Karandikar, B. A.
3.	Distribution of Wealth in Ancient India,	Mr. N. G. Kalelkar, B. A. (Hons).
4.	Different Ethnic types as studied from Ancient Indian sculpture,	Rai Saheb M. Ghosh, M.A.
5.	The Social life of the Chodhras of Gujarat,	Mr. B. H. Mehta, M. A.
6.	The Sugalis,	Prof. R. Subba Rao, M. A., L. T., F. A. U.
7.	An aspect of Indian Belief,	Dr. Hema Chandra Ray, M. A, Ph. D.
8.	The Raṅkiṇī Cult,	Dr. Priyaranjan Sen, M. A., Ph. D.
9.	Virgin Birth and Nativity,	Mr. Hiralal A. Shah.
10.	Gotra and Pravara in Vedic Literature,	Mr. P. V. Kane, M. A., LL. M.
11.	Serpent worship in Ancient India,	Rai Saheb M. Ghosh, M. A.

All other papers were taken as read.

The President delivered his Address on the 29th December and brought the session to a close at 1 P. M. on the same day.

There was some discussion on the papers marked 1, 9 and 10.

M. A. BUCH.
Secretary.

Proceedings of the Philosophy and Religion Section.

The sectional business of the Philosophy and Religion Section commenced at 11 A. M. on the 28th and 29th December, 1933 with Principal A. B. Dhruva in the Chair. The following papers were read :—

No.	Title	Author
1.	The Hindu system of Morality; or the Philosophy of the Guṇas, Satva, Rajas and Tamas,	Mr. S. V. Majumdar, B. A., LL.B.
2.	Origin of the Bhakti Cult,	Mr. R. K. Prabhu.
3.	The Arctic background of the conceptions of Māyā, Sat, Asat, Puruṣa, Prakṛti, etc.,	Do.
4.	The Doctrine of the Bhagavadgītā ; a Triad of the three Dyads,	Dr. P. M. Modi, M. A., Ph. D.
5.	The Leśyā Doctrine,	Prof. A. N. Upadhye, M. A.
6.	Evolution of Vijñānavāda,	Principal Vidhushekhara Bhattacharyya.
7.	A little stock-taking in Oriental Philosophy,	Mr. S.G. Bhalerao, B. Ag.
8.	Meaning of Smṛti in the Smṛtipāda of Brahma-Sūtras (II. 1): the Bhagavadgītā or a similar work, not a Sāṅkhya work,	Dr P. M. Modi, M. A., Ph. D.
9.	Dṛṣṭāntas in the Brahma-Sūtra,	Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., Ph. D.
10.	Gītādharmakaumudī.	Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale, B. A., LL. B.
11.	Viṣṇusvāmin and Vallabhācārya,	Prof. G. H. Bhatt, M.A.
12.	Ethics in the Upaniṣads and Modern Life,	Prof. A. K. Trivedi, M.A., LL. B.
13.	Leibnitz and Vallabha on Personality,	Mr. U. J. Trivedi, M. A.
14.	Word 'Īśvara' and its idea,	Dr. M. D. Shastri, M. A., Ph. D.

The President, Principal A. B. Dhruva gave an oral Address on the 29th December, 1933.

The Section terminated its work by a vote of thanks to the Chair proposed by Prof. Bhatt and seconded by Dr. Modi.

A. K. TRIVEDI.
Secretary.

Proceedings of the History and Chronology Section.

The sectional business of the History and Chronology Section opened at 11 A.M. on Thursday, the 28th December, 1933, when Mahāmahopādhyāya Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar Hirachand Ojha presided.

Papers were read as shown below :—

1.	The Yavanas identified,	Pandit Lachhmidhar Kalla Shastri M. A., M. O. L.
2.	The Ancient Lattalura and Modern Lātur,	Mr. G. H. Khare.
3.	The initial year of the little-known Eastern Gaṅga Era,	Mr. R. Subba Rao, M A., L. T., F. A. U.
4.	The Administrative History of the Reign of Anantavarman Coḍa Gaṅga (A. D. 1096–1147)	Do
5.	Mayūraśarman, the founder of the Kadamba Dynasty and the Pallavas of Kāñcī,	Rev. H. Heras, S. J.
6.	Early History of Kauśāmbi as is available from literary, numismatic and archæological sources,	Mr. N. N. Ghosh, M. A., L.T.
7.	The origin and Early History of the Family of the Gaekwads of Baroda,	Mr. Jal Pestonji Birdy, M. A.

Mr. R. Subba Rao explained his paper by illustrations on the black-board.

Discussion of the papers being invited by the President, Rev. H. Heras stressed the importance of proper identification of ancient places like Laṭṭalura of Mr. Khare's paper.

The session adjourned at 2 P. M.

The adjourned session of the Historical section of the Conference opened next day at 12-30 when the President, Mahāmahopādhyāya G. H. Ojha, read his address in the presence of H. H. the Maharani Saheba and a large and distinguished audience.

The following papers were then read before the Section.

1. The Indian Emperor, contemporary of Augustus, — Mr. Jayachandra Vidyālaṅkāra.
2. Early Indian History with correct dates found in Skandapurāṇa, — Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya, B.A., LL. B.
3. Gujarat in Mediæval Times, — Mr. V. R Talvalkar, A. R. I. B. A.
4. Maratha Vakils with the British at Bombay, Calcutta and Madras in the 18th Century, — Mr. D. B. Dishkalkar, M. A.
5. The Śivayoga-sāramu and its historical value, — Mr. M. Rama Rao M. A., B. Ed.
6. Forts of Ancient India, — Rai Saheb Manoranjan Ghosh, M. A.
7. Khāravela, — Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, M. A., D. Litt.
8. A Great Gujarati at the court of Delhi, — Prof. K. H. Kamdar, M. A.

The following papers were taken as read, as the respective authors were absent.

1. The Pullalore Battle of Pallava Mahendravarman I. — Mr. T. N. Subramaniam
2. Note on Uragapuram, — Do.
3. Sidelight on the history of the Maukharis, — Mr. Sant Lall Katare, M. A.

4.	Early Hindu Colonization in Malaya Peninsula upto the 7th century A. D.,	Dr. R. C. Majumdar, M. A., Ph. D.
5.	Who is the mysterious Chandra of the Delhi Iron Pillar inscription?	Mr. A. V. Venkataramayya, M. A., L. T.
6.	The Early History of the Gāhaḍavāla Dynasty,	Dr. Dhirendra Chandra Ganguli, M.A., Ph. D.
7.	A Neglected Source of Moghal History (1526-1707).	Prof. Sri Ram Sharma, M. A., F. R. H. S.
8.	The date of Tīvaradeva,	Prof. V. V. Mirashi, M.A.

The session terminated with a vote of thanks to the President and the Sectional Secretary.

K. H. KAMDAR,
Secretary.

Proceedings of the Archæology, Epigraphy and Numismatics Section.

The Sectional meeting commenced at 11–45 A. M. on Thursday the 28th December, 1933 with Mr. Ghulam Yazdani, Director of Archæology, Hyderabad (Deccan) in the Chair.

Their Highnesses were present at the time of Mr. Yazdani's Presidential Address and they listened to part of the paper read by Rai Saheb M. Ghosh, which was taken up first.

The following papers were read in part on Thursday :—

1.	The Seleucidan Emperors: Their coins and coin imitations in Ancient India,	Dr. S. K. Chakrabortty, M.A., Ph. D.

Mr. Saunders put some questions which were answered.

2.	A study of Early Indian Terracottas of Pāṭaliputra, Buxar and Mathurā,	Rai Saheb M. Ghosh, M. A.

3. The first known grant of Kharagraha I. Virdi Copper-plate Grant of G. E. 297,	Mr. A. S. Gadre, M. A.
4. History of Coinage in Gujarat, 5. Coins of the Early Delhi Sultans,	Mr. G. V. Acharya, B. A.
6. A scrutiny of the coins struck in the name of Shah Alam II,	Mr. R. S. Gyani, M. A.

Objections raised by Khwaja Muhammad were replied to by the author.

7. Antiqnities of Gujarat,	Mr. V. R. Talvalkar, A.R.I.B.A.
8. Buddhistic remains in Berar,	Mr. Y. K. Deshpande, M.A., LL.B.

Thursday's session closed at 1-40 P. M.

Friday's sitting commenced at 11-20 A.M. The following papers were partially read:—

9. Ondurū Copper-plate Grant of Emperor Mallikārjuna of Vijayanagara of 1456 A. D.,	Mr. A. S. Gadre, M. A.

Questions were put by Mr. Bhattasali.

10. A note on certain copper-plates found at Gaonri in Narwhal Estate near Ujjain,	Mr. K. N. Dikshit, M. A.

Read only in summary as the paper was not received. Questions were put by Mr. H. C. Roy and Mr. R. Subba Rao.

11. Antiquities of Pudur,	Mr. M. Rama Rao, M. A., B. Ed.

Questions were put by Prof. Somayajulu.

12. Rare and important Coins of Baihmani Kings,	Mr. Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad.

Coins were exhibited by the author.

13. Two New Copper-Plate Inscriptions of Vijayāditya,	Mr. R. Subba Rao, M. A., L.T., F.A.U.

Prof. Somayajulu put questions. The author gave satisfactory answers.

14.	The Copper-plate Grant of Amreli,	Mr. Prataprai Girdharlal Mehta.
15.	Location of Krishna's Capital Dvārāvatī,	Mr. N. K. Bhattasali, M. A.

Some gentleman supported the author.

Other papers were taken as read.

The President summarising congratulated the authors on the high standard of scholarship displayed by them and thanked the audience. The Section closed at 1-10 P. M.

C. V. JOSHI,
Secretary.

Proceedings of the Fine-Arts, Architecture and Iconography Section.

The first meeting of the Fine-Arts Section was held at 12-5 hours on Thursday, the 28th December, 1933, with Mr. N. C. Mehta, the famous art critic in the Chair. Their Highnesses had kindly graced the occasion with their presence. His Excellency the Dewan Saheb also attended the meeting. The President in his eloquent speech sketched out the development of the different schools of Fine-Arts in India, and explained the real meaning of Fine-Arts. The speech lasted for about three quarters of an hour.

The following papers were then read.

1.	A Golden Image of Tara,	Mr. S. Ganguli.
2.	A queer and unknown requisite of ancient temples in Dvārakā and its surroundings (or ancient stone tubs at Dvārakā),	Mr. Kalyanrai N. Joshi, B. A.
3.	Ancient Sanskrit works on Indian Music and its present practice,	Mr. M. R. Telang.
4.	Significance of Nārī-Kuñjara pictures,	Mr. M. R. Majumdar, M. A., LL.B.

The meeting was then adjourned for the next day.

The second meeting was held at 11-30 A.M. on the 29th December, 1933 when Sir V. T. Krishnamachariar, the Minister was present. After the remarkable speech made by the President, which lasted for more than half an hour, on the real function of Fine-Art a practical demonstration of Viṇā Vādana was given by Mr. Telang. The hall was quite full and many persons had to go back disappointed owing to lack of accommodation.

The following papers were then read.

1. A new specimen of Kārttikeya from Rajahmundry. — Mr. P. Subba Rao, M.A., L. T., F. A. U.
2. A preliminary note on the newly discovered Kurkihar finds, — Mr. K. C. Sarkar, M. A., B. L.
3. Buddhist monasteries of Kathiawar in the Valabhī period, — Mr. D. B. Dishkalkar, M. A.
4. The Vaidyanātha and Nakuleśvara of Kārvan, — Mr. G. K. Shrigondekar, M. A.
5. An unpublished Naṭarāja sculpture of the period of Rājendra Cola I, — Mr. Ajit Ghosh, M. A.
6. Two illustrated MSS, of Bālagopāla Stuti and a third of Daśama Skandha, — Mr. M. R. Majmudar, M. A., LL. B.

Other papers were taken as read as their authors were not present. The meeting terminated when the Sectional business was over.

V. V. VADNERKAR,
Secretary.

Proceedings of the Avesta and Iranian Section.

The business of the Avesta and Iranian Section commenced at 11 A.M. on the 28th December, 1933. with Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala in the Chair. The following four papers were read at this Sectional meeting, besides the Presidential

Address delivered by Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala. There was a large number of persons including many educated Parsi ladies and gentlemen of Baroda, eager to attend the lecture of the learned President of this Section, and the hall was for the time being literally packed to overflowing with willing and admiring listeners.

1. Zend Avesta and Atharva Veda,	Prof. N. K. Venkatesam Pantulu, M. A., L. T.
2. The discovery of the affinity between Iranian and Indian languages,	Prof. Fida Ali Khan, M.A.
3. The Language of the Gāthās and its relation with that of the Younger Avesta.	Dr. Manilal Patel, Ph.D.

A short discussion, indeed the only discussion in this Sectional meeting, took place on the paper of Dr. Patel, in the course of which Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee pointed out the interesting parellel of Vedic and Classical Sanskrit. Prof. Aga Pour-e-Davoud, being otherwise engaged all the time, could not attend this meeting, and his paper, "Buddhism in Iranian literature and History" was therefore taken as read.

Dr. Otto Hansen read a paper which he did not submit to the Conference.

M. N. WADIA,
Secretary.

Proceedings of the Arabic and Persian Section.

The Arabic and Persian Section held its sitting on the 29th December, 1933 with Professor Aga Pour-e-Davoud in the Chair.

Out of the ten papers announced in the programme the following were read:—

1. Some observations on the Mirat-i-Ahmadi,	Dewan Bahadur K. M. Jhaveri, M.A., LL. B.
2. Sa'di's visit to Somnath,	Kazi Ahmadmian, Akhtar.
3. The controversy of Shakh-i-Nabat,	Prof. N. N. Bharucha, M. A.

4. Some stray thoughts on Omar Khayyam (with appendix),	Mr. J. E. Saklatwala.
5. What India owes to Central Asia in Islamic Architecture,	Mr. M. Abdulla Chughtai.

The following papers were neither read nor taken as read:—

1. The contents of the Tuh-Fatul-Hind,	Mr. Ziauddin.
2. A note on the development of Persian Music during the Pre-Islamic age,	Mr. F. M. Shuja, M. A., M. Sc., A. R. P. S.
3. Hafiz, the greatest bard in the whole range of Persian poetry,	Do.

Prof. Dr. Muhammad Iqbal changed the subject and read a new paper entitled "Another possible criterion for judging the genuine collections of the Rubaiyyat of Khayyam."

Dr. Abdul Haq read his paper on "Abbasid Raids on the Roman Territory mentioned in the Diwan of Abu Tammam" which was presented by him at the meeting.

Dr. M. Nizamuddin then explained "The five epochs of Persian literature".

When the business of the Section was over, the session terminated after a vote of thanks to the President and the scholars assembled.

M. A. KAZI,
Secretary.

Proceedings of the Marathi Section.

The meeting of the Marathi Section was held at 11 A.M. on the 29th December, 1933. Dr. S. V. Ketkar was in the Chair.

Prof. V. P. Dandekar read his paper on "Where Marathi meets Gujarati." The paper was appreciated by the audience.

After the paper was read, Dr. Ketkar made a suggestion that investigations should be made regarding the Śanimāhātmya which is distinctly of Gujarati origin.

Then Mr. Y. K. Deshpande of Amraoti, spoke on the history of the Mahānubhāvīya literature.

Then followed a very instructive lecture from the President himself. He spoke for half an hour.

After the Presidential Address was over Prof. Divekar of the Victoria College, Gwalior, read his paper on "चांगदेव वटेश्वराचा तत्त्वसार". Prof. Divekar had found out this very rare manuscript of Chāṅgadeva's तत्त्वसार from a grocer at Gwalior. This paper was also much appreciated by the audience.

Then Mr. V. R. Karandikar read his paper on "नर्मदाकांठची प्राचीन संस्कृति." While reading the paper he referred to the excavations which he had made near the Narmada. A resolution was passed requesting the Oriental Conference to take such steps as would expedite the work of this research.

Lastly, Prof. C. N. Joshi read his paper on "A few thoughts on Kanarese and some other words from Jñāneśvarī."

The proceedings terminated at 2 P. M. on the same day.

V. P. DANDEKAR.
Secretary.

Proceedings of the Hindi Section.

The Hindi Section met under the Presidentship of the distinguished Buddhist monk Rev. Rahula Sankrityayana on the 29th December, 1933 at 11 hours.

Prof. Lalitaprasad of the Calcutta University read a paper on the Modern Hindi Poets.

His paper was a well-studied document on the subject. He was given 20 minutes for his paper, but as he could not finish it within the time limit, he read only upto the advent of Bhāratendu Harishchandra. He did not submit his paper and took it with him.

He was followed by Pandit Atrideva Vidyālaṅkāra who read his paper on the "Merits of Āyurveda".

Mr. Krishna Sewak read his paper on "Mādhavānala-kāma-kandalā."

Mr. V. P. Gautam read his paper on the "Life of Thakur Jagmohan Singh, a renowned poet of Hindi."

Mr. Bhajanlal read his paper on "Vedic Origin of Gotras."

After this the President delivered his Presidential Address.

Prof. D. N. Rania, Muni Himansuvijayaji, Muni Punja Suri could not attend and hence their papers were taken as read.

Afterwards the President read at length his extensive paper on " Buddhism in Tibet " which was a masterly document on the subject.

Mr. Hari Govil who was also present at the meeting was asked by the President to explain his Hindi Linotype discovery. Mr. Govil explained at length his method and proved convincingly how his machine would revolutionise Hindi newspaper printing. The audience asked certain questions which the lecturer answered satisfactorily.

With a vote of thanks to the Chair the proceedings came to a close at 2 P.M.

ANANDAPRIYA ATMARAM,
Secretary.

Proceedings of the Urdu Section.

The meeting of the Urdu Section of the Seventh All-India Oriental Conference was held at 11 A.M. on Thursday the 28th December, 1933 when Moulvi Abdul Haq of Hyderabad occupied the Presidential Chair. The President, then called upon the authors to read their respective papers which were taken up in the following order :—

1. The Art of Warāqat in Abbaside times, — Kazi Ahmedmian Akhtar.
2. Vowel signs in Urdu and Urdu Curriculum, — M. U. Nazim Ansari.

3. Misunderstandings about the Life and Poetry of Sauda,	Shaikh Chand.
4. Muslim dress in North Gujarat,	Kazi Nuruddin Hussain.

None of the above papers elicited any discussion on any point.

The President delivered his Address at 12-30 hours which lasted for an hour and then the meeting terminated.

M. F. M. LOKHANDWALA,
Secretary.

Proceedings of the Gujarati Section.

The business of the Section commenced in the Central Hall at 11-15 A. M. on the 28th December, with Mr. V. P. Vaidya in the Chair. Out of the 18 papers announced in the programme 9 were read out in the following order :—

1. The Comedy of Art,	Dr. R. K. Yajnik, M.A., Ph. D.
2. The world as viewed by the Suddhādvaita school,	Prof. J. G. Shah, M.A.
3. Gurjara Deśa and Gurjara Jāti,	Mr. Durgashankar K. Shastri.
4. The Historic Family of Ministers in Gujarat History,	Pandit Lalchand B. Gandhi.
5. Gujarati in Relation to Marathi,	Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya, M.A., LL.B.
6. Use of Vṛttas (Syllabic metres) by old Gujarati Poets,	Mr. Bhogilal J. Sandesarā.
7. Mediæval writers of Gujarat,	Mr. S. S. Oza, M.A.
8. Old Gujarati Works on Ethics,	Mr. M. R. Majmudar, M.A., LL. B.
9. System of Ancient Education,	Mr. M. P. Vaidya, M.A., B. T.

The President made a short speech, wherein he referred to the original aims and objects of the All-India Oriental

Conference, and said that it was for the first time that Gujarati was forming into a Section of the Conference. To make a close search of our ancient history and to derive benefits from that hidden knowledge about our past were the chief aims of the Conference. The Gujarati Section is, according to his understanding, framed for those workers, who even though debarred from the knowledge of English, are doing excellent work in the field of original research, as is seen in Rajputana, Maharashtra and elsewhere. It appears, however, that because some of the papers were written in Gujarati they were transferred to the Gujarati Section. In some of the papers read out in the Section there was direct reference to Historical research; but what was expected was more response from Gujarati scholars and students of Gujarati culture. He further referred to the mines of invaluable historical material which deserved to be unearthed, from the ancient sites like Abu, Girnar, Dwarka, Vadnagar and the like within the limits of Gujarat.

The President thanked all those present, and closed the work of the Section at 1 P. M.

M. R. MAJMUDAR,
Secretary.

Proceedings of the Pandita Parishad.

The Pandita Parishad of the Seventh All-India Oriental Conference met at the Tarakeshwar Temple Hall, Baroda at 8 A.M. on the 28th and 29th December, 1933. Several Pandits were present at the Parishad from several places of India as well as from Baroda.

The President Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M.A., Bar-at-law and several members and delegates of the Conference and many other prominent persons of the city including Shrimant Sampat Rao Gaekwad, Mr. Gopal Krishna Dandekar, B. A., LL.B., Chief Judge of the Baroda High Court and others were present. At the outset, Pandit K. S. Ramaswami Shastri welcomed the Pandits and Members of the Conference and recalled the immemorial co-operation that existed in India

of the Poets and Pandits with the Kings such as Vikramāditya, Hāla, Śātavāhana, Harṣa, Bhoja, and the Peshwas of Poona, and described the nature of the present Parishad invited under the patronage of His Highness the Maharaja Sayaji Rao III, Gaekwad of Baroda. He also requested all Pandits assembled there to take part in discussion on the 21 papers to be read in the Parishad and to consider the resolutions to be brought before them for the betterment of the Pandita Parishad of the Conference, and for the recognition of traditional learning at the hands of the University authorities.

Pandit Lakshminath Shastri, then proposed the name of Pandit Mahāmahopādhyāya Hathibhai Shastri for the Presidential Chair. The proposal was duly seconded and supported by Pandits Embar Krishnamacharya and Sridhar Shastri Pade respectively, and carried amidst acclamation.

Mahāmahopādhyāya Hathibhai Shastri, then occupied the Gadi specially prepared for the President and delivered the Presidential Address. This Address in Sanskrit is printed under the Pandita Parishad Section.

The President of the Conference Mr. K. P. Jayaswal left the Hall wishing success to the Pandita Parishad at 8-30 A.M. Out of the 21 papers placed before the Pandita Parishad only six were read in the following order:—

1.	Vedānām Apauruṣeyatvam,	Pt. Manishankar V. Upadhyaya.
2.	Samudrayātuḥ Saṁvyavahāryatā,	Pt. Vitthalram Lallurām Shastri.
3.	Advaita - Ātmadarśana-samīkṣā,	Pt. Amritlal Sharma, Vedānta-Vyākaraṇatīrtha.
4.	Nityavijñāna-Kṣaṇikavijñānavādayorantaram,	Pt. Embar Krishnamacharya.
5.	Vyākaraṇamahābhāṣyagatānāṁ Bhaugolikasthānānāṁ Saṅgrahaḥ,	Pt. G. G. Trivedi, Vyākaraṇācārya.
6.	Yogābhyāsasya-Āvaśyakatā,	Pt. Girija Shankar Shastri.

At 10-30 A.M. the Pandita Parishad adjourned for the next day.

The following papers were taken up on the 29th December:—

No.	Paper	Author
7.	Sāmājikadharmaḥ,	Pt. Hiralal Sharma Shastri.
8.	Pramāṇasāmānyalakṣaṇa-vicāraḥ,	Pt. Embar Krishnama-charya.
9.	Is Kanarese a Mleccha dialect?	Principal H. Yoganarasi-ham, M. A.
10.	Viśiṣṭādvaitasvarūpam,	Pt. Raghuvaracharya.
11.	Madhvasiddhāntavimarśaḥ,	Pt. Rangacharya Raddi Shastri.
12.	Bhāratadharmetihāsatvam,	Tarkatīrtha Laksman Shastri Joshi.
13.	Adhyāsaḥ,	Pt. Bhargawa Shastri.

At 10 A. M. a group photo of all Pandits was taken after garlanding the President and presenting flowers to the assembled Pandits.

The President of the Parishad then read his paper entitled "प्राचीनद्वारम्"

The President of the Parishad, Pandits Embar Krishnama-charya, Chhotu Maharaj Shastri, Lakshman Shastri Joshi and others took part in the discussions of the papers 1–4, 7, 11 and 12 and all other papers were read without discussion.

The following papers were taken as read as the authors were not present at the meeting:—

No.	Paper	Author
1.	Śaṅkara and his philoso-phy in the epics, the purāṇas and other literary works,	Prof. N. K. Venkatesam Pantulu, M. A., L. T.
2.	Śaṅkarapādabhūṣaṇam,	Principal V. G. Apte, B.A.
3.	Jaiminikṛta–Pūrvamīmāṁ-sāsūtram,	Punja Suri.
4.	Darśanadigdarśanālokaḥ,	Pt. Rupanath Jha, Tarkā-cārya.
5.	Dharmaḥ,	Pt. Sripad Shastri.
6.	Śaṅkarāvatāra – upabṛ-hmaṇam,	Pt. T. V. Ramachandra Dikshitar, Śiromaṇi.

Then the President moved the following three resolutions and requested all Pandits to show their willingness to pass the resolutions by raising their hands. All Pandits raised their hands without exception and the three resolutions were unanimously carried.

The three resolutions in Sanskrit and English are given below.

RESOLUTIONS.

(१) इयं भारतीयसप्तमप्राच्यविद्याविपश्चित्सम्मेलने समुपस्थिता पण्डितपरिषत् सम्मेलनाध्यक्षमहोदयं प्रार्थयते यथा–इतो भाविसम्मेलनेषु विभागान्तराणीव पण्डितपरिषदपि सम्मेलनान्तर्गतविभागेष्वन्यतमतया गणनीया । तथा तेषामिवास्या अपि सर्वा व्यवस्था पूर्वमेव करणीया । परिषदि च पण्डितैः संस्कृतप्राकृतसाहित्यदर्शनादीनां स्वरूपविवेचनपरनिबन्धवाचनेन साकं अध्ययनाध्यापनक्रमविशेषोन्नयनादिकं च निर्णेतव्यम् । तदुचिताश्च नियमा अध्यक्षमहोदयेन सम्मेलननियमेषु संकलनीयाः ॥ इति ॥

Resolution No. 1. This assembly of Pandits gathered at the Seventh Session of the All–India Oriental Conference requests the General President that in future, the Pandita Parishad may be considered as one of the sections of the Conference, and all its arrangements may be previously done, and Pandits may be requested to send their contributions in Sanskrit, discussing the nature and utility of various Shastras and to suggest the way of improving the study of Sanskrit and Prakrit literature. It also requests the President to make necessary provisions for this in the rules of the Conference.

(२) इयं भारतीयसप्तमप्राच्यविद्याविपश्चित्सम्मेलने समुपस्थिता पण्डितपरिषत् भारतवर्षे प्रचलितस्य संस्कृतप्राकृतसाहित्यदार्शनिकनिबन्धानां चिरन्तनाभ्यासक्रमस्य संरक्षणविषये मुंबईविश्वविद्यालयेनैतावताऽपि कालेन क्रियमाणमनादरं विलोक्य सुतरां विषण्णा प्रार्थयते तदीयाध्यक्षमहोदयं यथा–विश्वविद्यालयान्तरैरिवास्मिन्नपि "मुंबई" विश्वविद्यालये प्राचीनसंस्कृतविद्याभ्याससंरक्षणायाध्येयग्रन्थसूचीं तदनुसारेण शिक्षयतो विद्यालयस्य निरीक्षणं तत्र प्राप्तशिक्षाणां पदवीदानं च कृत्वा साऽपि विद्या संरक्षणीयेति । अथ च एवं प्राप्तपदवीकानां पण्डितानां यथोचितमाङ्ग्लसंस्कृतपाठशालासु अध्यापकतया नियोजनायापि नियमाः कर्तव्या इति ॥

Resolution No. 2. This assembly of Pandits gathered at the Seventh Session of the All-India Oriental Conference regrets

to see the indifference shown by the Bombay University towards the traditional learning of Sanskrit Literature, as it existed in this country, and requests the Vice-Chancellor of the University, that like other Universities provision may be made in the Bombay University to recognize the traditional learning by preparing a course of study in each Shastra, by affiliating Sanskrit Colleges and Pathashalas adopting the same course, by conferring suitable degrees on students successful in the examinations conducted by the University and by making provision to appoint these degree-holders as teachers in Colleges and English and Sanskrit Schools according to their merits.

(३) इयं भारतीयसप्तमप्राच्यविद्याविपश्चित्सम्मेलने समुपस्थिता पण्डितपरिषत् सप्तमप्राच्यविद्याविपश्चित्सम्मेलनस्थानीयतन्त्रिमहोदयं सामान्यतन्त्रिमहोदयं च प्रार्थयते यथा इमौ निर्णयौ पण्डितपरिषदा सर्वसम्मतिपूर्वकमङ्गीकृतौ ॥ तौ च सम्मेलनप्रमुखमहोदयस्य तदङ्गभूतनियमकारिसभायाश्च पुरतः स्थापनीयौ ॥ तथा द्वितीयनिर्णयः सम्मेलनप्रमुखमहोदयसम्मतिमनुरुध्य मुंबईविश्वविद्यालयाध्यक्षमहोदयाय मुंबईप्रान्तराजकीयविद्याविभागाध्यक्षमहोदयाय च प्रेषणीय इति ॥

Resolution No. 3. This assembly of Pandits at the Seventh Session of the All-India Oriental Conference, requests the Local Secretary and the General Secretary of the Conference, that these two resolutions, unanimously adopted by the Pandita Parishad may be placed before the President in Council for approval, and that a copy of the second resolution may be sent through the President to the Vice-Chancellor of Bombay University and the Director of Public Instruction, Bombay.

K. S. RAMASWAMI SHASTRI,
Secretary.

Report of the General Secretary.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD IN THE PROFESSORS' COMMON ROOM, THE COLLEGE, BARODA.

Thursday the 28th December, 1933.

8-30 A. M. to 10-30 A. M.

The following members of the Committee were present:-

1. K. P. Jayaswal Esq., M. A. (Oxon), Bar-at-Law, *President.*
2. Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., Ph.D., I.E.S., *General Secretary.*
3. Prof. A. C. Woolner, M.A., C.I.E., F.A.S.B., *Treasurer.*
4. Rai Bahadur Pandit Hiralal, C. I. E.
5. Principal Vidhushekhara Bhattacharyya.
6. Dr. Hiranand Shastri, M. A., M. O. L., D. Litt.
7. Dr. Hari Chand Shastri, M. A., D. Phil., D. Litt., I. E. S.
8. Prof. A. Haq, M. A.
9. Dr. B. Bhattacharyya M. A., Ph. D., *Local Secretary.*

The following business was transacted:—

I. Rai Bahadur Pandit Hiralal, President of the Sixth session of the Conference, submitted a printed copy of the Report and Proceedings of that Conference, including an audited statement of the accounts: *resolved* that the same be adopted and recorded.

II. Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, the General Secretary of the Conference communicated the acceptance, already decided upon by Circular, of the resignation by Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar of the office of the General Secretary of the Conference: *resolved* to formally record the same.

III. Mr. K.P. Jayaswal *moved from the Chair* a vote of sincere thanks to Dr. S. K. Aiyangar for the valuable services that he rendered to the Conference as one of its General Secretaries since 1926, which was *passed unanimously*.

IV. *Resolved* (a) that the price of the Patna Report be Rs. 10 per copy; (b) that 600 copies of the Report, left over after distribution of the copies amongst members, donors, and delegates, be sent to the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona for sale; and (c) that copies not exceeding 100 from out of these 600 copies be sent for review and publicity purposes by the Institute, the postage and other expenses in that connection being defrayed out of the sale-proceeds due to the Conference.

V. *Resolved* to recommend to the Council that the Conference be moved, (a) to modify article 6 by raising the membership subscription to Rs. 10 in place of Rs. 5 and (b) to change the name of the Conference to "The All-India Oriental Conference."

VI. *Resolved* that *normally* the out-going Local Secretary of the Conference be appointed as a General Secretary for the incoming session.

VII. *Resolved* (a) that a sub-committee of the President, the Treasurer and the General Secretary of the Conference, with two co-opted members, be appointed to draft bye-laws for the conduct of the business of the Executive Committee and the General Council, for the election of the President and the Sectional Presidents (including forms for nomination and voting), and for the proper custody and management of the Conference Funds; (b) that Dr. S. K. Chatterjee, Calcutta and Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, Madras, be the two co-opted members of the Sub-Committee; and (c) that the Sub-Committee be reques-

ted to submit their proposals, for circulation amongst the members of the Executive Committee, within a period of four months.

VIII. *Resolved* that a Committee consisting of the following seven persons—

1. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, Chairman.
2. Dr. B. Bhattacharyya, Secretary.
3. Dr. Hari Chand Shastri.
4. Pandit V. Bhattacharyya.
5. Prof. A. Haq.
6. Dr. C. Kunhan Raja.
7. Mr. Subba Rao.

be appointed to go into the question of the bodies that have been hitherto invited to send delegates to the Conference and to make their recommendations in the matter, it being laid down as the guiding principle to be followed by the Committee that only *literary* bodies of the status of an Oriental College be normally deemed fit for being honoured with such invitation, thereby excluding municipal bodies, printing and publishing firms, and other associations of that type.

IX. *Resolved* with a view to reduce the costs of the sessions of the Conference, (a) that a sub-committee consisting of the President, the Treasurer and one of the General Secretaries of the Conference be appointed to open negotiations with possible publishers or academic societies that might, for a fixed subvention undertake the regular printing and publication of the Conference Reports on condition (i) that a certain number of copies (with off-prints to authors) are made available for free distribution among members and donors; and (ii) that the Conference, on its part, foregoes its claim for any sale-proceeds, but retains the copy-right in the publication; and (b) that the results of the

negotiations to circularised for sanction amongst the members of the Executive Committee.

X. *Resolved* that early steps be taken for the registration of the Conference as recommended by Resolution No. IV of the Patna Session of the Executive Committee held on 19-12-1930.

XI. Considered the proposals of Mr. P. C. Diwanji, M. A., LL. M. to appoint a sub-committee of the Conference to authoritatively settle and publish for the guidance of the Research Institutions and scholars of India, the canons of Oriental Research in its different branches; and as there appeared to be considerable divergence of opinion as to the possibility and the utility of authoritatively settling such canons by a body like the Indian Oriental Conference, *resolved* that the proposals be recorded.

XII. Considered the proposal of Dr. S. L. Joshi of Dartmouth College, Hanover, recommending the Conference to devise ways and means of counteracting misrepresentations of Indian Philosophy, Religion and Culture by scholars in Europe and America: *resolved* that the proposals be recorded.

XIII. Considered the proposals of Pandit R. A. Shastri recommending the Oriental Conference to devise ways and means of bringing out a revised Catalogus Catalogorum on the lines of Aufrecht's useful but somewhat antiquated Catalogus Catalogorum: *resolved* that, as it is necessary, by way of a preliminary step towards the carrying out of the plan, to prepare and publish an outline scheme of the project, detailing the materials, the method and the financial and literary requirements of the same, if some academic body (e. g. the University of Punjab) were to undertake this preliminary

task and later to carry on the project itself, the Executive Committee would recommend the General Council of the Oriental Conference to extend its hearty co-opeiation and moral support to the cause.

XIV Considered the question raised by the Local Secretary as to the necessity of fixing a date after which no members for the current session of the Conference be enrolled: *resolved* that while it was obvious that no member for a current session of the Conference can be enrolled after the last day of the session, it be left to the discretion of the Local Secretary as to whether and how soon before that date such enrolment be stopped.

XV. Considered the question as to the advisabitity of creating a class of student members and of visiting members, paying less than the full subscription, possessing no right to the free supply of the priced publications of the Conference, but otherwise admitted to the literary and semi-literary programme of the Conference: *resolved* that the matter be left entirely to the discretion of the Local Secretary.

XVI. *Resolved* that as practical difficulties are experienced in the matter of the co-option of 10 members to the Council under article 7 (c) of the existing constitution, it be recommended to the Council that the Conference be moved to make the following modifications in the same.

(1) add, after the word "Council" in line 2,

"Upon the recommendation of the Local Secretary and the Local Reception Committee"

(2) Change the word "Conference" in lines 3-4 to "Session".

XVII. *Resolved* that in anticipation of the sanction of the Conference for the above, the ten members to be co-opted on the current session of the Conference be :—

1. Shrimant Sampatrao Gaekwad
2. Rao Bahadur G. B. Ambegaokar
3. Mr. B. K. Bhate
4. Mr. V. R. Talvalkar
5. Dr. B. C. Lele
6. Prof. A. K. Trivedi
7. Prof. M. A. Kazi
8. Sahebzada Samshad Ahmed Khan
9. Mr. N. K. Dikshit
10. Prof. G. H. Bhatt.

XVIII. Considered the letter of Dr. Sylvain Levi of Paris, President of the Calcutta session of the Oriental Conference, addressed to the President of the Baroda Oriental Conference in the matter of the immediate necessity of recommending adequate steps (i) to prevent decay and dissipation of the most important remnants of the Sixth or Seventh century Buddhist MSS. buried under the debris of the old stūpa near Gilgit in Kashmir territory; (ii) to take early steps to make a complete and accurate list of all the MS. finds of the place ; and (iii) to respectfully draw the attention of the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir and Jammu to the necessity of placing the original MSS., or at least their rotograph copies in the hands of some competent scholars in India or outside, for a preliminary report of the finds and thereafter for properly editing the chief text : *resolved* that the President of the Conference be authorised to address on behalf of this

Conference a suitable memorial on the subject, with the help of a sub-committee consisting of:-

1. Rev. Rahula Sankrityayana
2. Mr. Madhusudan Koul Shastri
3. Prof. Dr. A. C. Woolner.
4. Dr. Harichand Shastri
5. General Secretary of the Conference.

XIX. *Resolved* that the President of the Conference be authorised, with the help of the sub-committee named below, to address a circular-letter to Governments, States, Universities and other literary and administrative bodies of a similar status to bring home to them the incalculable harm that is done to the country by allowing important MSS. and archæological finds to be by gift or sale removed out of India, and placed in the hands particularly of an individual scholar, library or association which maintains the policy of not lending its MSS. or other antiquities outside:—

1. Prof. A. C. Woolner
2. Dr. Ganganath Jha
3. Mr. G. Yazdani
4. General Secretary of the Conference.

XX. Considered the proposal of Mr. V. R. Karandikar of Satara regarding the need of establishing a Research Board to undertake a preliminary archæological survey of the Narmada Valley with a view to find vestiges of ancient settlements: *resolved* that in the event of a committee of the following persons being formed for the purpose, the Committee do recommend the Council to extend its co-operation and moral support to the Committee on the following conditions:—

(i) that the finances of the Committee be independent of the Conference, but that a responsible person like Sardar Kibe be appointed as the Treasurer of the Committee,

(ii) that Mr. V. R. Karandikar be the Secretary, and the Convener of the meeting who should see to it that no unskilled amatuer hands are permitted to undertake actual archæological explorations,

(iii) that regular annual reports of the work done (with a statement of accounts) are submitted to the Conference and published in the press for general information.

1. Rai Bahadur Hiralal, Katni
2. Shrimant Khase Saheb Pawar, Gwalior
3. Dewan Bahadur Nadkar, Dhar
4. Rao Bahadur Sardar M. V. Kibe, Indore
5. Dr. B. Bhattacharyya, Baroda
6. Mr. G. Yazdani, Hyderabad, (Deccan)
7. Mr. A. C. Woolner, Lahore
8. Mr. V. R. Karandikar
9. Archæological Superintendent of the Circle in question, (*Ex-officio*).

The meeting was adjourned to 4 p. m. Friday the 29th of December 1933.

MINUTES OF THE ADJOURNED MEETING OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE HELD IN THE PROFESSORS' COMMON ROOM, THE COLLEGE, BARODA.

Friday, the 29th December, 1933.

4 to 4–30 P.M.

The following members of the Committee were present:—

1. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M. A., (Oxon), Bar-at-Law, *Chairman.*
2. Dr. A. C. Woolner, M.A., Ph.D., I.E.S., *Treasurer.*
3. Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M.A., Ph.D., I.E.S., *Secretary.*
4. Dr. Harichand Shastri, M.A., D.Phil.
5. Rai Bahadur Hiralal, C.I.E.
6. Dr. Hiranand Shastri, M.A., M.O.L., D.Litt.
7. Dr. Subramania Iyer, M.A., Ph.D.
8. Principal V. Bhattacharyya.
9. Dr. L. Sarup, M.A., Ph.D.
10. Mr. V. P. Vaidya, B.A., J.P., Bar-at-Law.
11. Dr. B. Bhattacharyya, M.A., Ph.D., *Local Secretary.*

The following business was transacted :—

I. The General Secretary reported that two actual invitations were received for the eighth session of the All-India Oriental Conference: (a) from Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya on behalf of the Benares Hindu University and (b) from the Allahabad Archæological Society. The Secretary also reported that negotiations were going on with (c) the University of Dacca, (d) the Hyderabad State, and (e) the Mysore State, but it is not likely that a definite reply can come from (c) or (d), although a wire from (e) was expected but had not come to hand. Under the circumstances it was unanimously *resolved* to accept the invitation from the Benares Hindu University and to appoint Principal A. B. Dhruva as the Local Secretary of the Conference.

II. It was unanimously decided to appoint Dr. S. K, Belvalkar, Poona and Dr. B. Bhattacharyya of Baroda, as the General Secretaries of the Conference, and Dr. A. C. Woolner as the Treasurer.

III. Considered a letter from Prof. R. Subba Rao, pointing out the necessity of giving adequate representation to the Andhra University on the Executive Committee of the Conference: *resolved* that the letter be recorded and, as far as possible, given effect to in the elections to the Executive Committee, upon which it was necessary to give adequate representation to 11 or 12 major Universities (Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Allahabad, Punjab, Patna, Dacca, Benares, Osmania, Mysore, Nagpur and Andhra), with nine Provinces (Bengal, Bombay, Madras, United Provinces, Punjab, Bihar & Orissa, Central Provinces, Andhra and Tamil), eight major States (Baroda, Mysore, Hyderabad, Southern Mahratta States, South Indian States, Rajputana States, Gwalior and Kashmir), six or seven major languages (Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi, Hindi, Urdu,

South Indian languages, Avesta-Pehlavi), besides making room for ex. office-bearers (i. e. Presidents).

IV. *Resolved* that after carefully weighing all the considerations mentioned in Resolution 3 above the following 14 names be recommended to the Council for being elected to the Executive Committee of the Conference :—

1. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Shastri, M. A., I. E. S., Madras
2. Rai Bahadur Hiralal, C. I. E., Katni
3. Pandit V. Bhattacharyya, Shantiniketan
4. Dr. Hiranand Shastri, M.A., M.O.L., D. Litt., Nilgiris
5. Dr. A. Haq, B. Litt., D. Phil., Hyderabad
6. Principal A. B. Dhruva, M.A., LL.B., Benares
7. Dr. Harichand Shastri M. A., D. Phil., Patna
8. Rai Saheb Shyam Sundar Das, Benares
9. Mr. G. Yazdani, M. A., Hyderabad
10. Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala, Ph. D., Andheri
11. Mr. C. V. Vaidya, M. A., LL. B., Poona
12. Dr. S. K. De, M. A., Ph. D., Dacca
13. Rev. Father H. Heras, S. J., Bombay
14. Dr. Sir S. Radhakrishnan

V. *Resolved* that a vote of sincere thanks be recorded in favour of the last Executive Committee, and especially in favour of such members of the old Committee as may not be elected to the new Executive Committee.

MINUTES OF THE MEETING OF THE COUNCIL HELD IN THE CENTRAL HALL, BARODA COLLEGE.

Friday, 29th December, 1933.

4-30--P. M.

The following members were present at the opening of the Council meeting :—

Mr. K. P. Jayaswal. (*Chairman*)
Dr. S. K. Belvalkar.
Dr. A. C. Woolner.
Fr. H. Heras.
Mr. V. P. Vaidya.
Rai Bahadur Hiralal.
Dr. Hiranand Shastri.
Dr. Harichand Shastri.
Dr. A. Haq.
Pt. V. Bhattacharyya.
Mr. Viseswarnath Reu.
Dr. Har Dutt Sharma.
Prof. Subramania Iyer.
Dr. Lakshman Sarup.
Mr. Ajit Ghosh.
Mr. R. Subba Rao.
Mr. P. C. Diwanji.
Kaji Mohomed Ahmad.
Dr. Nizamuddin.
Dr. B. Bhattacharyya.

Other members joined on while the business was proceeding. The following resolutions were then adopted :—

I. That, as recommended by the Executive Committee, the following ten persons be co-opted members of the Council :—

1. Shrimant Sampatrao Gaekwad.
2. Rao Bahadur G. B. Ambegaokar.
3. Mr. B. K. Bhate.
4. Mr. V. R. Talvalkar.
5. Dr. B. C. Lele.
6. Prof. A. K. Trivedi.
7. Prof. M. A. Kazi.
8. Sahebzada Samshad Ahmed Khan.
9. Mr. N. K. Dikshit.
10. Prof. G. H. Bhatt.

II. That, as recommended by the Executive committee, in its Resolution No. V (a) the name of the Conference be changed from "Indian Oriental Conference" to "All-India Oriental Conference"; and (b) that the membership subscription of the Conference per session be raised from Rs. 5 to Rs. 10.

(The first part of the Resolution was passed unanimously and the last by an overwhelming majority.)

III. That, as recommended by the Executive Committee Resolution No. XVI, the following minor modifications in article 7 (c) be made :- -

(i) add, after the word "Council" in line 2,

"Upon the recommendation of the Local Secretary and the Local Reception Committee"

(ii) change the word 'Conference' in lines 3–4 to 'Session'

IV. That, the Executive Committee's resolution No. XVIII concerning the Gilgit finds be approved and adopted as the Resolution of the Council, viz.

"Considered the letter of Dr. Sylvain Levi of Paris, President of the Calcutta Session of the Oriental Conference, addressed to the President of the Baroda Conference in the matter of the immediate necessity of recommending adequate steps (i) to prevent decay and dissipation of the most important remnants of the Sixth or Seventh Century Buddhist MSS. buried under the debris of the old stūpa near Gilgit in Kashmir territorry; (ii) to take early steps to make a complete and accurate list of all the MS. finds of the place; and (iii) to respectfully draw the attention of the Govt. of His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir and Jammu to the necessity of placing the original MSS. or at least their rotograph copies in the hands of some competent scholars in India or outside, for a preliminary report of the finds and thereafter for properly editing the chief text. Resolved that the President of the Conference be authorised to address

on behalf of this Conference a suitable memorial on the subject, with a help of a sub-committee consisting of :--

1. Rev. Rahula Sankrityayana.
2. Mr. Madhusudan Koul Shastri.
3. Prof. Dr. A. C. Woolner.
4. Dr. Harichand Shastri.
5. General Secretary of the Conference.

V. That the Executive Committee's resolution No. XIX about making certain collections of MSS. and of archæological remains better available to research-workers be approved and adopted as the Resolution of this Council, viz:--

Resolved that the President of the Conference be authorised, with the help of the sub-committee named below, to address a circular-letter to Governments, States, Universities and other literary and administrative bodies of a similar status to bring home to them the incalculable harm that is done to the country by allowing important MSS. and archæological finds to be by gift or sale removed out of India, and placed in the hands particularly of an individual scholar, library or association which maintains the policy of not lending its MSS. or other antiquities outside.

1. Prof. A. C. Woolner.
2. Dr. Ganganath Jha.
3. Mr. G. Yazdani.
4. General Secretary of the Conference.

VI. The President thereupon reported (a) the election by the Executive Committee of—

1. Dr. S. K. Belvalkar
2. Dr. B. Bhattacharyya

as the General Secretaries of the Conference, and of Dr. A. C. Woolner as the Treasurer of the Conference; and (b) the acceptance by the Executive Committee of the invitation from the Hindu University of Benares for the next session of the Conference.*

* In this connection attention is to be drawn to a subsequent circular letter issued by Dr. S. K. Belvalkar,

and the consequent election of Principal A. B. Dhruva as the Local Secretary of the next session. It was thereupon proposed by Dr. A. C. Woolner and seconded by Prof. Heras that the following 14 persons be elected as members of the Executive Committee for the forthcoming session :-

1. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Shastri, M. A., I. E. S, Madras.
2. Rai Bahadur Hiralal, C. I. E., Katni.
3. Pandit V. Bhattacharyya, Santiniketan.
4. Dr. Hiranand Shastri, M. A., M. O. L., D. Litt., Ootacamund.
5. Dr. A. Haq, B. Litt., D. Phil., Hyderabad.
6. Principal A. B. Dhruva, M. A., L L. B., Benares.
7. Dr. Harichand Shastri, M. A., D. Phil., Patna.
8. Rai Saheb Shyam Sundar Das, Benares.
9. Mr. G. Yazdani, M. A., Hyderabad.
10. Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala, B. A., Ph. D., Andheri.
11. Mr. C. V. Vaidya, M. A., LL. B., Poona.
12. Dr. S. K. De., M. A., Ph. D., Dacca.
13. Rev. Fr. H. Heras, M. A., Bombay.
14. Dr. Sir S. Radhakrishnan, Andhra University.

(The proposition, upon being put to the vote, was declared carried).

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the General Secretary on 22nd January 1934, which ran as follows :—

" On the last day of the Baroda session of the Conference, just before the Plenary session of the General Body of the Conference, there took place a meeting of the Executive Committee which considered, among other things, the venue of the next session of the Conference. As there was only one definite invitation (Benares) from a place where no previous session of the Oriental Conference was held, the Committee had practically no option but to accept that invitation and appoint a Local Secretary for the next session (Principal A. B. Dhruva) from that place Two hours after the conclusion of the

VII. The General Secretary, Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, thereupon communicated for the information of the house the Executive Committee's resolutions Nos. XI, XII, XIII, and XX concerning respectively Mr. P. C. Diwanji's proposal to appoint a committee to settle canons of Oriental Research, Mr. S. L. Joshi's proposal recommending the Conference to devise ways and means of counteracting misrepresentation of Indian Philosophy, Religion and Culture by scholars in Europe and America, Pandit R. A. Shastri's proposal to arrange for a revision of Aufrecht's

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plenary session of the Conference, however, a telegram was placed in the hands of the President of the Conference inviting the next session to Mysore. If the telegram had been received in time, this invitation would most certainly have been accepted by the Executive Committee. Under the circumstance the President consulted Principal Dhruva, and subsequently Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya of the Benares Hindu University. The latter wired as follows:—

'Benares yields Mysore next Oriental Conference. It is therefore requested that you should kindly give your formal sanction to the proposed change in the venue of the eighth session of the Conference.

This change of venue will naturally involve the appointment of Dr. Krishna of the Archæological Department, Mysore (who was mainly instrumental in securing this invitation) as the Local Secretary of the next session, while Principal A. B. Dhruva will continue as an ordinary member of the Executive Committee."

As a majority of the Committee wrote approving the proposed change of venue and the consequent change in the personnel of the Local Secretary of the eighth session of the Conference and as no members expressed their disagreement with the same the resolution of the Committee as well as the Council is to be taken as modified in the light of this circular. The change has been communicated to the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Mysore, to Dr. Krishna, the next Local Secretary, as well as to the Associated Press.

SIR V. T. KRISHNAMACHARI, Kt., C.I.E.

Vice-Patron, Seventh Oriental Conference.

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Catalogus Catalogorum and bring it up to date, and Mr. V. R. Karandikar's resolution proposing the appointment of a Research Board to undertake a preliminary archæological survey of the Narmada Valley. The Executive Committee recorded the first two proposals and have made concrete proposals to the Punjab University and Mr. V. R. Karandikar in the matter of the last two proposals. It is only after these two bodies accept the recommendations of the Executive Committee that the propositions, along with the report of progress made in regard to the same, can come up before the Council of the Conference for approval and ratification.

MINUTES OF THE CONCLUDING PLENARY SESSION HELD IN ROOM NO. 27, THE COLLEGE, BARODA.

Friday, 29th December, 1933.

6 P. M.

The regular business of the session was preceded by an address from Sir V. T. Krishnamachariar, the Dewan Saheb of Baroda and Vice-Patron of the Conference, which ran as follows:—

I have been set down in the programme for a closing address. It is not my intention at the fag end of a long session, to attempt anything in the nature of a speech: I shall content myself with a few general remarks.

It has been a great privilege to us to have had with us so many scholars engaged in the study of the manifold aspects of the culture and civilization of our country—its languages and literatures, its art, history and philosophy. The session of the Conference has been a crowded one; all the twelve sections have worked several hours each day and considered a large variety of subjects. This indeed is inevitable, having regard to the conditions

under which such meetings have to be arranged; the delegates are all busy men who have to return to their work immediately after the holidays and the field to be covered is a vast one. It must however be a matter of gratification to those on whom fell the responsibility for organising this Conference that the whole programme has been carried through so successfully; and it is my pleasant duty to thank all those who have contributed to this result—our President Mr. Jayaswal and the sectional presidents; the Local Secretary Dr. Bhattacharyya, the members of the Reception Committee under the chairmanship of Rao Bahadur Ambegaokar, the office-bearers of the managing sub-committee, and others, officials and non-officials in charge of guests' camps and other arrangements.

I hope I shall not be accused of a narrow utilitarian outlook if I stress the point that the studies in which scholars and research workers like you are engaged have the utmost practical interest to Indian nationalism in its great task of reconstruction. This is not the place to deal with the fascinating subject of India's reaction towards western civilization. In India, as elsewhere in similar circumstances, we have had two contrasted schools of thought. The first convinced that western science and culture were superior to the indigenous cultures, favoured the wholesale adoption of the new ideals and methods. The second, on the other hand, regarded the ideals for which western civilization stood as entirely evil, and in order to protect the indigenous culture from its onslaught sought, to use Lord Irwin's words, "in the development of its distinctive thought and practice a distinctive armour". We are now in a more constructive era. We have no faith in wholesale imitation; for we value highly the civilizations we have inherited: they are integral parts of our lives. Nor do we subscribe to the obscurantism which believes, contrary to the teachings of history, that a nation can go back many centuries to a self-contained rule of life. We hold firmly that, in the new India, we should reconstruct our national life in

accordance with the genius of the races that inhabit the country, and at the same time assimilate and make our own the best elements in the western civilization. This is the ideal that actuates us in all fields of endeavour—whether it be social reform, or the resuscitation of art or literature or the evolution of forms of government—to build on the best that there is in our own past, incorporating at the same time the lessons which the nations of the West have to teach us. In the realisation of this ideal, nothing can be more useful than the studies that have shown to us how our ancestors in the different epochs of the past lived and worked· how our institutions originated and developed and to what needs of the time they responded; and what fundamental ideas have formed the essential vital spark of our cultures. Let me select a few instances. His Highness the Maharaja Saheb, as you all know, has been a pioneer in social legislation. His aim is, while preserving the framework of Hindu society and its essential characteristics, to weed out accretions for which there is no rational basis and which hamper progress. In this, the studies of our social and legal systems undertaken by great scholars have been of the highest value. Then again, there is the history of systems of government in ancient and mediæval India which our president Mr. Jayaswal has enriched by his researches. Its usefulness at the present juncture cannot be denied. The renaissance in the literatures of India is yet another illustration. Modern writers in Gujarati, for example, while remaining true to the genius of the language, have not hesitated to adopt new literary forms and new subjects borrowed from the western world. This is equally true of other vernacular literatures as well. As has been well said "The safeguard against experiments, which can only end in chaos, is the wide diffusion of the historical sense and the recognition that 'counsels to which Time hath not been called, Time will not ratify'." In my view, the most valuable function of these oriental studies is the wide diffusion of this historical sense.

I hope I may be forgiven these rather sketchy remarks, which I shall now conclude. On behalf of His Highness the Maharaja Saheb and all of us in Baroda, we bid you good bye and offer to you our best wishes for a happy New Year. We trust that all of you found your stay in Baroda pleasant and profitable and that, by the proceedings of this the Seventh Oriental Conference and the contacts it has served to establish, fresh light has been thrown on some at least of the important subjects which form your life study.

After the conclusion of the address Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, the President of the session, called the house to order and placed before it the recommendations of the Council regarding certain modifications in the constitution of the Conference, including amongst others the raising of the member's subscription to Rs. 10/-. The proposed modifications (see Resolution Nos. I, II and III of the Council) received the assent of the House.

A sincere vote of thanks was then proposed to—

(a) The Patron, the Vice-Patron, the President and members of the Central Committee for Reception and the Office-bearers of the ten Managing sub-committees.

(b) The donors and the delegating bodies.

(c) The student and the lady volunteers and volunteers and Boy Scouts.

(d) Almost every State-official high and low with whom we came into contact and who showed us uniform sympathy and attention.

(e) The Entertainers (Songs, Drama, Sports, authors of Lantern lectures, &c.)

(f) The authors of papers presented.

(g) The Press and the general public of Baroda.

The Rev. Fr. Heras, Principal A. B. Dhruva, Mr. V. P. Vaidya, Dr. Pran Nath and others spoke on the resolution which was carried with acclamation.

While the above resolution was being moved, His Highness Sir Sayaji Rao Gaekwad, the Patron of the Conference came into the hall. In response to the vote of thanks he addressed a few words to the meeting expressing his sincere appreciation of the work of the Conference and his sense of satisfaction at hearing that the delegates found their stay at Baroda comfortable and instructive.

After the conclusion of the formal part of the business of the plenary session Prof. Sylvain Levi's new work "Sanskrit Texts from Bali" which forms No. LXVII of the Gaekwad's Oriental Series was declared published at the Conference.

GOVERNMENTS, INSTITUTIONS AND SOCIETIES REPRESENTED IN THE CONFERENCE.

GOVERNMENTS.

No.	Names of Governments.	Names of Delegates.
1	Government of India (Archæological Department).	Rai Bahadur Dayaram Sahni M.A., Director General of Archæology in India, New Delhi. Dr. N. P. Chakravarty, M.A., Ph.D., Asstt. Supdt. of Epigraphy, Fernhill, Nilgiris S. India.) Dr. M. Nazim, Officiating Supdt., Archæological Survey, Western Circle, Poona. Dr. K. N. Dikshit, Supdt., Archæological Survey, Eastern Circle, Calcutta.
2	Government of Bihar and Orissa (Ministry of Education).	Dr. Harichand Sastri, Professor of Sanskrit, Patna College, Patna.
3	Government of Hyderabad.	Mr. G. Yazdani, M. A., Director of Archæology, Hyderabad (Deccan). Mr. Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad, Curator, Hyderabad Museum, Hyderabad.
4	Government of Mysore (Education Department).	Principal H. Yoganarasimham, M.A., Maharaja's Sanskrit College, Mysore. Principal G. K. Timmannachar, M.A., Sri Chamarajendra Sanskrit College, Bangalore.
5	Government of Kashmir ...	Prof. Siddheshwar Varma, Prince of Wales College, Jammu.
6	Government of Kutch ...	Mr. Mavji K. Mehta, B.A., Educational Inspector. Mr. Labhshankar M. Pathak, Alfred High School, Bhuj.
7	Government of Junagadh.	Mr. S. Nawab Ali, Director of Public Instruction, Junagadh.
8	Government of Jodhpur (Archæological Department).	Pt. Bisheshwarnath Reu, Supdt., Archæological Department, Jodhpur (Rajputana).
9	Government of Idar ...	Mr. R. M. Shukla, Esq., B.A. (Hons.), Director of Public Instruction Office, Himatnagar-Idar State.
10	Government of United Provinces (Ministry of Education).	Dr. Mangal Dev Shastri, M.A., D.Phil., Registrar, Sanskrit College Examinations, Benares. Maulvi Ziaul Hasan Alvi, M.A., Inspector of Arabic Madrasas, U. P. Allahabad.
11	Government of Travancore.	Mr. R. Vasudeva Poduval, B.A., Supdt., of Archæology, Trivandrum.

UNIVERSITIES.

No.	Names of Governments.	Names of Delegates.
1	University of Agra.	Dr. Har Dutt Sharma, M.A., Ph.D.
2	University of Allahabad ...	[Representatives did not attend.]
3	Andhra University ...	Mr. R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T., Government Arts College, Rajahmundry.
4	Annamalai University ...	[Representatives did not attend.]
5	University of Bonn (Germany).	[Representatives did not attend.]
6	Calcutta University ...	Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, M. A., D. Litt. Dr. P. C. Bagchi, M.A. D. Litt. Mr. Priyaranjan Sen, M.A. Dr. H. C. Raichaudhuri, M.A., Ph.D. Mr. L. Sukul, M.A.
7	Cambridge University ...	Dr. Muhammad Shafi, University of Lahore. Dr. Nizamuddin, Osmania College, Hyderabad (Deccan).
8	Dacca University	Dr. S. K. De, M.A., B.L., D.Litt., University of Dacca, Ramna, Dacca. Mr. Fida Ali Khan, M.A., Department of Persian and Urdu.
9	University of Delhi ...	Shams-ul-Ulama Haji Maulvi Abdur Rahman. Pandit Lachhmidhar Kalla Sastri, M.A., M.O.L.
10	Hindu University, Benares.	Principal A. B. Dhruva, M.A., LL.B.
11	Muslim University, Aligarh.	[Representatives did not attend.]
12	Patna University	Dr. Harichand Sastri, Patna College.
13	Punjab University ...	Dr. A. C. Woolner, C.I. E.,M.A., F.A.S.B. Prof. Mohammad Shafi, M.A. Dr. Lakshman Sarup, M.A., Ph.D., Oriental College, Lahore. Dr. Muhammad Iqbal, M.A., Ph.D.
14	Royal Frederic University, Oslo.	[Representatives did not attend.]
15	Visvabharati University ...	Principal Vidhushekar Bhattacharyya.
16	Osmania University ...	Dr. Abdul Haq, B. Litt., D. Phil., Head of the Department of Arabic. Dr. M. Nizamuddin, D. Phil., Head of the Department of Persian.
17	University of Madras ...	Dr. C. Kunhan Raja M.A., D.Phil, University Reader in Sanskrit.
18	University of Nagpur ...	Prof. S. P. Chaturvedi, M.A., Morris College, Nagpur.
19	University of Lucknow ...	Prof. K. A. Subramania Iyer, M.A., Head of the Department of Sanskrit.
20	University of Mysore ...	Dr. M. H. Krishna, M. A., D.Litt., Director of Archaeology in Mysore State.

SOCIETIES ETC.

No.	Names of Societies etc.	Names of Delegates.
1	Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.	Principal V. G. Apte, B. A., 281, Sadashiv Peth, Poona. Dr. S. K. Belvalkar, M. A., Ph. D., Bilvakunja, Poona 4. Dr. P. L. Vaidya, M. A., D. Litt., N. Wadia College Poona 1. Mr. V. P. Vaidya, B. A., Bar-at-Law, 6-10 Dean Lane, Fort Chamber, Bombay. Prof. P. V. Kane, M. A., LL. M., Angre's Wadi, Bombay 4. Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, M. A., Ph.D., Secretary, B. O. R. I. Poona 4. Dr. N. G. Sardesai, L. M. & S., 15 Shukrawar Peth, Poona 2. Dr. B. Bhattacharyya, M.A. Ph.D., Director, Oriental Institute, Baroda. Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale, Advocate, Satara. Mr. P. C. Diwanji, M. A., LL. M., Sub-Judge, Jalgaon (E. K.)
2	Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna.	Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M. A., Bar-at-Law, Patna. Dr. Harichand Sastri, M.A., D.Phil., Patna College, Patna.
3	School of Oriental Studies, London.	Prof. Siddheshvar Varma, Prince of Wales College, Jammu (Kashmir).
4	Bombay Branch (Royal Asiatic Society).	Mr. V. P. Vaidya, B. A., Bar-at-Law, 6-10 Dean Lane, Fort Chambers, Bombay. Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, M.A., Ph. D., Secretary, B. O. R. I., Poona 4. Prof. P. V. Kane, M. A., LL. M., Angre's Wadi, Bombay 4. Prof. H. D. Velanker, M.A., Wilson College, Bombay 7. Prof. V. A. Gadgil, M. A., Wilson College, Bombay 7. Diwan Bahadur K. M. Jhaveri, M.A., LL. B., Kandewadi, Bombay 4. Mr. G. V. Acharya, B. A., Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay 1. Dr. P. L. Vaidya, M.A., D. Litt., N. Wadia College, Poona 1.
5	American Oriental Society.	Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, M. A., Ph.D., Secretary, B. O. R. I., Poona.
6	Royal Asiatic Society, London.	Dr. Muhammad Iqbal, M.A., Ph.D. Rev. H. Heras, S. J., St. Xavier's College, Bombay.

No.	Names of Societies etc.	Names of Delegates.
7	Asiatic Society of Bengal.	Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, University of Calcutta.
8	Numismatic Society of India.	Mr. R. S. Gyani, M. A., Assistant Curator, Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay 1. Babu Durga Prasad, B. A., Chaudhari Ramkali Road, Benares. Mr. Shrinath Saha, Shamram, Durgakund, Benares.
9	Anthropological Society, Bombay.	Mr. Keshav Appa Padhye, B A., LL.B., Padhye Blocks, New Bhatwadi, Bombay 4.
10	Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft.	[Representative did not attend.]
11	K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Bombay.	Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewalla, B. A., Ph. D., M. F. Cama Athornan Institute, Andheri.
12	Royal Dutch Academy of Sciences, Amsterdam.	Dr. Arnold A. Bake, M. A., Ph. D., Santiniketan, Bolpur.
13	Provincial Museum, Lucknow.	Rai Saheb Babu Prayag Dayal, M. R. A. S., Curator, Provincial Museum, Lucknow.
14	Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.	Mr. G. V. Acharyya, B. A., Curator of Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay 1.
15	Watson Museum, Rajkot.	Mr. A. S. Gadre, M. A.
16	Government Museum, Madras.	Mr. S. Paramasiva Iyer, M A. B. Sc.
17	Sir Parashuram Bhau College, Poona.	[Representatives did not attend.]
18	Gujarat College, Ahmedabad.	Mr. Firoze C. Davar, M.A., LL.B.
19	Sanatan Dharma College, Lahore.	[Representatives did not attend.]
20	Poona Sanskrit College Association.	Principal V. G. Apte, B. A., Anandasram, Poona. Pandit Bhargav Shastri Joshi, Teacher, P. S. College, Post-Parashuram, Taluka Chiplun, Dt. Ratnagiri.
21	Madras Sanskrit College and S. V. V. Pathasala.	[Representative did not attend.]
22	Nagari Pracharini Sabha.	Rai Bahadur Babu Hiralal, B. A., Retd. Deputy Commissioner, Katni, Murwara. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, M. A., Bar-at-Law, Patna. Mahamahopadhyaya Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar H. Ojha, Rajputana Museum, Ajmer.

No.	Names of Societies etc.	Names of Delegates.
23	Kamarupa Anusandhana Samiti, Gauhati.	Mr. D. Goswami, M. A., B. L., Cotton College, Gauhati.
24	Andhra Research Society...	Mr. R. Subba Rao, M. A., L. T., Government Arts College, Rajahmundry. Mr. M. Rama Rao, B. A., B. Ed., Main Road, Innespetah, Rajahmundry.
25	Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, Calcutta.	Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee, M. A., D. Litt., 27 Hindusthan Road, Ballygunge, Calcutta. Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi, M. A., D. Litt., 9 Rustomji Street, Ballygunge, Calcutta. Prof. Priyaranjan Sen, Kāvyatīrtha. M. A., 49 Fern Road, Ballygunge, Calcutta. Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, M.A., Ph. D., Oriental Institute, Baroda.
26	Varenda Research Society, Rajshahi.	Niradbandhu Sanyal, M.A., B.L. Mr. Kshitishchandra Sarkar, M.A., B. L. Mr. Bijaya Nath Sarkar, B.A., C.E. Prof. A. C. Roy.
27	Sahavicharini Sabha, Baroda.	Dr. B. C. Lele, M.A., Ph. D. Mr. D. N. Apte, B.A., LL.B. Prof. C. V. Joshi, M. A. Prof. S. S. Bhave, M.A., LL.B. Prof. V. P. Dandekar, M. A. Prof. S. V. Deshpande, M. A. Mr. P. V. Gupte, B.A., LL.B.
28	Gujarati Sahitya Sabha, Baroda.	Rao Bahadur G. H. Desai, B. A., LL.B. Prof. A. K. Trivedi, M.A., LL.B. Matubhai H. Kantawala, M. A. Prof. G. H. Bhatt, M. A. Prof. K. H. Kamdar, M. A.
29	Bharat Itihasa Samshodhak Mandal, Poona.	Mr. G. H. Khare, B. I. S. Mandal, 374, Sadashiv Peth, Poona City. Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya, M. A., LL.B.
30	Satara Historical Research Society.	Mr. V. N. Sardesai, I. C. S., Asstt. Collector, Satara. Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale, B. A., LL.B., M.L.C., Advocate, Satara. Mr. R. P. Karandikar, Advocate.

No.	Names of Societies etc.	Names of Delegates.
31	Saradashram, Yeotmal ...	Mr. Y. K. Deshpande, M.A., LL.B., Sharadashram, Yeotmal. Mr. G. G. Shere, B.A., Government High School, Yeotmal.
32	Bharata Varshiya Charitra-kosha Mandal, Poona.	Siddheshwar Shastri Chitrav, 58, Shanwar Peth, Poona 2.
33	S. L. U. Gujarat Mahila Pathashala, Ahmedabad..	Mr. N. J. Trivedi. Principal J. G. Shah, M. A.
34	Municipal Committee, Katni.	Sahityaratna Pandit V. P. Gautam, M.A., LL.B.
35	Sri Jain Mutt, Sravana-belgola, Mysore State.	[Representative did not attend.]
36	Grantha Sampadaka and Grantha Prasarak Mandali, Bombay 2.	Mr. Damodar Savlaram Yande. Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya, M. A., LL. B. Mr. Krishnarao Narayan Malpekar.
37	Oriental Book Agency, Poona 2.	Dr. R. N. Sardesai, L. C. P. S., Manager, O. B. Agency, Poona 2.
38	Anandashram, Poona ...	Principal V. G. Apte, B. A.
39	Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, Saidmitha Street, Lahore.	Mr. Sundarlal Jain.
40	Sri Sankaracharya Swamigal's Mutt, Kumbakonam.	Prof. N. K. Venkatasam Pantulu Garu, M. A., L. T., Government Arts College, Rajahmundry.
41	The Hindustani Academy, Allahabad.	[Representative did not attend.]
42	Patna Museum, Patna ...	Rai Saheb Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A., Curator, Patna Museum, Patna.
43	Indian Historical Research Institute, St. Xavier's College, Bombay.	Rev. H. Heras, S. J. Mr. C. J. Shah, M. A. Mr. Jal Pestonji Birdy, M. A.
44	Dacca Museum, Ramna, Dacca.	Mr. Nalini Kanta Bhattasali, M.A., Curator, Dacca Museum.
45	The Adyar Library, Adyar, Madras.	Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, M.A., D.Phil.

MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL UNDER RULE 7 (a).

No.	Name.	Sessions attended.	Papers.
1	Acharya, G. V. ...	I, III, VII.	3, 7.
2	Acharya, P. K. ...	II, IV, V.	2, 3, 4, 5, 6.
3	Iyer, S. V. Visvanath ...	I, II, III, V.	1, 2, 3, 4.
4	Ayengar, R. S. Raghava ...	I, II, III, VI.	2, 3, 4, 5.
5	Ayengar, S. Krishnaswami ...	I, II, III, IV. V, VI, VII.	1, 2.
6	Alvi, Z. Hasan ...	I, II, IV, VII.	5.
7	Anklesaria, B. T. ...	I, IV, VII.	4.
8	Belvalkar, S. K. ...	I, II, III, IV, V, VI, VII.	1, 2, 4, 5, 7.
9	Bhandarkar, D. R. ...	I, II, IV, V, VII.	1, 4.
10	Bhatt, G. H. ...	IV, VI, VII.	4, 7.
11	Bhattacharyya, Binoytosh ...	II, III, IV, V, VI, VII.	2,3,4,5,6,7.
12	Bhattacharyya, V. C. ...	III, IV, V.	3, 4, 5, 6.
13	Bhonsle, R. Krishnarao ...	III, VI, VII.	3, 7.
14	Chatterji, Sunitikumar ...	IV, V, VI, VII.	4, 5, 6, 7.
15	Chattopadhyaya, K. ...	IV, V, VI, VII.	3, 4, 6.
16	Chengalvarayan, N. ...	III, IV, V, VI.	3, 4, 5, 6, 7.
17	Daruvala, P. N. ...	I, II, III.	1, 3.
18	De, S. K. ...	III, IV, V, VII.	3, 4, 5.
19	Dhruva, A. B. ...	I, II, VI, VII.	1, 3.
20	Dikshitar, V. R. R. ...	III, VI, VII.	3, 4, 5, 6, 7.
21	Diskalkar, D. B. ...	I, IV, VII.	2, 3, 4, 5, 7.
22	Dixit, K. N. ...	I, VI, VII.	1, 2, 7.
23	Ghosh, Ajit ...	V, VI, VII.	5.
24	Ghosh, Manoranjan ...	II, VI, VII.	2, 4, 6, 7.
25	Haq, Abdul ...	II, IV, V, VI, VII.	6.
26	Heras, Rev. H. ...	III, IV, VII.	3, 4, 5, 7.
27	Hiriyanna, M. ...	I, III, V, VII.	1, 2, 3, 4.
28	Jayaswal, K. P. ...	II, VI, VII.	2, 6.
29	Jha, Ganganath ...	I, II, IV.	1, 4.
30	Kane, P. V. ...	I, III, VI, VII.	1, 2, 3, 6, 7.
31	Karmarkar, R. D. ...	I, II, III.	1, 2, 3.
32	Kunhan Raja, C. ...	V, VI. VII.	5, 6, 7.
33	Kuppuswami Shastri S. ...	I, II, IV, V.	2, 3, 4.
34	Law, Narendranath ...	I, II, VII.	1, 2.
35	Majumdar, R. C. ...	I, II, III, IV.	1,2,3,4,6,7.
36	Mirashi, V. V. ...	I, II, IV, VII.	2, 3, 6, 7.
37	Mishra, Umesh. ...	IV, VI, VII.	4, 5, 6, 7.
38	Modi, P. M. ...	IV, V, VII.	4, 5, 7.
39	Muhammad, Sahidulla ...	I, II, III, VI.	2, 3, 6.
40	Mukherji, Radhakumud ...	I, II, IV, V, VI.	1,2,3,4,5,6.
41	Nizam-uddin ...	IV, V, VI.	5, 6.
42	Paranjpe, V. G. ...	I, IV, VI.	1, 4.
43	Pisharoti, K. Rama ...	III, IV, V, VI.	3, 4, 5, 6.
44	Prayag, Dayal ...	II, III, IV, V, VI, VII.	4.
45	Reu, Bishweshwarnath ...	I, V, VI, VII.	2, 5, 6, 7.
46	Shah, R. N. ...	II, IV, VI.	2, 4, 5, 6.
47	Sahni, Dayaram ...	I, II, IV, VI, VII.	2, 5.
48	Saksena, Babu Ram ...	IV, V, VI.	4, 5, 6, 7.

No.	Name.	Sessions attended.	Papers.
49	Sarup, L. ...	III, IV, V, VI, VII.	4, 5, 6.
50	Sarma, Hara Datta ...	IV, V, VI, VII.	5, 6, 7.
51	Sen, D. N. ...	II, IV, VI.	2, 4.
52	Sen, Kshiti Mohan ...	V, VI, VII.	5, 6, 7.
53	Shafi, Muhammad ...	II, III, IV, VII.	3, 4, 5.
54	Shah, Hiralal Amritlal ...	I, III, VII.	1, 3, 7.
55	Shaikh, A. K. ...	I, II, VI.	1.
56	Shama Shastri, R. ...	I, II, III.	2, 3, 4, 5, 7.
57	Shastri, Hiranand ...	III, V, VI, VII.	2, 3, 5, 7.
58	Shastri, Mangaldev ...	IV, V, VI, VII.	4, 5, 6, 7.
59	Shastri, P. P. S. ...	III, IV, VI, VII.	3.
60	Siddiqui, M. Z. ...	IV, V, VI.	6.
61	Sinha, Kumar Gaganand ...	II, III, VII.	2, 3.
62	Srinivasachari, C. S. ...	I, III, IV, V, VII.	2, 3, 7.
63	Subba Rao, R. ...	II, III, IV, V, VI, VII.	3, 4, 5, 6, 7.
64	Subramania Aiyar, K. A. ...	II, III, IV, V, VI, VII.	3, 4, 5, 7.
65	Taraporewala, I. J. S. ...	I, V, VI, VII.	2, 4, 5.
66	Tritton, A. S. ...	III, IV, V.	2, 3, 5.
67	Utgikar, N. B. ...	I, II, III, IV.	1, 2, 4.
68	Vaidya, V. P. ...	I, IV, VII.	2, 3.
69	Varma, Siddheshwar ...	V, VI, VII.	1, 5, 6, 7.
70	Venkateswara Aiyar S. V. ...	I, II, III, V.	1,2,3,4,5,6.
71	Woolner, A. C. ...	I, IV, V, VII.	1, 6.
72	Yazdani, G. ...	I, II, VII.	7.

Succession List of Patrons and Presidents of the All-India Oriental Conference.

No.	Place.	Year.	Patrons.	Presidents.
1	Poona.	1919	His Excellency Sir George Ambrose Lloyd, G.C.I.E., D. S. O., Governor of Bombay.	Sir Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, Kt., M. A.
2	Calcutta.	1922	His Excellency Lord Ronaldshay, G. C. I. E., Governor of Bengal.	Professor Sylvain Levi.
3	Madras.	1924	His Excellency Viscount Goschen, G.C.I.E., C.B.E., Governor of Madras.	Mm. Dr. Ganganath Jha, M.A., D.Litt.
4	Allahabad.	1926	His Excellency Sir William Marris, Governor of United Provinces.	Shams—ul—Ulama Dr. J. J. Modi, C.I.E.
5	Lahore.	1928	His Excellency Sir Geoffrey de Montmorency, K.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., C.B.E., Governor of the Punjab.	Mm. Dr. Haraprasad Shastri, M.A., C.I.E., D.Litt.
6	Patna.	1930	His Excellency Sir Hugh Lansdown Stephenson, K.C.S.I., Governor of Bihar and Orissa.	Rai Bahadur Hiralal, B. A.
7	Baroda.	1933	His Highness Sir Sayaji Rao III, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., LL.D. Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda.	Kashi Prasad Jayaswal, Esq., M.A., (Oxon.), Bar-at-Law.

ARTICLES.

Sanskrit-Vedic Section.

President:

DR. A. C. WOOLNER, M. A., D. LITT., C.I.E.

CONTENTS.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

By Dr. A. C. Woolner, C.I.E.
(*Lahore*)

Dr. A. C. Woolner presiding in the Sanskrit Section gave an account of recent work in Vedic studies at Lahore. He mentioned the Kapiṣṭhala-Kaṭha-Saṁhitā and Vārāha-Gṛhya-sūtra edited by Dr. Raghuvīra and the Ṛktantram a Prāti-śākhya of the Sāmaveda critically edited with two commentaries by Mr. Sūryakānta Śāstri.

Mention was also made of the completion of his work on Yāska's Niruktam in the third volume of the commentary of Skanda Maheśvara to which was prefixed an Introduction discussing the dates of the commentaries on the Niruktam. A more detailed description was then given of a monumental Vedic Dictionary-*Vaidika-S'abdārtha Pārijāta* being prepared by Pandit Viśvabandhu of the Visveshvaranand Research Institute, Vedic Ashram, Lahore.

"Each article of this Dictionary gives :—

(1) Derivation and Etymology.

(2) Complete record of citations with references.

(3) The various interpretations classified and reviewed.

The first fascicle with the Introduction and 84 articles was published in 1929. It was well received and appreciated by many scholars. The work has continued during the last three years, and about 500 articles are now ready. Publication has been delayed partly in order to profit by a number of suggestions made by Scholars with reference to the first instalment and partly on account of the attention given to the work of indexing. This indexing is considered to be a necessary ancillary to the dictionary. A complete word-index is being prepared of all Vedic Literature comprising the Samhitas, Brahmanas and Aranyakas, Upanisads and Sutras. Of this Vaidika-Padanukrama-Kosa the second volume comprising the entire vocabulary of the Brahmanas and Aranyakas has been prepared and is being printed.

Three other volumes remain to be completed. Every entry has been textually checked, classified grammatically, analysed and arranged under its proper radical and (from accented texts) properly accented. Often there are critical notes on the reading or accent.

Pt. Vishvabandhu has been carrying on this work with about a dozen assistants, generally his old pupils with very limited financial resources. He makes an earnest appeal for further assistance."

Dr. Woolner then propounded two problems for the consideration of the Conference. The first related to the possibility of obtaining any reliable indications as to the date of a work written in Sanskrit by a more detailed study of all aspects of the technique of its composition. Careful study of the minutiæ of technique enabled experts to assign paintings in Europe to particular periods and even to particular centuries. Was anything of this kind possible in Sanskrit literature? Obvious difficulties lay in the divorce of literary from colloquial speech, the rarity of certain dates and in the habit of imitating older models and of making later additions to older works.

Nevertheless the speaker thought the task might not be impossible. It would require much more detailed study of technique by those who were competent to appreciate it and a more thorough examination of linguistic peculiarities than had been attempted hitherto. These studies might work back from known dates and investigate the work of particular regions. They should be undertaken with an open mind and not with the idea of finding support for preconceived notions.

The second problem concerned all those who were responsible for the training of Pandits. Should those who preserve the ancient traditional knowledge receive any kind of modern education?

REPORT ON THE MANUSCRIPTS FOUND AT NAVAPURA (GILGIT).

By MADHUSUDAN KOUL, M.A., M.O.L.
(Srinagar)

In the summer of 1931 during the days of disturbance I received a letter from the Wazir, Gilgit reporting an accidental discovery, as a result of digging by cowherds, of a stupa, numerous plaques, Buddhist images and a wooden box containing manuscripts of birch-bark and paper. He wanted my instructions as to their disposal and further action in the matter of exploration.

I requested him in reply to send me the birch-bark manuscripts, a few plaques and images. He promptly despatched them in a wooden box, by post, to my office. On opening the contents of the box, I cast a hurried glance at them and prepared a brief note and submitted it to the Home Minister proposing that I might be allowed to send an Excavation Party of the Archæological Department for taking up immediate and careful excavation of the spot and for bringing to Srinagar the remaining finds under its own safe custody.

The proposal went up to the late Prime Minister who was kind enough to call for a detailed report from me regarding the finds above referred to.

In the meantime appeared a short notice in the Indian Press from Sir Aurel Stein announcing the discovery in the Navapura village, three miles from Gilgit. This drew the attention of the higher authorities to the importance of the finds.

The few hours, that I could snatch from my office work, I spent every day for a month in trying to decipher the manuscripts. At first, I had to encounter the difficulty of arranging the leaves in order, as all of them were in confusion. The

difficulty was intensified by the fact that the figures used in numbering the leaves by the copyists of the manuscripts were more or less unknown to me. So by careful comparison of numbering given on the margin of each leaf, I found the key to the solution of this problem. Then by dint of patient study, I got an insight gradually into the alphabet in which the manuscripts are written.

My acquaintance thus hurriedly formed with the alphabet enabled me to go through the whole collection cursorily, and this cursory look enabled me to come to the conclusion that the leaves belong to different Buddhist works, dealing though mostly with one subject, and the language employed wears an aspect more or less like that of Sanskrit. Consequently, to confirm the above conclusion I looked closely again into the manuscripts. This revision gave me a thorough knowledge of the alphabet and the language of the manuscripts. On being thus assured, I got the photographs of several leaves from the collection taken by the photographer of the Department and began the consultation of some reference books on the subject discussed in the manuscripts.

What I have been able thus to gather from the short study of the manuscripts is given in the following paragraphs :—

The alphabet represented in them is a form of the Gupta characters [a member of the Brāhmī family] having close affinity with the Śāradā alphabet which appears in the Agrāpraśasti [Encomiastic Inscription] of the 5th century A.D. [See Dr. Bühler's chart of Alphabets]. Structure of the letters as revealed in the manuscripts is decidedly older than that of the Śāradā script used in the inscription lately found at Mārtaṇḍa in the top-course of the platform of a temple [now in ruins].

The language, in which the manuscripts are written, is in most cases the Buddhist Sanskrit abounding chiefly in grammatical irregularities and adoption of numerous Prākṛta forms. Metres resorted to in the verse portion are semi-classical, Sragdharā and Āryā being popular.

METHOD OF NUMBERING. Hundreds are given at the top. Below hundreds come tens and below them in turn, units. Numbers from one to three are like the Roman represented by the strokes–one by a single stroke, two by two strokes and three by three strokes.

The leaves are in the Tālapatra form and as such can be turned topwise.

THE HOLDING TOGETHER OF THE LEAVES. Record-lace finer in texture and weaving than the finest of the modern make passes through a punched hole in the middle of each leaf and is wound round the whole set.

Colophon in one of the manuscripts throws light on a hitherto unknown line of rulers who held suzerainty over Gilgit in the time previous to the 9th century A. D. Patolaśāhi the reigning monarch of the day is described to have patronised the edition of the manuscripts. The name of another ruler i. e. Devaśāhi of the same family, whose wife is called Trailokyadevī, appears in the colophon of another manuscript. These two royal personages seem to belong to the line of the Śāhi Hindus who ruled over Kabul for some time in the past, Bhīmaśāhi and Lalliyaśāhi being the last representatives of the same. George Elliot's Ancient History of India mentions that in the early centuries of the Christian era a certain Tartar tribe accepted Buddhism and held its sway over the countries in the East and that the family name of this tribe still survives in the name "Mehtar" of Chitral. Patolaśāhi and Devaśāhi are thus in my humble opinion the two important members of this Tartar tribe.

DETAILS OF THE MANUSCRIPTS.

MANUSCRIPT A. Ajitasena–vyākaraṇa. 40 leaves. 10 inches by 3 inches and a half. Complete. 6 lines in page. 24 letters in line.

SUBJECT. Conversion to Buddhism of Ajitasena, King of Magadha. In prose with Gāthās. [verse].

LANGUAGE. The Buddhist Sanskrit.

STORY. Buddha comes to Śrāvasti for alms. Enters the house of Nagarāvalambikā-devikā. Says to her: "On the seventh day you will die and will be reborn as son of Ajitasena. This will be your last birth, as you will attain to Buddhahood hereafter". At Jetavana Buddha calls Srāvakas [Buddhist monks] by the sound of Gaṇḍi [a gong]. Out of these he orders Nandimitra to go to Ajitasena who asks the King to make him a Kuṭi [a cottage] in a garden. In that he practises "Vikiraṇasamādhi" whereby all members of his body get scattered. The King seeing this gets alarmed and resolves to commit suicide, but his son prevents him saying "This may be the result of a Samādhi". This turns out to be true. The King offers the kingdom to his son, but the latter declines. Nandimitra thereupon takes the King to Buddha at Jetavana where the King offers to be a follower of Buddha. After conversion the King invites Buddha and his Saṅgha, feeds them all and offers his eldest son who in turn is initiated and becomes an Arhat. His Queen and ministers all join the Buddhist Order at last.

COLOPHON. Written by Narendra-Datta Dharma-bhāṇaka [Buddhist Teacher] for Pālosiṁha.

MANUSCRIPT B. Bhaiṣajya-guru-nāma-Mahāyāna-sūtra. 40 leaves. 9 inches by 3 inches. 5 lines in page. 20 letters in line. Complete but damaged.

SUBJECT MATTER. Buddha relates an account of the life of Vaiḍūryaprabha-Bhaiṣajya-guru [Buddha in a previous birth] to Mañjuśrī describing the merit which accrues from the recitation of his names. In prose entirely. Buddhist Sanskrit.

COLOPHON. Written for King Devaśāhi *alias* Surendra-Vikramāditya-nanda and Queen Trailokyadevī by Vasanta son of Koṣa.

MANUSCRIPT C. Buddha-kṣetra-sandarśana-vyūha-nāma-samādhi. Leaves 124–158. Twelve inches and a half by three inches. 5 lines in page. 34 letters in line. Fragment. Describes a Samādhi which gives the practitioner a vision of the sacred places of Buddha, heavenly and terrestrial. Vajra-

pāṇi, Mañjuśrī and Avalokiteśvara and Goddess Anupamā, Yakṣiṇī, Śaṅkhinī and Bhīmā—each declares before Buddha his or her Mantra or ritual of worship.

MANUSCRIPT D. Aryāvalokita–Hayagrīva–Hṛdaya. 22 leaves. 9 inches by 2 inches. 4 lines in page. 19 letters in line. Complete but damaged. Aryāvalokita gives the Mantras and rituals of his own and Hayagrīva's.

MANUSCRIPT E. I. Ratnaketuparivarta. Leaves 100-108. 14 inches and a half by 2 inches and a half. 6 lines in page. 49 letters in line. Incomplete. Is a Dhāraṇī [An amulet]. In prose and verse.

COLOPHON. Edited under orders of Patolaṣāhi *alias* Vikramāditya-nanda and Queen Surendramālā.

Copied for Mahādānapati-Gonikṣiṇa [Charity–officer].

" संस्कृत्वा रत्नकेतुं प्रचुरभयहरां धारणीं यन्मयाऽयां
पुण्यं किञ्चित्प्रसूतं प्रमुदितमनसा सर्वभक्त्याद्दतेन ।
सर्वोऽयं तेन लोको मुनिवचनकथालङ्कृतां रत्नकेतुं
ह्येतामेव स्फुटार्थामतिगुणविशदां प्राप्नुयात्सद्य एव ॥ "

2. Aṣṭaśatavimalīkaraṇa. 5 leaves. 14 inches and a half by 2 inches and a half. 6 lines in page. 49 letters in line. Gives 108 names of Buddha, the way of reciting them and the merit accruing therefrom. All prose.

COLOPHON. Copied for the above-named Charity-officer.

3. Mahābhijñayāyanirdeśa. Leaves 65–71. 14 inches and a half by 2 inches and a half.. 8 lines in page. Incomplete and damaged. In prose and verse, narrates Mahāyāna Jātaka tales. Dwells on the excellences and the powers of Bodhisattva, a would-be Buddha. One of the tales is summarised as follows:—

Buddha tells Candraprabha that long ago a King named Śrīghoṣa invited 80,000 Bodhisattvas and after feeding them he made a grand illumination. Kṣemadatta, one of the invitees, worshipped the Buddha of the time named Ghoṣadatta and burnt his arm covered with cotton and oil before him. 1

The King lamented but Kṣemadatta said that his arm, his body and all the things were unreal, Dharma alone being real. Then by virtue of the Dharma he got his arm whole again. Buddha tells Candraprabha at the end that he himself was Kṣemadatta while Jina was the King Śrighoṣa.

MORAL. " काये प्रेम न कुर्वीत "

[Man should not be attached to the body].

MANUSCRIPT F. 5 leaves. Disconnected and torn. Average size 10 inches by 2 inches. 9 lines in page. Old Śāradā. Polished classical Sanskrit.

SUBJECT MATTER. Description of Narakas, etc.

SOME IMPORTANT SANSKRIT MANUSCRIPTS.

D. R. Mankad, M.A.

(*Karachi*)

No systematic research for Sanskrit and Prakrit mss. has yet been made in Kathiawad, particularly in smaller towns and villages[1]. In fact, there is a vast scope for such an investigation. This will be borne out by the following description of some of the Sanskrit mss. found by me in the hereditary libraries of local Shastris at Jodiya, under Jamnagar (Kathiawad). I have examined the ancestral collection of Sanskrit mss. at the place of Sjt. Shastri Suryashankar Tuljashankar who hails from a respectable and learned family. He has, in his possession, about five hundred mss. of varying interest and importance, which have been numbered and catalogued by me. Some of these I describe below. Though most of them are published works, nos. 1–3, 8, 9, 15 and 16 will be found to be of some importance.

I.

1. वाजसनेयीसंहिता (माध्यंदिनी), in two parts: (i) foll. 1–152 contain first 20 अध्यायs. (ii) foll. 1–86 contain the remaining 20 अध्यायs. The work is copied in V. S. 1474, मार्गशीर्ष, कृष्ण, १२, रविवासर.

2. Same as above. foll. 1–174 contain 21–40 अध्यायs. The work is copied in V. S. 1621. Evidently a copy of the above.

3. (यजुर्वेद) सर्वानुक्रमणी, (5 adhyāyas) Foll. 1–32. Fifth adhyāya ends on fol. 29. Then begin अनुवाकs. They end on fol. 32. Copied V. S. 1766, Caitra, Kṛṣṇa.

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1 Bühler's search through Gujarat and Kathiawad was mostly restricted to capitals and big cities.

4. Same as above No. 3. Copied V. S. 1900.

5. वाजसनेयीसंहिता foll. 1–162; 1–20 adhyāyas; copied V.S. 1884; a copy of No. 1.

6. Same as No. 5; foll. 1–102; 21-40 adhyāyas. Copied V. S. 1884.

7. Same as No. 2. Copied V. S. 1883.

8. सारस्वतप्रक्रिया foll. 1–102. Copied V. S. 1683.

Begins;—प्रणम्य परमात्मानं बालधीवृद्धिसिद्धये । सारस्वतीमृजुं कुर्वे प्रक्रियां नातिविस्तरां ॥ १ ॥ इन्द्रादयोऽपि यस्यान्तं न ययुः शब्दवारिधेः । प्रक्रियां तस्य कृत्स्नस्य क्षमो वक्तुं नरः कथम् ॥ २ ॥

COLOPHON:—रकारादीनि नामानि शृण्वंतो मम पार्वती (नि)! मनः प्रसन्नतामेति रामनामाभिशंकया ॥ लोकाख्येऽस्य द्विः यथा मातरादिः (?) स्वरूपांतानुभूत्यादिशब्दोऽभूद्यत्र सार्थकः । समस्तशुभं चक्रे प्रक्रियां चतुर्गोचिनां ॥ इति श्रीनृपेन्द्रपुरीविरचिता सारस्वतीप्रक्रिया समाप्ता ।

9. सौन्दर्यलहरीटीका । foll. 1–35: no date.

Begins:—

अमलकमलनेत्रा पूर्णशीतांशुवक्त्रा दनुजमनुजदेवैर्वंदिता देवमंत्रैः ।
उदिततरणितेजो मंडलाट (?) ककांति दिशतु सकलसिद्धिं सुन्दरी साधकेभ्यः ॥

After three more मंगल verses :—

श्रीरामजिद्गुरुपदाम्बुजभक्तिपूतः
श्रीकान्तभट्टकरुणासमसस्तविद्यः ।
गंगाधरेण गुरुणोदितशास्त्रमूर्द्धा
टीकां करोति विबुधः कविराजशर्मा ॥

COLOPHON:—इति श्रीशंकराचार्यविरचितसौन्दर्यलहरीस्तोत्रास्यटिप्पणं श्रीकविराजविरचितं संपूर्णम् ।

The ms. is very closely written, each page containing 18 lines on an average. This commentary seems to be very erudite in nature and one which deserves publication, though its date is not very early. It refers to मार्कण्डेयपुराण on fol. 29 b.

10. रमलशास्त्र, foll. 1–25. Copied V. S. 1832.

11. शारदातिलक (तन्त्र), foll. 1–111. (foll. 2, 3 and 9 missing) Copied V. S. 1870.

12. देवीरहस्यतन्त्र, foll. 1–119. Copied V. S. 1609.

13. होराप्रदीपक (with Gujarati translation), foll. 1-14. Copied V. S. 1889. Explained with marginal charts and notes.

14. यमलजननशान्ति, foll. 1–3 (कात्यायनोक्त). Copied V. S. 1878.

15. शीघ्रबोध, The ms. is badly preserved and some folia are missing. Copied V. S. 1771. On fol. 7 occurs: इति श्रीकाशीनाथकृतौ शीघ्रबोधे विवाहप्रकरणं समाप्तं । On fol. 18th ends the मुहूर्तप्रकरण. The work is astrological and is illustrated by marginal tables, charts, etc.

16. वृद्धगार्गी, foll. 1–211. Copied V. S. 1919.

This is an astrological and astronomical work much of the same style as other saṃhitās. वृद्धगर्ग has been referred to by Patañjali and in Atharva Prātiśākhya. The work is important for its antiquity. Though some mss. of this work are known, it is not, as yet, published, and I think that it deserves immediate publication. The work is encyclopædic and covers a wide range of allied subjects. Its importance is all the greater on account of the early date of its author.

II.

I also announce a palm–leaf ms., which is in possession of the Jain Mandir Library, Karachi. This is the only ms. in their possession. Evidently, it is imported from Gujarat. The ms. is important on account of the date of its copy, which at one place is given as V. S. 1347. The ms., it seems, was made up in three instalments. There are three different serial numbers. First part ends with the folio numbered 86. So far the number is serial. Second part has 1–184 folia and the third part 1–37 folia. Evidently, it has been a ms. belonging to some religious monastery and at least, three distinct generations have preserved the works copied by them. A number of years must have elapsed between each of the above noted parts. The ms. contains the following works, which are all Jain.

First Part, foll. 1–86.

1. सिद्धहेमशब्दानुशासन foll- 1–86. First four or five folia are broken in corners owing to the leaves being brittle.

Second Part, foll. 1–184.

2. अपवर्गनाममाला, foll. 1–9. At the end, the work is also called पंचवर्गपरिहारनाममाला. The following information is noted with regard to its authorship :—

> श्रीपृथ्वीपतिजैत्रसिंहपरिषत्साडंबरा शोवरा (?) ।
> काश्मीरापरनामधेयकलितो निष्पक्षबद्धांकुरा
> राजाभ्यो जिनभद्रसूरिरकरोत्सन्नाममालामिमाम् ॥ ११७ ॥

3. अपवर्गनाममाला, foll. 9–16 ; author जिनभद्रसूरि ; same as above.

4. एकाक्षरनाममाला, foll. 16–17.

5. अभिधानचिंतामणि, foll. 17–92. Author हेमचन्द्र. At the end of this work on the back of folio 92 is noted the date of copy as माघ वदि ३ रवौ संवत् १३४७. Letters on this folio are almost effaced out on account of constant handling. The work is also called अभिधानरत्नमाला on fol. 85.

6. अनेकार्थसंग्रह, foll. 93–162. Author हेमचन्द्र.

7. एकाक्षरनाममाला, foll. 162–163.

8. पाययलच्छी, foll. 163–173. Composed in V. S. 1029. Printed at Bhavnagar.

9. शब्दभेदप्रकाश, foll. 173–184. Author (?).

Third Part, foll. 1–37.

10. देसीनाममाला, foll. 1-36. Author हेमचन्द्र ; also called देसीसद्दसंगहो.

11. एकाक्षरनाममाला, foll. 36–37. Author सुधाकलश pupil of राजशेखरसूरि of मलधारिगच्छ.

Thus it will be seen that this ms. contains some of the most important grammatical and lexicographical works of the Jain school. सिद्धहेम, अभिधानचिंतामणि, अनेकार्थसंग्रह, देसीनाममाला (these by हेमचन्द्र), शब्दभेदप्रकाश and पाययलच्छी are very important works on the subjects dealt with. And here we have fairly old mss. preserved of all these works. अभिधान was copied in V.S. 1347. It is contained in the second part. There are certain important orthographical differences between the first and the second parts ; and from the mode of writing etc., we can put an interval of at least fifty years between them. Thus we have here a ms. of सिद्धहेम copied in V. S. cir. 1300 i.e. middle of the thirteenth century. Hemacandra himself died in V. S. 1229. This ms. one of the most important of his works, therefore, was copied within seventy-five years of his death, if not earlier.

THE DATE AND PLACE OF ORIGIN OF THE YOGAVASIṢṬHA

By PRAHLAD C. DIVANJI, M.A., LL.M.
(*Jalgaon*)

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

The Yogavāsiṣṭha is a philosophical poem in Sanskrit. It is very widely read, studied and digested throughout the length and breadth of India either in the original or in translations. It has been translated into almost all the important Vernacular languages of the country including even the Urdu. Still it was either because of its vast bulk or because of its being neither a philosophical work written in the usual argumentative style nor a poetical work having either the Śṛṅgāra or Vīra Rasa predominant therein that it had not attracted the attention of European Indologists for a very long time. Recently however a few of them have begun to take short notices thereof. Thus Farquhar in his "Religious Literature of India" says at page 228 that this work "is one of the many Sanskrit poems written in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries."[1] Dr. Winternitz of Prague has, in his Geschichte der Indischen Litteratur, Vol. III, p. 444 expressed a guarded view that the Yogavāsiṣṭha must be an older work than the Yogavāsiṣṭhasāra of Gauḍa Abhinanda who lived in the middle of the 9th century and that as Śaṅkara has not mentioned it, it must probably have been composed by one of his contemporaries."[2] This view was probably based upon a statement of Konow as to the date of Gauḍa Abhinanda contained in his Karpūramañjarī, p. 197.[3] Prof. Sivaprasada Bhattacharya

1. "Yogavàsistha and Its Philosophy" by Dr. B. L. Atreya in "Theosophy in India" for April 1932, p. 58.
2. Ibid p. 59.
3. Ibid.

of Rajshahi was, I believe, the first Sanskrit scholar to study the whole work and express a well-thought out opinion on its date and the place of its inception in his paper on that subject read before the Third Oriental Conference held at Madras in 1924.[1] That opinion was to the effect that the work must have been composed by somebody residing either in Bengal or at least in Eastern India between the 10th and the 12th Centuries A. D. After about 7 years Dr. B. L. Atreya of the Benares Hindu University delivered a series of 5 lectures on the "Yogavāsiṣṭha and its Philosophy."[2] In the second of those lectures he discussed the question of the probable date of the composition of that work.[3] The view therein sought to be established is that it must have been composed in the 6th century A. D. Lastly, in the introduction to my edition of the Siddhāntabindu published in this year I guardedly stated that though I was not prepared to go as far back as Dr. Atreya I could say so much that the work must have been composed before 900 A. D.[4] I did not there hazard any definite opinion as to the date and any whatever as to the place of inception of the work. My subsequent study, still imperfect as it is, emboldens me to express definite views on both those points and I therefore propose to do so in the following pages. In order that they may be understood in their true light it is necessary to give this learned audience some conception as to the nature and style of the work. I therefore proceed to do that first.

NATURE AND STYLE OF THE PRESENT WORK.

The Yogavāsiṣṭha is a very popular philosophical poem having a few scattered prose passages and is divided into six chapters entitled, Vairāgya, Mumukṣu, Utpatti, Sthiti, Upaśama and Nirvāṇa respectively. The author himself has stated in II. 17·6 that it contains 32,000 stanzas but the Nirnaya Sagar Press edition thereof published in 1918 does not contain more

1. Proceedings and Transactions of the Third Oriental Conference, Madras, pp. 545–54.
2. "Theosophy in India" for April and August-September 1932.
3. Ibid, pp. 57–62.
4. G. O. Series No. LXIV, Introduction, Sec. XV. p. LXXXIX.

than 29289 stanzas including some prose passages. These are divided between the six chapters in the following manner:— Vairāgya 1146, Mumukṣu 807, Utpatti 6304, Sthiti 2414, Upaśama 4322 and Nirvāṇa, the longest chapter which is sub-divided into two parts, Purva and Uttara, 14296, of which there are in the Pūrvārdha 5331 and in Uttarārdha 8965. In point of style it much resembles the Bhāgavata Purāṇa rather than the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa, in which it purports to fill up a gap by narrating a philosophical dialogue between Rāma and Vasiṣṭha at the court of Daśaratha on the occasion of the arrival of Viśvāmitra for requesting that king to send Rāma with him for protecting his sacrificial ground against the attacks of the aborigines. Thus the author of the Bhāgavata, hiding his own identity, says, that Śaunaka and others had once put certain questions to Sūta, that the latter had in reply stated that he would narrate to him the Bhāgavata Purāṇa which, Śuka having learnt from his father Bādarāyaṇa who had composed it, had read before King Parikśita on the bank of the Ganges and which he himself had learnt from the Brahman sage, and does so and while doing so introduces several Upākhyānas (episodes) in order to illustrate some great principles of the Bhāgavata cult. In the same manner, the real author of the Yogavāsiṣṭha, hiding his own identity, states that a Brāhman named Sutīkṣṇa had approached the sage Agasti and inquired whether the path of action or of knowledge was the right one to be pursued for one desirous of final absolution, that the latter had replied that none of them singly was likely to lead to the desired goal but both must be resorted to simultaneously because they were like the two wings of a bird which were equally useful to it for flying and tried to illustrate that doctrine by narrating a dialogue between Kāruṇya and Agniveśya. While doing so he introduces a subsidiary dialogue between an Apsarā and Devadūta, a messenger of Indra, who being asked by Suruci where he had come from and whither he was going, states that he had gone to the sage Vālmīki in order to request him on behalf of his master Indra to explain to King Ariṣṭanemi, who had been practising severe austerities, the true nature of the objects of

this world so that he may not refuse to go to Indra's abode as desired by the latter, that the sage having agreed to comply with his request the king was taken by him to the sage Vālmīki, that thereafter the king sought the true knowledge of things from him, and the latter imparted it saying that he would for that purpose recite to him the Rāmāyaṇa which he had composed in the form of a dialogue between Rāma and Vasiṣṭha on hearing which he would be a Jīvanmukta, and did so. In doing so he introduces several Upākhyānas (episodes) in order to illustrate certain philosophical principles which he has expounded in that work. Similarly, the authors of both the works pause many-a-time to develop other sentiments besides the Śānta (quiescent) which is the main sentiment of both the works and at times go to such lengths in doing so in their zeal to make their works interesting to the general public, as to make us feel that they have there crossed the boundary-limit of propriety and miss a link in the chain of ideas about the principal theme.

THE AUTHOR'S REASON FOR COMPOSING IT.

As for the reason why he had composed the work he says that he having composed certain Rāma-stories intended to serve as a powerful means for the attainment of knowledge had taught them to his obedient pupil Bharadvāja, that the said pupil once narrated them before Brahmā at his residence on the Mount Meru, that Brahmā being pleased with them asked him to choose a boon, that the pupil requested that god to tell him the means by which people would be freed from misery, that Brahmā thereupon asked him to request the sage Vālmīki to finish the Rāmāyaṇa which he had begun to compose because on hearing it man would be freed from all infatuation, that Brahmā thereafter personally came to his hermitage also and told him that he should not leave the work unfinished but carry it to its end and that he thereupon did so.

THE SŪKṢMA AND STHŪLA ŚARĪRAS TENTATIVELY DISTINGUISHED.

Thus, although there are seven layers in the Yogavāsiṣṭha as it exists to-day, we have to distinguish between two only,

mely, an original composition in the form of imaginary
ılogues between Vasiṣṭha and Rāma and the subsequently
ded portions, as in the case of Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa. At this
ge in my study of this work I am not in a position to state
tegorically which portions exactly constitute the original
ıgavāsiṣṭha and which exactly the subsequent accretions
:reto. The two are so mixed up and placed in a new
ting that it may not perhaps be ever possible to reclaim
: original composition definitely. However, I feel sure that
: original philosophical poem must not have been divided
o the present six chapters; that the dialogue between
tīkṣṇa and Agasti, Agniveśya and Kāruṇya, Suruci and
vadūta and Vālmīki and Ariṣṭanemi, which occur only in
: first Sarga of the Vairāgya-prakaraṇa and in the 216th
rga of the latter part of the Nirvāṇa-prakaraṇa must not
ve existed in the original work, that some at least,
ıot all, the prose passages [1] occurring in the present work
ıst not also have formed part of the original, that some of
: Upākhyānas such as that of Līlā in the Utpatti-prakaraṇa
ıst not have existed in their present forms in the
ginal work and that the whole of the subject matter
the Uttarārdha of the Nirvāṇa-prakaraṇa must have
en susequently added like the Uttarakāṇḍa of the Vālmīki-
māyaṇa. Similarly, the disguised attacks on the doctrine
the Śaṅkara school of the Vedānta philosophy contained in
18. 67-68, IV. 31. 21 and IV. 32. 34 and the exaltation of
: doctrine established in the work as having been handed
wn traditionally from one teacher to another and therefore
: most acceptable one, contained in II. 19-35, the reference
the controversy as to whether Jīvanmukti is or is not pos-
le, that as to what is Videhamukti contained in III. 118 and
: persistent attempt to establish the Anubhava-vāda on
uting the pure Śāstra-vāda are also additions made by the
iter who gave the poem its present form.

• Vide II. 12. 11-19, II. 13-8-11, III. 63, 67-77-82, 93. 1-7, 9-16, 116. 8, 10-23, 122. 1-13, IV. 37. 10-11, 38. 1-3, 5-8, 11-21, 39, 1-5, 8-9, 12-13, 29-45, 49-50, VI/2, 61. 4, 6, 10, 12, 16, 18.

REASONS FOR THE DISTINCTION.

I believe these to be later additions for two reasons. One is that, important as the work is, it has not been referred to by Śaṅkara in any of his numerous works and since though there were differences of opinion amongst the old Mīmāṁsakas including the authors of the Brahmasūtras and the Pūrvamīmāṁsāsūtras as to whether it was or was not necessary to perform the Vaidic and Smārta rites after the desire for liberation has arisen, there were none between them (1) as to whether Mokṣa was attainable by knowledge alone or by it accompanied by the performance of those rites to teach which the dialogues of Agasti, Agniveśya and Vālmīki have been commenced; (2) as to whether the knowledge leading to it arose from the Mahāvākyas themselves or from concentration on the meaning thereof which is what Vasiṣṭha impresses on Rāma's mind; (3) as to whether it is the Samuccaya-vāda or Jñāna-vāda that is supported by tradition; and (4) as to whether it is possible for one to become a Jīvanmukta and if so, what is the real meaning of being a Videhamukta and when can one attain that state; references to those points are irreconcilable with the theory of the work having been composed earlier than A. D. 788. Above all, the dictum of Śaṅkara that Brahma is the reality and the world is unreal laid down in Vivekacūḍāmaṇi 20 is found mentioned in an inverted form and it is said about the person who pronounced it that even an insane who is stupid laughs heartily at him as if he were an insane.[1] The habit of the author of the Yogavāsiṣṭha to borrow the language of previous works such as the Upaniṣads, the Bhagavadgītā, Gauḍapāda's Kārikās, Vairāgyaśataka, Meghadūta, &c. and twist it slightly so as to fit in with his ideas is too apparent from his work to require illustrations. Hence the similarity

1 Cf. ब्रह्म सत्यं जगन्मिथ्येत्येवंरूपो विनिश्चयः ।
सोऽयं नित्यानित्यवस्तुविवेकः समुदाहृत : ॥ वि. चू. २० ॥
and
इदं जगदसद् ब्रह्म सत्यमित्येव वक्ति यः ।
तमुन्मत्तमिवोन्मत्तो विमूढोऽपि हसत्यलम् ॥ यो. वा. ७, ११.२१ ॥

of ideas and even language which Dr. Atreya has found[1] leads rather to the conclusion that the author of the present Yogavāsiṣṭha had availed himself of those ideas of Śaṅkara which fit in with his and incorporated them in his work after slightly twisting his language as he did in the case of those taken from the other works.

The second reason why I consider that these are subsequent additions in the work is that there is a distinct and unmistakable reference to a king of Kāśmir of the name of Yaśaskaradeva who had his place in the town of Adhiṣṭhāna in that province. On a reference to Sir M. A. Stein's "Kalhaṇa's Chronicle of the Kings of Kāśmir," :Vol. I, pp. 234–44 I find that a Brāhmaṇa of that name who was an inhabitant of Piśācakapura had been raised to the throne by a class of Brāhmaṇas which was then in power at Kāśmir after the assassination of Śūravarman II by one Kamalavardhana in 939 A. D., that he ruled over the province justly till 948 A.D., and that he was succeeded on his retirement by his son Saṁgrāmadeva except for one day for which his uncle Rāmadeva's son Varṇaṭa ruled there at his desire. On a reference to the introduction to that work I also find in Chapter V, para 82 at pages 84–85 that Pravarasena II who ruled over Kāśmir in the second half of the sixth century A.D. had founded a new city on the site now occupied by Śrinagar which was called Pravarapura after his name and was also known as "the new city" at the time of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Thsang's visit to India in 631 A. D. as distinguished from Purāṇādhiṣṭhāna (the old city). The Sanskrit word "Adhiṣṭhāna" means nothing but an abode or a resting place and therefore can as well be applied to a city as well as a house, hut, etc. Hiuen Thsang's term "the new city" must therefore be a rendering of the Sanskrit term "Navādhiṣṭhāna" or "Nūtanādhiṣṭhāna." Further identification is secured by the fact that it is stated in Yogavāsiṣṭha, IV. 32. 11–13 that the said town appeared beautiful on account of hills surrounding

1 Yogavaaistha and its Philosophy' in "Theosophy in India" for April 1932, page 60.

it, that in the midst of it there was a peak of a mountain named Pradyumnaśikhara and that on the top of it there was a king of houses, a veritable another peak. Answering to that description I find in Rājataraṅgiṇī, III. 357–62 the description of the city built by Pravarasena II, two of the special characteristics mentioned wherein are the existence of mansions "which reach up to the clouds" and of " a pleasure hill " in the centre of the city. We can therefore reasonably infer that " Navādhiṣṭhāna " or " Nūtanādhiṣṭhāna " was the alternative name of Pravarapura and that the author of the Yogavāsiṣṭha had succinctly called it " Adhiṣṭhāna ".[2] A hill of the name of Pradyumna is also found mentioned in the Rājataraṅgiṇī, III. 460 and VII. 1616 and as the erection of two temples and a Maṭha for the Pāśupata mendicants by King Raṇāditya of Kāśmīr and his wife are mentioned in Rājataraṅgiṇī, III. 460, we can infer that there must be several other buildings also thereon in the time of the present author of our work as mentioned by him in IV. 32. 11–13. Lastly, the name Ratnāvalīvihāra mentioned in IV. 32. 18 is found from Rājataraṅgiṇī, III. 476 to be the name of a Vihāra got constructed by Galūna, a minister of King Vikramāditya, son of the said Raṇāditya. These are kings of the Gonandiya dynasty after its restoration and it was the last king there named Durlabhavardhana who had been ruling over Kāśmīr when the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Thsang visited it in 631 A.D. and between Vikramāditya and Durlabhavardhana there was only one king of the name of Bālāditya. It is therefore probable that Raṇāditya and Vikramāditya had been ruling over Kāśmīr in the third and fourth quarters of the sixth and a few years of the first quarter of the seventh century. It is not known how long Bālāditya had ruled over Kāśmīr.

PROBABLE TIME OF THE COMPOSITION OF THE PRESENT WORK.

Can we not then infer from this evidence that the author of the Yogavāsiṣṭha in its present form must be a contemporary of King Yaśaskaradeva of Kāśmīr and must, therefore, have

2 My further study has revealed a reference to the same town made by the very term 'Adhisthāna' in Rājataraṅgiṇī IV. 696.

red in the first half of the tenth century? There is only one onflicting piece of evidence in doing so and that is that the uthor speaks about the existence of the said king and his own and palace in the future tense, through the mouth of asiṣṭha. It is easy, however, to reconcile it with the proposed ference on the ground that whereas it is quite in the fitness things that Vasiṣṭha should be using a verb in the future nse when he says that the three demons Dāma, Vyāla and aṭa, who are now reborn together as fishes in a lake in a rest of Kāśmīr will be liberated, when they being reborn s swans will become separated, die separately, be reborn s a mosquito, a sparrow and a partridge respectively, side at different places, and on hearing the tale of their fall om the minister Nṛsiṁha and others, be liberated, it need not e assumed that the unnamed author, who had recorded that rophecy supposed to have been made by Vasiṣṭha centuries go, had also been living at a time prior to the reign of Yaśa-kara and had himself a prophetic vision of what was to appen in the reign of that king. On the contrary, in the fami-arity which he shows in describing the places situated and e persons residing in Kāśmīr there is a sufficient warrant for e inference that he must either be writing this account at the me when Yaśaskara was ruling over Kāśmīr and Nṛsiṁha as one of his ministers or at a time when any successor that king on the throne of Kāśmīr had been ruling there. therefore conclude that such was really the case.

PROBABLE OBJECTIONS CONSIDERED.

It is quite natural to ask why I assume that there was an ld nucleus of the Yogavāsiṣṭha and the unnamed author of e present work had developed it into its present shape. have a ready answer to that query and it is this:—firstly, ālmīki who has been speaking to Ariṣṭanemi has himself dmitted that originally he had composed some Rāma-stories nd taught them to his dear pupil Bharadvāja; Brahmā ho heard them from the mouth of the pupil asked him to tell is teacher that he should not leave the work unfinished and rther came to his hermitage and told him so; that thereupon e had finished that work and that that work was the one

which formed the rest of the present work. I infer from this admission that there must be an old nucleus in the form of stray stories on several philosophical topics and that the present author had knit them together and arranged them in the present six chapters and in doing so made at least the additions above-mentioned if not more. Secondly, the frequent repetitions in prose or verse that we meet with cannot be satisfactorily accounted for except on this assumption. Thirdly, the several dialogues, one within the other, besides the main one between Rāma and Vasiṣṭha probably indicate that there was one work composed by Vālmiki and that it had passed through several hands before it reached its present author. If that was so, we can, in view of the known habit of our amanuenses, safely assume that some conscious or unconscious accretions to the original work must have taken place at their hands.[1] And, as for the story of Dāma and the other demons above-referred to, I can say without fear of contradiction that it must have been composed by the minister Nṛsiṁha referred to therein because the present author has himself said in verse 21 of the above Sarga that the said minister Nṛsiṁha will narrate to Dāma, Vyāla and Kaṭa "this good story composed in verses" and from that I infer that the minister had himself composed it and that this author had incorporated it in this work after twisting its wording slightly so as to suit his purpose. The way in which he has grafted it on the main theme, namely, that Vasiṣṭha is made to say to Rāma, after he has expounded the principle that the aspirants for knowledge stood in absolute need of getting control over their mind and senses, that he should beware lest he should fall in the same predicament as Dāma, Vyāla and Kaṭa and something more with which we are not at present concerned, that Rāma's curiosity to know who they were and what had happened to them is aroused, that he thereupon puts such questions and Vasiṣṭha narrates the whole story, confirms the inference. Fourthly, the division of the present work into six chapters is so unscientific and

1. In VI/1. 22, 22–25 the author refers through the mouth of Bhusunda to the existence of an original Maharamayana composed by a man of the name of Valmiki and says that this is the twelfth such Ramayana that he had been composing.

ne of the additions made in the work, as for instance, the roduction of another Lilā and another Devî, the description nother war etc. in the Lilā episode which occur in the rd chapter, reveal the author as so much lacking in a sense propriety that one hesitates to believe that the same author ild have composed the several beautiful poetical and losophical passages occurring in the work which presup- se on the part of the author a deep insight into the subtlety he human mind, a keen power of observation of the organic l inorganic creation and an unmeasured command over the guage in which they are composed. Fifthly, if as Dr. Atreya stated in his said lecture,[1] there is a reference in the uśāsana Parva of the Mahābhārata to the existence of a rk, containing the views of Vasiṣṭha formed from know- ge derived from Brahmā, prior to the composition of that c, that is an additional ground for the above belief, for in gavāsiṣṭha II. 2. 27 Vasiṣṭha has been made to say that he nembered without break the knowledge which Brahmā had nerly imparted to him on the Niṣadha mountain.

It may also be asked why, if a Yogavāsiṣṭha in whatever n it existed before the time of Śaṅkara, he never referred to n any work of his. The only answer that suggests itself to is that the work must till his time have a local circulation y and if, as Prof. Sivaprasad Bhattacharya says, it had its gin in Bengal or at least Eastern India[2] or as I hold, in imir it is not unlikely that it may not have come to his owledge during his sojourn in that part of the country. nay also be that it may have come to his knowledge and he may have ignored it in view of the facts that though re is no difference between his fundamental doctrine that re is only one reality and that propounded in that work, re is a difference between them as to certain details which by no means unimportant and that it was a work written he Paurāṇic or narrative style, not in the strictly philoso- c or argumentative style.

"Theosophy in India" for April 1932 p. 62.

The Yogavāsiṣṭha Ramayana. Its probable date and place of incep- tion:—Proceedings and transactions of the Third Oriental Conference, Madras pp. 545–54.

There is only one more doubt which requires to be cleared up. There is an abridgment of the Yogavāsiṣṭha by Gauḍa Abhinanda of Kāśmir. Konow has in his Karpūramañjarī, stated that this author had been living in the middle of the 9th century. In my Introduction to my edition of the Siddhāntabindu, I too had stated that there was a pointed reference to the Yogavāsiṣṭha in Saṁkṣepa Śārīraka II. 182 and that as Sarvajñātmā, the author of that work, was known to have lived about 900 A. D. the Yogavāsiṣṭha must be in existence at the close of the 9th and the beginning of the 10th century. As I have not with me at present a copy of the abridgment[1] and have not seen the grounds of Konow's inference that Gauḍa Abhinanda lived in the middle of the 9th century, I cannot state whether it was the Yogavāsiṣṭha in its present form that he has abridged or one in some other previous form. As for the second I find on a reference to verses 55–66 of canto I of chapter I of the Yogavāsiṣṭha that though there is a statement therein that Rāma though omniscient had assumed ignorance for some time, the reason given therein for his having done so is that a curse had been pronounced on Viṣṇu whose incarnation he was, by Sanatkumāra when that god had gone to Satyaloka. It is therefore

1. I have since seen the abridgement and have no doubt as to its being an abridgement of the Yogavāsiṣṭha in its present form but as for Konow's inference as to its author having lived about the middle of the 9th century, I am of opinion that it is based on a very shaky foundation. In the first place, it is based on the assumption that Rajasekhara, the auth r of Karpūramañjarī is mentioned in the Suktimuktavalī as a contemporary poet by Vasukalpa and Abhinanda. That assumption has been based on a statement to that effect in *Aufrecht* Cata. Cata. at p. 502 which, my own experience in the case of Madhusudana Sarasvati's and Sankara's works, has proved to be not a very safe guide because his information was based on facts supplied to him by several persons who were not always sufficiently critical in drawing inferences. Secondly, although he is aware that there were two Abhinandas, and their father's names differ, he has taken them to be one and the same individual on the authority of Dr Buhler. Assuming for the sake of argument that Buhler's view is correct, Abhinanda is said to be the great-great grandson of an unnamed man who lived in the time of Muktapiḍa Lalitaditya who is believed to have ascended the throne of Kāsmir "not before 724" and from that it is inferred that Abhinanda must have lived in the middle of the nineth century, i. e. about 850.

reasonable to infer that though the Saṁkṣepa Śārīraka does refer to a work containing a teaching of Brahmā imparted to Rāma by Vasiṣṭha, and that it may therefore be the Yogavāsiṣṭha, it need not necessarily be believed to be that work in its present form.

It is thus clear that except the abridgment of Gauḍa Abhinanda there is nothing that can come in the way of our concluding that the Yogavāsiṣṭha must have existed in another form prior to the time of the present author and that he amplified it and re-arranged it in its present form.

It is also clear from what has preceded that he must have done that either during the first half of the tenth century A.D. or at any time after that and that none of the arguments advanced by Dr. Atreya for the work in its present form having been composed earlier than that is likely to present any insurmountable difficulty except that based on the existence of the abridgment of Abhinanda. As for that the evidence of its composition during or after the second half of the tenth century is so strong that the said argument cannot be given a preponderating weight and some other explanation must be sought to explain the anomaly. For the reasons above-stated, I am not in a position to do so at present but that should not deter me from putting forward the evidence in favour of the late production of the work in its present form which I have happened to find. In view of that the earliest date that can be assigned to the present work is the second quarter of the tenth century.

As for the *terminus ad quem*, I think we need not go as far as the 12th century as Prof. Bhattacharya has done[1] for several reasons. The first reason taken into consideration by him for doing so vanishes when we believe the work to have been composed in the second quarter of the tenth century, long before which time Mahomedan tribes from the north-west frontier had begun to make inroads into India. The same is the case with the second because the learned professor himself says that owing to the mention of the Vedāntins in the work

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1 Ibid p. 554.

we must go forward to at least the time of Śaṅkara which is 788 to 820 A. D., whereas I have fixed the *terminus a quo* to be the second quarter of the tenth century in view as well of other circumstances as of direct attacks on Śaṅkara's doctrine and even one pointed reference to a particular verse in Śaṅkara's Vivekacūḍāmaṇi. Thirdly, the familiarity with the Bhāgavata Purāṇa need not drive us to fix the date of the Yogavāsiṣṭha beyond the time above mentioned because as has been recently shown by Mr. B. N. Krishnamurti Sarma in his article on "The Date of the Bhāgavata Purāṇa" that Purāṇa "was well-known in the tenth century, extant in the seventh, not unknown in the sixth and had very likely been composed in the fifth century A. D. if not earlier still."[1] The other grounds mentioned by Prof. Bhattacharya have been intended to support his theory that the work under consideration must have originated in Eastern India at least if not in Bengal. There is thus no substantial reason for holding that the work in its present form must have been composed at a time later than the tenth century. I think therefore we can safely conclude that the present redaction of the Yogavāsiṣṭha as published by the Nirṇaya Sāgar Press, Bombay must have been composed either in the second or third, or, if not in any of them, in the fourth quarter of the tenth century.

PLACE OF ORIGIN OF THE WORK.

As for the place where the work could have been composed, Prof. Bhattacharya has stated that its author seems to be rather at home in treating of the customs of the Easterners and has drawn such a picture of the Buddhistic ideals and of the superinducing of the alien doctrines on national life that he is "inclined to think that it is the prototype of the conditions in that quarter of India where Buddhism played a prominent part in philosophical beliefs and general culture and is believed to have subsequently merged itself in the older creed of the-land". He has based this inference on Yogavāsiṣṭha I. 3. 37–38; II. 18, III. 36 and 37, and IV. 62. 8–11. On referring to III. 36 and 37 thereout I find that the author has therein shown himself to be completely familiar with the topography and ethnology of almost all the provinces of India then in existence and was even aware of their modern names such as the Koṅkaṇas, Karṇāṭas, Gurjaras, Mālavas, &c. The contents of Yogavāsiṣṭha II. 18 show that the author was

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1. Annals of the B. O. R. I. Vol. XIV, Parts III–IV, pp. 182–18, 218.

as familiar with the contents of the Upaniṣads, the Bhagavadgita and some of the argumentative works on the Vedānta philosophy as with the works of some of the Buddhists such as Nāgārjuna, Asaṅga and others[1] and a general view of the whole work is likely to lead to the conclusion that his own view was very much akin to that of the Samuccayavādin Bhartṛprapañca which has been as vehemently attacked by Sureśvara in his Vārttika and Naiṣkarmyasiddhi as that of the Bhedābhedavādin Brahmadatta. Yogavāsiṣṭha IV. 62. 8-12 are only 5 of the 21 verses by which Vasiṣṭha acquaints Rāma with the benefits to be derived by following his instructions as to conduct The language of the whole Sarga has an orthodox rather than a heterodox tinge and the second line of verse 18 thereof is one of the several instances[2] in this work of its author having borrowed the phraseology of the Bhagavadgita As for Buddhism having played a prominent part in matters of philosophical beliefs and general culture and having subsequently merged in the older creed of the land in the eastern provinces of India, it is enough to state that the said province is not the only one in India where it so happened and that Kāśmir had passed through the same conditions except that there Buddhism was an extant creed till even the 12th century. If therefore there is any solid reason to believe that the author of the Yogavāsiṣṭha shows a special familiarity with the Buddhistic ideals that must be due to his being an inhabitant of Kāśmir which appears from the fact above noted namely, that he was familiar with every small detail about the places and buildings in and also the folk-lore of Kāśmir.[3] If it is necessary to cite an authority in support of the statement as to Hinduism and Buddhism having existed in Kāśmir side by side without friction for several centuries, I would refer the audience to the excellent and unimpeachable work of Sir M. A. Stein on the history of that province. According to him "Centuries before Kalhaṇa's time Buddhism and the orthodox creed had existed side by side in Kasmir. As far as the laity was concerned, they had to a great extent amalgamated. His own narrative from the

1. Vide also on this point Yogavasistha III. 5. 6-7, 96. 45-46, 70-13, IV. 1-20, 14. 11 and IV. 21. 13-32, VI/I. 125. 3. V. 87. 18-21, 128. 21-22.

2. Vide e.g. Yogavāsiṣṭha II. 18. 30, VI/I. 52. 36-37, 53, 12. 16, 17-19, 56, 60, 66, 54, 1, 2, 4, 25-28, 33-38, 55. 4, 13-14, 18, 21, 56, 7, 58. 1, 128. 39, 48, VI/2, 200, 31, 204, 1, 213, 10 etc.

3. Yogavāsiṣṭha IV. 32.

point where it reaches historical ground, gives ample proof of this. Of almost all royal and private individuals, who are credited with the foundation of Buddhist Stūpas and Vihāras, it is recorded that they or at least members of their family with equal zeal endowed also the shrines of Śiva and Viṣṇu".[1] And as for the popularity of the Yogavāsiṣtha in Bengal, I can equally vouch for its popularity amongst the philosophically-minded people of Gujarat and Maharashtra. I therefore think that the better view is that the work under consideration must have been composed by a poet and philosopher living in Kāśmīr for a long time, whether born or settled there.[2]

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1. "Kalhana's Chronicle of the Kings of Kāsmir" by Sir M. A. Stein: Introduction, Chapter I Sec. 1. p. 9.

2. My further study of the work has brought to my notice several facts, which serve to strengthen the above conclusion. Thus in III. 47 *et seq.* there is the story of a war between a King of Sindhudesa (Valley of the Indus) and Viduratha of Kāsmir. In III. 86 there is that of Indu, a Brahmana of Suvarnajata which is situated in a valley of Mt. Kailasa in Tibet. Lavana, referred to in III. 104 was a King of Uttarapandu which must have been situated somewhere near Siberia. A Brahmana of the name of Bhrgu is stated in IV. 5 to have been practising austerities on the Mandara Mt. which was most probably situated in the eastern portion of China near Mukden and Peking. From IV. 48 begins the story of Dasura, an ascetic residing on the top of a mountain in Magadha. A Brahmana named Uddalaka is reported in V. 51, to have once been practising austerities on the Gandhamadana Mt. which has been located to the north-east of Mt. Kailasa in the southern part of China. In V. 58 there is the story of Suraghu, King of Kiratadesa (Tibet) and a part of it consists of a dialogue between him and Parigha, King of the Parasikas (Persians). Two brothers, Bhasa and Vilasa are stated in V. 65 to have been residing at a place in the northern range of the Sahyadri Mt. which from the other description in that canto appears to be a mountain to the north of India and not to be identical with the mountain of that name on the west coast of India. The abode of Bhusunda, the wise and hoary crow, is stated in VI/I. 14 to be a tree on Mt. Meru which was situated about the middle of Jambudvipa which was most probably identical with Asia, *i. e. to say*, somewhere in Mongolia. Sikhiddhvaja, husband of Cudala, a daughter of the King of Surastra (Sorath, the southern division of Kathiawad), is in VI/I. 77 stated to be a King of the Malavas. Lastly, there is in the episode of Lila in Chapter III a mention of the names of almost all the North Indian tribes and their respective characteristics. The descriptions of some of the places occurring in some of these episodes, particularly those relating to Kāsmir and those near Mt. Kailasa in Tibet are so minute and elaborate that they can reasonably be inferred to have been written only by one residing at a place from where he could easily have gone to any of them and from where he could easily have gathered the necessary information. Such a place is none other than the province of Kāsmir.

PRE-RAGHUNANDANA DIGESTS OF BENGAL AND BIHAR.

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Digests or *Nibandhas* are compilations from the metrical Smṛtis of Manu, Yājñavalkya, Nārada and others, from the Purāṇas, from the commentaries on the metrical Smṛtis and from the previous digests. They began to be written when the Muhammadans made a determined attempt to conquer the greater part of India but succeeded only in annexing the Punjab. Hinduism received a rude shock at the repeated raids and iconoclastic efforts of Mahmud of Ghazni, and the Hindus began from this time to regulate more rigidly their social and domestic affairs, lest their political power might go. That led to the system of writing digests of law in different kingdoms of India and the lead was taken by Bengal. We propose to deal in this paper with the digests of Bengal and Bihar that were composed from the earliest times down to the days of Raghunandana, the great Bengal jurist of the 16th century A. D.

The earliest digest of the Bengal School is the *Hāralatā* of Aniruddha Bhaṭṭa who flourished in the court of Ballala Sena in the 11th century. The work relates to *aśouca* (impurity) and has been published in the Bibliotheca Indica Series in 1909.

The work has been largely quoted by all subsequent jurists of the Bengal School who have incorporated *in toto* in their works the various prescriptions laid down in the *Hāralatā*.

The next Bengal digest-makers are Jīmūtavāhana and Śūlapāṇi. The former was by far the greater jurist and

flourished by the end of the 11th century. He wrote a complete code entitled Dharmaratna of which we possess only three books, viz. Dāyabhāga, Kālaviveka and Vyāvahāra-Mātṛkā. The Dāyabhāga is still the treatise on positive law of Hindu inheritance in the Bengal School, which is otherwise known as the *Dāyabhāga School* after the name of the guiding book. Jīmūtavāhana quotes many authors by name, but he does not quote Vijñāneśvara or his Mitākṣarā, but fights his doctrines.

Śūlapāṇi flourished in the 14th century. His works are extensively studied in Bengal. He has twelve works, with names ending with the word "Viveka". His Durgotsava-viveka seems to be the earliest work on the subject. His Śrāddha-viveka and Prāyaścittaviveka are two of the most authoritative Smṛti works of the Bengal School.

The sixteenth century of the Christian era which is already marked throughout the world for Bengal's intense intellectual activity in the field of Hindu logic and philology is also fomous for the rise of two eminent jurists in Bengal, viz. Govindānanda-kavikaṅkaṇācāryya and Raghunandana Bhattācāryya. Both were contemporaries. The former flourished in an obscure village in the district of Midnapore and his descendants in his native village (Bagri-Krishnagar) still use his books. Of the several digests, written by him, the following four have been published in the years noted after them:—

Varṣakriyākaumudī (1902), Dānakriyākaumudī (1903), Śrāddhakriyākaumudī (1904) and Śuddhikaumudī (1905).

The only commentary from his pen which is extant is on he Prāyaścittaviveka of Śūlapāṇi.

The Aṣṭāviṁśati-Tattva of Raghunandana was also ompiled at this time. Raghunandana himself says that the 'otiṣatattva, one of his twenty-eight Tattvas, was compiled in e year 1565 A.D. Raghunandana flourished in Navadwip d belonged to the Rāḍhiya class of Brahmins with whose cestors the Vedas were a lost study. So his efforts were to troduce as much of Tantra in Smṛti, as was consistent with

the ideas of Hinduism in those days. He quotes largely from the original Tantras, but the area for which he wrote his works was circumscribed to Western Bengal, and that part of it which is north of the now-extinct river Sarasvatī; because the territory beyond the Saptagrāma, he calls, as the Dakṣiṇadeśa.

So, after about the Pre-Raghunandana Bengal jurists, the three names of Caṇḍeśvara, Vardhamāna and Vācaspati stand conspicuous in the school of Mithilā (modern North Bihar). The first of these, Caṇḍeśvara Ṭhakkura, was the minister to the king Harisiṁhadeva of Mithilā in the 14th century. The power of Harisiṁha in Mithilā was an eye-sore to the Muhammadans. So one of the Tughlak Emperors drove away the king from Mithilā and destroyed his capital, Simraon, and gave the kingdom of Mithilā as a fief to the head of the Śrotriya Brahmins of the place. Caṇḍeśvara followed his patron to Nepal and wrote seven Smṛti works and one work on Polity under his patronage. Three of his Smṛti works have been published in Bibl. Ind., viz. Vivādaratnākara (1887), Kṛtyaratnākara (1925) and Gṛhastharatnākara (1928). Mr. K. P. Jayaswal of Patna has published the work on Polity, the Rājanītiratnākara, in the J. B. O. R. S. in 1924. The Vivādaratnākara is a purely Vyavahāra work on civil and criminal law, and its inheritance section is still good law in North Bihar. The concluding verse of this work informs us that Caṇḍeśvara performed the rite of Tulā-puruṣa-dāna on the banks of the Bagmati in Nepal in the bright half of the month Āgrahāyaṇa (November-December) of the year 1314 A. D.[1]

Caṇḍeśvara in his Kṛtyaratnākara takes the credit of driving away the ancient Solar dynasty of kings from Nepal, of worshipping Paśupati by touching him with his own hand, of making great gifts, of donating many flourishing villages to Brāhmaṇas and of excavating a big tank in Simarāma-pura (Simraon), the capital of Mithilā.[2]

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1. Op. cit. ed. Dinanath Vidyālaṅkāra, in Bibliotheca Indica, pp. 670-71. Verse : रसगुणभुजचन्द्रे : etc.

2. Op. cit. ed. Mm. Kamala Kṛṣṇa Smṛtitīrtha in the Bibliotheca Indica, pp. 4, 5, and foot-note 3c ; verse 15. 20, and n. 3c.

Vardhamāna Upādhyāya, son of the poet Bhaveśa, of the Bilvapañcaka family, was the next great jurist of Mithilā. He flourished in the first half of the 16th century and was the Chief Justice in the court of the king Bhairava[1]. He wrote a number of digests which are known only from the quotations by his successors, such as Raghunandana who calls him the younger (Navya) Vardhamāna Upādhyāya in his Vyavahāra-tattva. His works are, Daṇḍaviveka, Dvaitaviveka, Gaṅgākṛtyaviveka, Paribhāṣāviveka, Smṛtitattvaviveka, Dharmapradīpa, Smṛtiparibhāṣā, Smṛtitattvāmṛta and Smṛtitattvāmṛtasāroddhāra. Only his Daṇḍaviveka which is a comprehensive Penal code, a unique work in the whole range of digest literature, has been published (No. LII, G.O.S., 1931). He has immensely quoted from his Mithila predecessor Caṇḍeśvara and followed his decisions. He calls Vācaspati Miśra as one of his teachers in one of his introductory verses in the Daṇḍaviveka.

Vācaspati Miśra, the jurist, of Mithilā was an older contemporary of Vardhamāna Upādhyāya and was also patronised by the king Bhairava, otherwise known as Rāja Harinārāyaṇa Deva. He wrote Kṛtyamahārṇava, Dvaitanirṇaya, Śuddhicintāmaṇi, Śrāddhacintāmaṇi, Vivādacintāmaṇi, Tīrthacintāmaṇi etc. Of these, Vivādacintāmaṇi is still respected in Mithilā and its authority has been upheld by the British Indian Courts in Mithilā. It follows in the wake of Caṇḍeśvara's Vivāda-ratnākara. The Tīrthacintāmaṇi was a sealed book till 1912, when a critical edition was published in the Bibl. Ind. Series. It contains the details of rites to be performed in the five foremost places of Hindu pilgrimage, viz. Puri, Gaya, Benares, Allahabad and the Ganges. Raghunandana has largely quoted from the works of Vācaspati, who has highly respected the opinions of Kalpataru, Pārijāta and the Ratnākaras.[2]

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1. Daṇḍaviveka, ed. Mm. Kamala Kṛṣṇa Smṛtitīrtha in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, p. 2, verse 5; p. 356, lines 1 and 2, and Colophon.
2. श्रीकृत्यकल्पद्रुमपारिजातरत्नाकरादीनवलोक्य यत्नात् ।
प्रणम्य मूर्ध्ना मधुसूदनाय वाचस्पतिस्तीर्थविधिं तनोति ॥
Introductory verse of Tīrthacintāmaṇi.

As my paper professes to deal with the Pre-Raghunandana digests of Bengal and Bihar, I am compelled to conclude my remarks here. Digests went on being written long after Raghunandana and their progress was suddenly arrested by the advent of the English. The assumption of authority by the British Government to decide cases of Hindu law, relating to marriage, adoption and inheritance, dealt a death-blow to this digest-literature. The English rulers have accepted the authority of several digests in each school of Hindu Law and innovation under the guise of interpretation, which was so long a fruitful source of social legislation among the Hindus, has been taken off the hands of the Smṛti-scholars and now totally rests with the Legislature and the Judiciary.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE KARṆĀṬAKA FAMILIES TO SANSKRIT LITERATURE IN THE TAMIL COUNTRY.

By N. K. VENKATESAM PANTULU, M.A., L.T.
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Śrī Vidyāraṇya, the great sage and the renowned commentator of the four Vedas, played a prominent part in the great religious and political revival which took place in the Karṇāṭaka country in the fourteenth century. As a distinguished disciple of Śrī Vidyātīrthendra Sarasvatī, the fifty-first Guru on the Kāmakoṭi Pīṭha of Conjeeveram, he was deputed to preach the Advaita Vedānta and establish Mutts for its propagation, in the Karṇāṭaka Deśa, when Madhvācārya was engaged in preaching the Dvaita doctrine. Śrī Vidyāraṇya fulfilled the mission, established eight Mutts, and had his own seat at Virūpākṣa, now known as Hampi, from Pampā of the Rāmāyaṇa. He is shown as the twelfth Pīṭhādhipati of the Śṛṅgeri Mutt and as the fourth of the Govardhana Mutt at Jagannāth.

When the tide of Muslim invasion threatened the extinction of Hindu sovereignty and Hindu Dharma in the southern peninsula, Śrī Vidyāraṇya Svāmī helped Harihara and Bukka, the sons of Saṅgama, to establish a kingdom at Hampi, which later became the famous Empire of Vijayanagar. This was in 1336. Śri Vidyāraṇya henceforth was known as Karṇāṭaka-siṁhāsanapratiṣṭhāpanācārya.

The Saṅgama and the Saluva dynasties ruled from 1336 to 1505. The glory of the Empire reached its zenith in the reign of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya. During his reign, the Empire extended over "the whole of the present Presidency of Madras with the addition of Mysore and the other native states in

the peninsula." The glory of the Empire began to wane under his brother, Achyuta Rāya. The material and the spiritual glory of the Empire was by the hand of Providence transferred to Tanjore, under peculiar circumstances. Mūrtimāmbā, the sister-in-law of Achyuta Rāya was given in marriage to Chavappa, and Tanjore was given to him as the marriage dowry. Chavappa Nāyaka took with him Govinda Dīkṣita, the Karṇāṭaka Brahmin, who was the Court-astrologer, and the Guru of Chavappa.

Under these circumstances, Govinda Dīkṣita became the minister of the Tanjore Nāyak kings and helped the administration for nearly three quarters of a century. He was minister under the three Nāyak kings, Chavappa, Achyutappa and Raghunātha, in the sixteenth century, and he was primarily responsible for the fresh life imparted to Cola Deśa, by his administrative reforms, as well as by many acts calculated to ensure the well-being of the people entrusted to his care. His son Yajñanārāyaṇa Dīkṣita, who was the Court-poet, says that Raghunātha Nāyaka gave Ardhāsana or half-seat on his throne to Govinda Dīkṣita, and that Govinda Dīkṣita taught politics to the king. The unusual privilege Govinda Dīkṣita enjoyed, he used for the public weal, by renovating temples, establishing public gardens, inaugurating extensive works of irrigation, founding and aiding charitable institutions, and creating a network of Pāṭhaśālās, corresponding to the ancient Gurukulas, thus keeping bright the torch of learning lit by the ancient Ṛṣis.

Govinda Dīkṣita was a great student of Advaita and very early he came into close contact with the great teacher and controversialist Appayya Dīkṣita, who combated the Madhva teacher Vijayīndra Tīrtha. Govinda Dīkṣita himself taught Advaita to his disciples, and as a practical teacher, he wrote a concise treatise on the Ṣaḍ-darśana. He also wrote a commentary on Kumārila Darśana, a Mīmāṁsā work. He was called Advaitavidyācārya by Appayya Dīkṣita. His son refers to him as Śrī Padavākya-pramāṇapārāvārapāriṇa Śrīmadadvaitavidyācārya. Govinda Dīkṣita wrote a work on music, known as Saṅgītasudhānidhi

though it passes as the work of Raghunātha Nāyaka. Father Heras says that he composed a long epic poem called Harivaṁśasāracaritraṁ, in three cantos. He got the Purāṇa of Tiruvaiyyar (Tiruvadi) translated from Sanskrit into Tamil. He seems to have left a work on astrology and he is said to have written a commentary on Sundarakāṇḍa of the Rāmāyaṇa. He was a great statesman, and a great scholar and philosopher, besides being a true Brahmin in his private life, as is shown by the references to his religious life by his son, who calls himself the son of a devout Advaitin, who had performed many Yāgas. The extraordinary popularity that Govinda Dīkṣita enjoyed is shown by the familiar title 'Ayyan' used in referring to him in inscriptions, and in the word "Ayyan" being associated with the names of several institutions in the Cola Deśa.

Govinda Dīkṣita's son Yajñanārāyaṇa Dīkṣita was the Court-poet and a great scholar. He was also a master of Vyākaraṇa, Tarka, Mīmāṁsā and Advaita Vedānta. He had taste for music and dancing. His scholarship is evident in his great Kāvya, Sāhityaratnākara, recently edited and published by Mr. T. R. Chintāmani, M. A. Lecturer, Sanskrit Department, University of Madras. He says that three works have come down from Yajñanārāyaṇa Dīkṣita, viz. Sāhityaratnākara, Raghunāthavilāsa and Alaṅkāraratnākara.

Sāhityaratnākara is a Mahākāvya and we have in print sixteen Cantos, where it ends abruptly. He lavishly praises his hero and patron Raghunātha Nāyaka, who was himself a scholar and an author, besides being a great lover of learned men, as all the Nāyak kings were. The epic deals with the reigns of the three kings Chavappa, Achyutappa and Raghunātha. A vivid account is given of the life and attainments of Raghunātha Nāyaka, in particular. Raghunāthavilāsa is a dramatic work, and Alaṅkāraratnākara is a work on rhetoric.

Yajñanārāyaṇa Dīkṣita's brother, Veṅkaṭeśvara Dīkṣita is well known as Veṅkaṭa Makhī, the author of Caturdaṇḍiprakāśikā, written originally as a review of the Svaramelakalā-

nidhi of Bekara Rāmāmātya of Vijayanagar. He was patronised by the fourth and last Nāyak king, Vijayarāghava. He also wrote a work called Vārtikābharaṇa, a commentary on the Ṭupṭikā of Kumārila Svāmin. He also wrote Karmāntavārtika, a commentary on the Karmānta portion of the Bodhāyana Śrautasūtra, and Śulbamīmāṁsā, a treatise on Vedic Trigonometry, based on the Śulbasūtras. He also wrote a work known as Sāhityasāmrājya.

A work called Śivasahasranāmabhāṣya by one Liṅgādhvarin is said by Mr. Chintamani to be the work of another son of Govinda Dīkṣita. A small but informing treatise on astrology, known as Jātakacandrikā was the work of Veṅkaṭeśvarārya, son of Yajñanārāyaṇa Dīkṣita.

Vāñcheśvara, the great grandson of Govinda Dīkṣita, flourished from 1690 to 1760. Shahaji, the king of Tanjore (1687–1711) took the little lad Vāñcheśvara with him to Madura, and while the king was praising the Goddess Mīnākṣi in a verse, the lad composed a verse in the same metre in praise of the king, who hailed him as Kuṭṭi Kavi. He is known as the talented author of three beautiful Śatakas, Mahiṣaśataka, Āśīrvādaśataka and Dhāṭī or Turagaśataka. Mahiṣaśataka is indeed the most imaginative and interesting poem. It is full of Śleṣa, and his great-grandson Vāñcheśvara Yajvā has written a lucid commentary on it, known as Śleṣārthacandrikā. Vāñcheśvara is called Śleṣakavisārvabhauma. Mahiṣaśataka has a special historical significance, apart from its poetic beauty. In the third stanza, the poet deplores the passing away of the great patrons of learned men, such as the minister Nanaji, Candrabhānu Prabhu, king Sahaji and the minister Ānandarāya. He pointedly speaks of the miserable plight of two learned pandits, Śrīdhara and Ambu Dīkṣita and in the eighty-eighth stanza he refers to Caṇḍā Khān, and compares him to a buffalo. In the last but one stanza (stanza 101) he gives his benediction to Pratāpasiṁha, the king of Tanjore. A greater part of the poem is devoted to the comparison of the buffalo, the main-stay of life for a learned Brahmin in the absence of royal patronage, to a king, to all gods, great men and heroes.

However, it is seen from stanza 101 that the purpose of the poem was to teach the fundamental truth of Advaita philosophy, as his commentator says. Aśirvādaśataka is a symposium of verses, 106 in number, in praise of gods, goddesses, nymphs etc., and Turagaśataka is a garland of appreciative verses, 50 in number, in praise of Srī Raṅganātha's horse.

Vāñcheśvara had an elder brother by name Rāma Śāstri, who composed Śrī Rāmāṣṭapadī, on the lines of Jayadeva's Gītagovinda and the Śivāṣṭapadī of Śrī Candraśekharendra Sarasvatī Svāmī, the 62nd Pīṭhādhipati on the Kāmakoṭi Pīṭha.

Vāñcheśvara's great grandson, Vāñcheśvara Yajvā, the author of Śleṣārthacandrikā, who lived from 1780 to 1860, was a great scholar and his life was an eventful one, as is seen from the introduction to his Bhāṭṭacintāmaṇi, by Ayyasvamin, and from the records of Sringeri and Mysore. He was honoured by Śrī Narasiṁhabhāratī Svāmī, the Jagadguru of Sringeri, and by Sri Krishna Raja Odayar, the Maharaja of Mysore. He is known as Maṇi Kuṭṭi, Cintāmaṇi Kuṭṭi, and Kuṭṭi Śāstri. He was the author of several works. He wrote a commentary on Hiraṇyakeśīya Sūtra, a gloss on the Brahmasūtras — Brahmasūtrārthacintāmaṇi, Hiraṇyakeśi–sāmānyasūtravyākhyā, a commentary on Tarkasaṅgraha, Dattacintāmaṇi, Śrāddhacintāmaṇi, Kākatālīyavādārtha, and Dhūrgaṇacandrikā. His best known work is the Bhāṭṭacintāmaṇi, a standard work on Mīmāṁsāśāstra, which is just being published, with the blessing of His Holiness Śrī Śaṅkarācārya Svāmi, Śrī Candraśekharendra Sarasvatī, the present and the 68th occupant of the original Kāmakoṭi Pīṭha, on which Śrī Śaṅkarācārya first made Sarvajña Pīṭhārohaṇa, after his Digvijaya, during which he established Advaita Vedānta. The present Guru, who is himself a great scholar and critic, hailing from the family of Govinda Dīkṣita, has given to the public two rare works, Sāhityaratnākara of Yajñanārāyaṇa Dīkṣita and Bhāṭṭacintāmaṇi of Vāñcheśvara Yajvā. Vāñcheśvara Yajvā has left also the poem, Mahāliṅgaśataka, in praise of Mahāliṅga, the Deity in the famous shrine of Madhyārjuna, one of the seven

holy shrines, the Deity who declared to Adi Saṅkarācārya, the essential truth of Advaita, before he started on his Digvijaya, as is stated in Mādhavīya and Chidvilāsīya Śaṅkaravijayas.

It appears that as early as the twelfth century, there flourished a Hosana Karṇāṭaka kingdom in the present Trichinopoly District. In the sixteenth century, Govinda Dīkṣita moved to Tanjore as the minister of the Tanjore Nāyak kings. Achyuta Deva Rāya seems to have given villages to Karṇāṭaka families in the southern peninsula. The illustrious members of the Karṇāṭakas have made notable contributions to Sanskrit literature during the past four centuries.

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THE MAHÂNÂṬAKA PROBLEM—A CLUE TO ITS SOLUTION.

By Prof. Shivaprasad Bhattacharya, M. A.
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1. The *Mahānāṭaka* as a species of drama was known to Śāradātanaya and Viśvanātha. The former seems also to refer to a work महानाटक (and the present recensions of the drama have the verse, though the verse is certainly culled from some well-known Rāma-drama). The mss. evidence for ascribing the citation in Daśarūpaka is scanty. The hypothetical M. N., the nucleus of the now prevalent work, even if it existed in the 13th century A. C. is not cited by name elsewhere in any work of Grammar or Alaṅkāra. Any earlier date than the 13th century seems hardly plausible, for works like the *Ṭīkāsarvasva*, *Durghaṭavṛtti*, the *Uṇādivṛtti* (of Ujjvaladatta) do not know it.

2. An analysis of the contents of the M. N. reveals, with the exception of certain connecting links (the verse portions of which are in all probability half the number of the verses of the whole work) appropriation of verses from many well-known Rāma-dramas, such as the *Mahāvīracarita*, *Uttararāmacarita*, *Udārarāghava*, *Anargharāghava*, *Bālarāmāyaṇa*, *Kundamālā*, *Prasannarāghava* (20 verses from this drama—no other drama so much utilised) and even the *Dūtāṅgada* of Subhaṭa, as also the no longer extant or known works such as the *Chalitarāma*, the *Rāmābhyudaya*, the *Rāma (Rāghava)-Vilāsa*. The epic *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Adhyātmarāmāyaṇa*, the *Padmapurāṇa* and the court-epics *Raghuvaṁśa*, and *Bhaṭṭikāvya* are drawn from.

3. The two recensions of the text. Though it is certainly a noticeable point in connection with the M. N., this has

attracted more attention than it deserves. After all, while the nucleus of the two originated in different times and in different localities, the plan and the manner are practically the same. Only in the matter of arrangement and utilisation of materials do the two differ. Even in this matter too, there is hardly agreement between two mss. of the same province belonging to distant dates.

4. The *Dūtāṅgada*, which calls itself a Chāyānāṭaka (not any recognised variety of drama known to theorists but an improvised adaptation) has 8 verses common with the present text of the M. N. The plan and the method are the same, but in one essential respect they differ. The *Chāyānāṭaka* in form and structure is a drama whereas the M. N. is no *Dṛśya kāvya* at all. The theories of Indologists (particularly of Prof. Gray) are worth scrutiny. Prof. Luders' view that the M. N. is a *Chāyānāṭaka*-why untenable. The epithet M. N. might have arisen from its antithetical way of procedure from the *Chāyānāṭakas*, or which is more likely, from its big bulk incorporating within itself what appeared to its redactor, the cream of the verses from up-to-date well-known Rāma-dramas.

5. Prof. S. Levi's theory and the hint of Prof. Winternitz that the M. N. is an adaptation are not nearer the truth. The M. N. could never have been meant for dramatic representation. Verses of the same import culled from different sources, often exactly alike with a change in a phrase or two, could not find place in dramatic adaptations. Moreover, the name *Nāṭaka* as applied to it is a misnomer.

6. Dr. Keith's suggestion evinces more insight. But he too seems to be obsessed with its dramatic nature and value.

7. The real and obvious (at least to Indian students) view about the origin of the work is this:—

(a) It is a manual for use by professional *Kathakas* on the *Rāmāyaṇa* as of the *Vidagdhamānins*, having good many specimens of *Samasyāpūraṇa*, *Prahelikā*, and *Vakrokti* and giving a new relish to the old *Rāmāyaṇa* story in certain convenient divisions satisfying the fashionable crazes and idiosyncrasies of the cultured assemblies of the 13th and 14th centuries.

(b) The work has gone on being added to from time to time. The oldest mss. now known (A. S. Bengal and Benares Sanskrit College) are not more than two centuries old; quite likely the two recensions took their rise from different standpoints. The verses in the printed editions of Kalikrishna Dev Bahadur (1840), Ramtaran Siromani (1870) and Jivananda (1890) prove this.

(c) The work certainly took its shape and had its model from the *Sarasvatīkaṇṭhābharaṇa* and *Śṛṅgāraprakāśa* (of Bhoja) compendiums of illustrations from Rāma dramas, as one redactor Dāmodara mentions at the close of his work.

(d) The prose connecting links betray a fondness for verbosity and grandiloquence and occasional inaccuracy and looseness in structure, just in the manner of the *Cūrṇakas* found in the manuals of and used by *Kathakas*.

(e) Three passages in the work seem to afford some clue to locating it to a particular place and time. The similarity in certain respects in the manner of story-telling (there is a difference from the original Rāmāyaṇa) with the writers of the provincial (bhāṣā) *Rāmāyaṇas* (e. g. Kṛttivāsa of Bengal) is noteworthy.

8. Of the two recensions, Dāmodaramiśra's is the earlier, Madhusūdana using it to advantage and giving it better arrangement and form (मिश्रश्रीमधुसूदनेन कविना सन्दर्भ्य सज्जीकृते).

RASÂBHASA IN ALAṄKARA LITERATURE–THE TRUE AND THE FALSE IN ART.

By Prof. Shivaprasad Bhattacharya, M.A.
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1. The term rasābhāsa how introduced and discussed by Udbhaṭa in his *Kavyālaṅkārasaṅgraha*. *Anaucitya* is at the root of it. How the conception of *Anaucitya* got shape from the *Nāṭyaśāstra*–its ramifications.

2. Anandavardhana, Pratīhārendurāja, Abhinavagupta, Kuntaka and Bhoja elaborate and explain the idea. Mammaṭa's definition of *Rasābhāsa* is based on the suggestions of Udbhaṭa but as is his wont, he is nebulous or not quite precise. The earlier commentators on the K. P. Rucaka (not in the K. P. *Saṅketa* but in his Alaṅkārasarvasva), Srīdhara, Māṇikyacandra, Śrīvidyācakravartin, Caṇḍīdāsa, and Bhaṭṭagopāla offer diverse explanations, only differing in details.

3. Of later Alaṅkāra *nibandha* writers, Hemacandra, Vidyādhara, Viśvanātha, Śiṅgabhūpāla, Śāradātanaya, Vidyānātha, and Cakravartin explain it. Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha's illuminating discussion bearing on it.

4. The points at issue detailed by theorists:—

   (a) न तिर्यक्ष्वनुभवो रसः:—How confusion has centred round this because of K. P.'s exemplification of ग्रीवाभङ्गाभिरामम् as an instance of भयानकरस. One modern editor of an Alaṅkāra work has fallen into this blunder. Rasābhāsa and Śṛṅgārābhāsa are not to be confounded. Vidyānātha's assertion is, however, a sweeping and ill-founded one.

   (b) Is Rasābhāsa to be regarded as *Rasa* or not ?

(c) Two different schools of view—one mainly represented in the works of the Kashmirian writers, the other in those of Bhoja and of his followers.

5. The Nāṭyaśāstra-school's views on शृङ्गाराभास being on (a) Upanāyaka as lover (b) and Mleccha as lover.

6. The Real and the False in Art—Realism and Idealism of the present day and of the old Indian critics रामादिवद्वर्तितव्यम् how far dictated by social environment.

7. The Vaiṣṇava theorists shew :—प्राकृते रस एव नास्ति कृष्ण एव रसः–Severe castigations of these views, and of Jayadeva's work by Jagannātha. Rasābhāsa detailed as *Uparasa*, or *Aparasa*.

8. Rasābhāsa, as treated mainly by Śiṅgabhūpāla, and Śāradātanaya, is something different. It is an assemblage of Rasas and is therefore, beyond the scope of this paper.

THE SUBHAṢITAHĀRĀVALĪ OF ŚRĪ HARI KAVI AND SOME POETS ENJOYING THE PATRONAGE OF MUSLIM RULERS.

By Har Dutt Sharma, M.A., Ph.D.,
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From the eleventh century onwards down to the seventeenth century A.D., India has produced a fairly good number of Sanskrit poets; but unfortunately, the Muslim chroniclers of this period have left no account of them. Their names and verses are found scattered in the various anthologies composed during this period. This period, therefore, may be called "The Anthology Period" in Sanskrit literature. A vast amount of this literature is still in manuscript-form and unless the whole of it is published, it is impossible to construct a history of this period.

One of the most important of these anthologies is the Subhāṣitahārāvalī of Śrī Hari Kavi. The Ms. (described by Peterson in his Second report, pp. 57-64 under No. 92; Deccan College manuscripts' catalogue, Poona, xviii A, 92 of 1883-4) is incomplete, written by more than one scribe and has irregular numbering of verses. The author, Sri Hari Kavi, seems to have been a poet of high order. He boasts of himself in the following verse :—

yenaikaḥ kavitāvatārasamaye granthaḥ samullāsitas-
tasyā eva suviśrame punaraho bandhaḥ paro nirmitaḥ;
tasyā lāsyavidhau kṛtāstu bahavaste te prabandhottamāḥ
so'yaṁ ko'pi Hariḥ kaviḥ kaviravijyotiḥkaṇo dīvyati.
(Fol. 33a, 123).

Mr. M. Krishnamacharya thinks that Hari Kavi was a contemporary of Akbar and bore the title of Akabarīya Kālidāsa ('The Classical period of Sanskrit Literature' p. 126, Madras,

1906). This view is wrong and Hari Kavi cannot be identified with Akabarīya Kālidāsa. For, in his Subhāṣitahārāvalī, whenever Hari quotes his own verses he adds afterwards *Harikavermamāyam* or *Harikavermamaite*. Again, he quotes three verses of Akbarīya Kālidāsa. Had these verses been his own, he would have certainly added something like *Harikavermama*. Moreover, in the autobiographical verse quoted above, Hari Kavi never even hints at such an identity. Again, we find two verses (different from those in the Su. Hārāvalī) of Akabarīya Kālidāsa quoted in the Rasikajīvana of Gadādhara Bhaṭṭa (about 1600 A. D. See my article "Some unknown Sanskrit poets of Mithilā" published in the Jha Comm. Vol.). One of these verses, viz., *Hemāmbhoruhapattane*, etc., is quoted in two Mss. of the Śārṅgadharapaddhati and ascribed to Kālidāsa (See Kavīndravacanasamuccaya, p. 34); and we find Śārṅgadhara quoted in our Su. Hārāvalī. Again, as Hari Kavi quotes the verses of Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha, he cannot be a contemporary of Akbar. Therefore, he must have flourished in the middle of the 17th century A. D.

From a few verses quoted below it will be evident that Hari Kavi was the pupil of Nārāyaṇa and the name of one of his youngest brothers was Cakrapāṇi-Kavi.

apāratarasaṁsārapārāvāratitīrṣayā;
bahudhā vasudhāpārabhārahāraṁ hariṁ numaḥ.
Śrī-Nārāyaṇagurucaraṇānām. Fol. 26, 2f.

Śrīnārāyaṇapādapaṅkajarajaḥpuñjaprasaṅgādiyaṁ
vāṇī viśvavimohinī Harikaveḥ kaṇṭhāt samunmīlati;
yāmāpīya sudhānidhānakalaśīsambādhibimbādharāḥ
svarbālāḥ pariśīlayanti na budhāḥ sānandamutkaṇṭhitāḥ.
Harikavermama. Fol. 38, 201.

ślāghante mahimānamatra kavayaḥ svīyaṁ na hṛṣṭāntarāḥ.
ke ke kāvyakarāḥ parantu garimā Śrī-Cakrapāṇerguruḥ
(roḥ ?);
bimbadveṣidale yadāsyakamale kṣodābhadantāmale
vāgdevī kamaleva viśvahṛdayaprahlādinī khelati.
Matkaniṣṭhabhrātuś-Cakrapāṇikaveḥ. Fol. 33, 124.

The following poets mentioned in the Rasikajīvana and Su. Hārāvalī enjoyed the patronage of Muslim Rulers: (1) Bhānukara, (2) Akabarakālidāsa and (3) Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha.

Bhānukara was a contemporary of Sher Shah (1540-1545) and Nizam Shah and seems to have enjoyed the patronage of both. As Nizam Shah is the title of all the kings of the Nizam Shahi dynasty, it seems that Bhānukara refers to Boorhan Nizam Shah I (1510-1553) who was a contemporary of Sher Shah. Therefore, Bhānukara must have flourished in the middle of the 16th century A. D. He refers to a certain Hindu king Vīra Bhānu also but it is difficult to identify this king. The poet seems to have enjoyed a great popularity as Rasikajīvana quotes as many as 64 verses of his and Su. Hārāvalī quotes 11. Following are a few of his verses in some of which he praises his patrons.

Rasikajīvana :—

laṅkādhāmani *Vīrabhānunṛpateḥ* prekṣya pratāpodayaṁ
pratyāgāramadhīranīrajadṛśo bhūyo hutāśabhramāt;
kṣubhyadvāṇi vidhūtapāṇi vigala (nnivisthala?) praskhalad-
bāṣpaśreṇi vilolaveṇi dayitaṁ kaṇṭhasthale bibhrati.
Fol. 13, 22.

vidvadgoṣṭhīvariṣṭha pratibhaṭadamana *S'rī-Nijāma* pratimaḥ
kṛtvā tvatkīrtigāthāṁ vahati gaṇavidhiṁ padmayoniḥ kaṭhinyā;
vakrā rekhā gurūṇāmamṛtakarakalākambumallimarālaḥ (lāḥ ?)
śuddhā lekhā laghūnāṁ viṣabhujaganabhonimnagādantidantāḥ. Fol. 15, 45.

vāhavyūhakhurakṣatāṁ vasumatīṁ saṁvīkṣya mūrcchāvatīṁ
bherībhāṅkṛticañcalena payasā vārāṁnidhiḥ siñcati;
digbālā tanute *Nijāmanṛ*patervātaṁ patākāṁśukaiḥ
dhūlīdhoraṇiraśvinisṛtamiva praṣṭum divaṁ dhāvati.
Fol. 18, 72.

bherībhāṅkṛtibhisturaṅganinadaiḥ kumbhīndrakolāhalaiḥ
prasthāne tava *Vīra-Bhānu*dalitaṁ brahmāṇḍabhāṇḍodaraṁ;
ādhāya jvalati pratāpadahanairaṅgaiḥ punarvedhasā
tārānāyakatārakāsurasaridvyājādivāyojitam. Fol. 19a, 76.

ambarameṣa ramaṇyai yāminyai vāsaraḥ preyān;
adhikam dadau nijāṅgādatha saṅkucitaḥ svayaṁ tasthau.
Fol. 116a, 107.

Su. Hārāvalī :—

vīṇāmaṅke kathamapi sakhīprārthanābhirnidhāya
svairaṁ svairaṁ sarasijadṛśā gātumārabdhameva;
tantrībuddhyā kimapi virahakṣīṇadīnāṅgavallīm
enāmeva spṛśati bahuśo mūrcchanā citrametat. Fol. 34, 70

ślokārdhe vā tadardhe yadi hi vinihitaṁ dūṣaṇaṁ durdurūḍhaiḥ
kim naḥ chinnaṁ tadā syāt kavikulaviduṣāṁ kāvyakoṭīśvarāṇām;
vāhāśced gandhavāhādhikasubhagarayāḥ pañcaṣāḥ kāṇakhañjāḥ
kā hāniḥ *Sera-Sāha*-kṣitipakulamaṇeraśvakoṭīśvarasya.
Fol. 42, 273.

Following verses are ascribed to Akabarīya Kālidāsa.

Rasikajīvana :—

hastāmbhojābhimālā nakhaśaśiruciraśyāmalacchāyavīci
tejo'gnerdhūmadhārā vitaraṇakariṇo gaṇḍadānapraṇālī;
vīraśrīveṇīdaṇḍo lavaṇimasarasībālaśaivālavallī
vellatyambhodharaśrīr-*Akabara*dharaṇīpālapāṇau kṛpāṇī.
Fol. 14a, 29.

hemāmbhoruhapattane parimalasteyī vasantānilas-
tatratyairiva yāmikairmamadhurai-(madhukarai?-) rārabdhakolāhalaḥ;
niryātastvarayā vrajannipatitaḥ śrīkhaṇḍapaṅkadravairlipte keralakāminīkucataṭe khañjaḥ śanairgacchati.
Fol. 108, 18.

Su. Hārāvalī :—

smere candrāvataṁse hasati sakutukaṁ ṣaṇmukhe sopahāsaṁ
paśyatyālīkadambe gaṇasadasi śiśukrīḍanaṁ prekṣamāṇe;
māmeti vyāharantyāstuhinagiribhuvaḥ kampamānāgrapāṇeḥ
karṣantī karṇakelīkiśalayamavatādbālaherambaśuṇḍā.
Fol. 15a.

kṛśā karkaśā kesaritvagva (vṛ ?) tāṅgī
dviṣattarjinī garjinī yuddhamadhye;
hasattrāsitārātigarvāticarvā
karālānanā kālikā pālikā me. Fol. 29a, 68.

jarījṛmbhadambhojinīpuñjaśaṅkā
milanmattamailindamālā Jaṭālāḥ;
kimanyairadhanyairagaṇyaiḥ rapuṇyaiḥ
kariṣyanti naḥ śarma kālīkaṭākṣāḥ. Fol. 29a, 69.

In the Rasikajīvana we find three verses ascribed to Paṇḍitarāja Jagannātha all of which are traceable. Out of five verses ascribed to him in the Su. Hārāvali, two are traceable. The remaining three have not been traced. They are given below. A special feature of these verses is that Jagannātha refers to a certain Gaṅgādhara in two of these verses. At this stage of our knowledge, it is impossible to identify this Gaṅgādhara who might have been Jagannātha's contemporary.

vitaṇḍāhetvādyairativitatavākyairapi nṛbhir–
na jeyo'sau vidvajjanasadasi *Gaṅgādhara*budhaḥ ;
purāriproca (cca?) ñcajjaṭilakuṭiloddhūnitaśiras–
taṭinyambhaḥpūropamavacanavācāṁ (ta) mukhaḥ.
Fol. 33a, 122.

samīpe saṅgītasvaramadhurabhaṅgī mṛgadṛśāṁ
vidūre dānāndhadviradakalahoddāmaninadah;
bahirdvāre teṣāṁ bhavati hayaheṣākalakalo
dṛgeṣā te yeṣāmupari kamale devi sadayā.
urasyasya bhraśyatkabarabharaniryatsumanasaḥ
patanti svarbālāḥ smaraparavaśā dīnamanasaḥ;
surāstaṁ gāyanti sphuritatanu *Gaṅgādhara*mukhās–
tavāyaṁ dṛkpāto yadupari kṛpāto vilasati. Fol. 67a, 598–9.

A PROBABLE DATE OF COMPOSITION OF YOGAVASIṢṬHA.

By B. L. Atreya, M. A., D. Litt.
(*Benares.*)

The tradition about *Yogavāsiṣṭha* is that it was composed by Vālmīki, the reputed author of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. But there are obvious difficulties in accepting this view about the current *Yogavāsiṣṭha*. There is a close resemblance between the philosophy of this work and that of the Mādhyamika and Yogācāra schools of Buddhism. There is also a mention of the names of "Vijñāna-vāda", "Śūnya-vāda" and "Mādhyamika" etc. in the work (V. 87. 18–20; III. 5, 6 etc.). This fact cannot be explained away as a mere interpolation, as the philosophy of the work would not be what it is without the admixture of idealism and nihilism of the later Buddhism into it. The author of the work, therefore, could not have lived earlier than the close of the 5th century A. D. This conjecture is strengthened by the presence of the idea of a "cloud-messenger" in VIb. 119. 2–5 of *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, where the lyric of Kālidāsa is summarised in three stanzas which contain many words of Kālidāsa. Moreover, the first chapter of the current *Yogavāsiṣṭha* indicates that the present work is the outcome of many recensions of the work of Vālmīki, which may be the nucleus of the work, but which is very difficult to find out. From the *Mahābhārata* Anuśāsana Parva, indeed, it appears that there did exist some work containing the views of Vasiṣṭha which he had learnt from Brahmā. (Compare MB. Anu. P. VI. 5–9 with Y. V. II, 10).

On the other hand, some modern scholars have placed *Yogavāsiṣṭha* at a very late date. J. N. Farquhar, for example, thinks that it was composed in the 13th or the 14th century

A. D. (*Religious Literature of India*, p. 228). Shiva Prasad Bhattacharya thinks that it was composed in the 10th to 12th century. (*Proceedings of the Madras Oriental Conference*, p. 554). Such views cannot be accepted for the following reasons:—

1. By the time of Vidyāraṇya (early fourteenth century) it had become an authoritative work. He quotes it often in *Pancadaśī* and his *Jīvanmuktiviveka* is mainly based on it. No less than 253 ślokas are quoted from *Yogavāsiṣṭha* in the latter. Prof. Bhattacharya seems to be ignorant of this fact, as he has written: "No writer or scholiast on Indian philosophy earlier than Vijñānabhikṣu seems to use it as an authority (*The Proceedings*, p. 549).

2. By the middle of the 9th century the huge work, *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, consisting of about 32000 stanzas was summarised into a *Laghu Yogavāsiṣṭha* or *Yogavāsiṣṭhasāra* of some 6000 stanzas by Gauḍa Abhinanda of Kashmir. This fact is accepted by Keith (*Catalogue*, Bodleian Library, MS. 840) and by Winternitz (*Geschichte der indischen Litteratur*, Vol. III, p. 444). Manuscripts of this work are found in all important libraries. It was published by the Nirnayasagar Press in 1887. Prof. Bhattacharya was not aware of this fact when he wrote, "The *Laghu Yogavāsiṣṭha* or *Mokṣopāyasāra* which presupposes the bigger work......is a work in 92 verses by a Bengali writer......named Abhinanda......who is thus to be distinguished from the famous Gauḍa Abhinanda of Kashmir" (*Proceedings*, p. 553 footnote).

Dr. Winternitz has argued: "There is an abbreviated edition, *Yogavāsiṣṭhasāra* of Gauḍa Abhinanda who lived in the middle of the 9th century. The Yogavāsiṣṭha must be older. As Śaṅkara does not mention the work, it is probably written by one of his contemporaries" (Tr. *G. L.* Vol. III, p. 444). There seems to be no logic in the argument and this view fails to see how it would be possible for such a huge work to have been composed, become famous, studied and summarised within a few decades in the time of manuscript publication and slow communication, between the time of

Saṅkara (788–820) and that of Gauḍa Abhinanda ("About the middle of the 9th century"–Konow: *Karpūramañjarī*, HOS, 4, p. 197).

Prof. Bhattacharya has argued: "The reference to the school of Vedānta philosophy as the "Vedāntins" or "Vedānta-vādins" would take us to the time of the great Saṅkarācārya" (*Proceedings*, p. 552). The word "Vedānta" is very old (See the *Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad*, III, 2, 6 and the *S'vetāśvatara Up.*, VI. 22). There is sufficient indication in the *Māṇḍūkya-kārikās* of Gauḍapāda (II. 31) that there existed even before Śaṅkara; thinkers who expounded the philosophy of the Vedānta. There is no reason why they should not have been called "Vedāntins" or "Vedāntavādins".

There are, on the other hand, some grounds to hold that *Yogavāsiṣṭha* is a work prior to Śaṅkara: 1. It is a work on Advaita philosophy; yet it is very curious that the special terminology of Saṅkara was quite unknown to the author of *Yogavāsiṣṭha*. This could not have been so, had he been posterior to Śaṅkara. (Vide our *Yogavāsiṣṭha & Its Philosophy*, p. 12). 2. There is too much of admixture of Buddhistic ideas in the thought of this work to be tolerated by a post-Śaṅkara Vedāntist. 3. The philosophy of *Yogavāsiṣṭha* is in a nebulous form; it lacks in the fixed terminology of Saṅkara and his followers. 4. The author of *Yogavāsiṣṭha* does not defend his philosophical position by arguments or by quoting the scriptures, nor does he criticise others, but quite opposite was the tendency of Śaṅkara and his followers. 5. From the time of Gauḍapāda and Śaṅkara the Śruti has been regarded as the supreme and unquestionable source of the doctrines of Vedānta, but we do not find this tenet in *Yogavāsiṣṭha*. For Vasiṣṭha, experience is the ultimate source of all knowledge, and he would accept the "reasonable" statement of even a boy and would reject the "unreasonable" statement even of the Creator. (III. 42. 15; II. 19. 16; II. 18. 3). 6. A careful and comparative study of the poetical works of Śaṅkara, namely *Vivekacūḍāmaṇi*, *Aparokṣānubhūti*, and *S'ataśloki* etc. with *Yogavāsiṣṭha* clearly

reveals that Śaṅkara was not only influenced by *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, but he imbibed its philosophy thoroughly and composed many ślokas which are almost literally identical with the ślokas of *Yogavāsiṣṭha*. We have collected more than a hundred such ślokas. (Vide our *Yogavāsiṣṭha & Its Philosophy* p. 12-13). Yogavāsiṣṭha cannot be regarded as the borrower, because the technical terms of Śaṅkara are conspicuous by their absence in it.

A study of the *Kārikās* of Gauḍapāda clearly reveals that the Advaita philosophy that existed before the advent of Śaṅkara was more akin to the philosophy of *Yogavāsiṣṭha* than to that of Śaṅkara and his followers. There is much that is common between the thought of *Yogavāsiṣṭha* and the *Kārikās*. (Vide our paper, "Gauḍapāda & Vasiṣṭha" in the *Proceedings* of the Bombay Session of the Indian Philosophical Congress.). Now, which of the two is earlier ? We regard *Yogavāsiṣṭha* earlier for the following reasons:-1. Gauḍapāda refers to a previously-existing school of thinkers whom he calls "Vedāntesu vicakṣaṇāḥ" (II. 31), "Tattvavidaḥ" (II. 34), "Buddhāḥ" (IV. 88), and "Nāyakāḥ (IV. 98). Their views are strikingly similar to that of *Yogāvāsiṣṭha*. 2. The *Kārikās* are not an independent treatise on the Advaita philosophy. These are a sort of commentary on the *Māṇḍūkya* Up. in the light of a school of thought. On the other hand, *Yogavāsiṣṭha* claims to give us a philosophy which Vasiṣṭha learnt directly from Brahmā and realised in his own experience. (Y. V. II. 10). 3. The *Kārikās* represent a later phase of the *Advaita* school of thought when it became critical, hostile and polemical towards other schools of thought, whereas *Yogavāsiṣṭha* represents the earlier phase when it existed in harmony with its sister philosophies, looking at them from a higher point of view of harmony and synthesis. (See Y.V. VIb. 38. 4. III. 96. 49-53. VIb. 130. 2; V. 87,18-20). In this respect *Yogavāsiṣṭha* is nearer to the *Upaniṣads* and the *Bhagavadgītā* than the *Kārikās* and the works of Śaṅkara and his followers are. With reference to this spirit of the work Prof. Bhattacharya has pointed out, "The nature of the ideal and the temperament could not be thought in Buddhis-

tic India before the days of the Pāla kings of Bengal" (*Proceedings* of the Madras Oriental Conference, p. 551). A study of Bāṇa's *Harṣacaritra* will, however, convince the reader that in the first half of the seventh century A. D. such mentality was an actuality in the Madhyadeṣa (now U. P.). We have simply to recall what Harṣa saw at the hermitage of Divākara Mitra, where the followers of all faiths were living in mutual love and regard. We need not, therefore, go to the reign of the Pāla kings.

There is also a positive evidence to the effect that a philosophy like that of *Yogavāsiṣṭha* did exist in India before the time of Śaṅkara and Gauḍapāda. It is evident from two verses of Bhavabhūti's *Uttara-Rāmacarita* (III. 47 and VI. 6) and from the works of Bhartṛhari, *Vākyapadīya* and *Vairāgyaśataka*. The term *vivarta* used by Bhavabhūti is found neither in the *Upaniṣads* nor in the *Bhagavadgītā*. Guadapāda has not used it. Bhavabhūti could not have got it from Śaṅkara who is posterior to him. All that Bhavabhūti says in connection with "Vivarta" by way of simile occurs at a number of places in *Yogavāsiṣṭha*. (VIa. 11. 40; V. 72. 23; III. 100, 28, VIa. 11. 18–19; VIa. 93. 46; VIb. 54. 17; III. 114. 6, 9; VIb. 49. 12). There seems to be no reason against *Yogavāsiṣṭha* having been in existence before the time of Bhavabhūti.

This belief is very much strengthened by a comparative study of *Yogavāsiṣṭha* with Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya* and *Vairāgyaśataka*. There are many verses common to them. (Vide our *Yogavāsiṣṭha & Its Philosophy*, p. 16 footnote). The main reason why we hold that *Yogavāsiṣṭha* is earlier than the works of Bhartṛhari is that the doctrine of "Śabda-Brahma", which is the main theme of Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya* is unknown to *Yogavāsiṣṭha*. It is a doctrine which, if it had been known to the author of *Yogavāsiṣṭha*, must have been treated in the work at many places. Now Bhartṛhari is believed by modern scholars to have died in 650 A.D. *Yogavāsiṣṭha* must have existed in the life-time of Bhartṛhari. It has already been said that it must have been composed after the time of Kālidāsa.

SOME CLUES AS TO THE IDENTITY OF ACĀRYA-DAṆḌIN AS A TAMILIAN.

By Pandit N. Chengalvarayan,
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There is a Tamil translation of Acārya Daṇḍin's Kāvyādarśa, rendered into Tamil very early. Aḍiyārkunallār an old Tamil commentator has cited the same in his commentary on Śilappadikāram. He refers to it as *Aṇi Iyal* which is now popularly known as *Daṇḍi-Alaṅkāram*. Different editors ascribe its authorship to different persons. According to some tradition the Tamil rendering is ascribed to a Tamilian who bore the name of the Sanskrit author. Another tradition ascribes it to *Ambikāpati*, the grandson of that 'great mastermind cast in nature's most felicitous made', to wit, Kamban the celebrated author of the great Tamil epic *Rāmāyaṇa*. But the late Mr. Kumaraswamipulavar of Jaffna rejects this theory and approves of the former. Other editors like Mr. Arumugam Servai are of opinion that the name of the Tamil author is now forgotten and the Tamil work was called Daṇḍi Alaṅkāram simply because it was a translation of Daṇḍin's Kāvyādarśa. But these views may not be quite correct. These editors seem to have not kept the old manuscripts separately before their view and compared them with the original Sanskrit work. Probably they are not aware of the strong belief of the Sanskrit scholars that Daṇḍin was a Tamilian and lived at Conjeevaram, the seat of the famous Pallavas. This belief of the Sanskritists does not rest merely on tradition. There are several indications in Kāvyādarśa that its author was a South Indian. If we bring home to our mind that Śrī Rāmānuja and Vedānta-Deśika who belonged to the centuries after Acārya Daṇḍin were erudite scholars both in Sanskrit and Tamil, if we remember that the Jain scholars of

the early centuries of the Christian era were similarly versed in both the languages, if we also remember that the author of Tolkāppiyam (the most ancient Tamil grammar extant) who displays a vast knowledge of Sanskrit, very proudly mentions the fact that he was a scholar in *Aindra Vyākaraṇam*, when we searchingly consider all these facts, it may be possible to think that the Sanskrit author himself of the 'mirror of poetry' (Kāvyādarśa) was in all probability the author of the Tamil rendering also.

The form adopted by the translator—whoever he was—has misled the several editors of Daṇḍi Alaṅkāram. The method followed in Kāvyādarśa is different from the method of Aṇi Iyal or Daṇḍi Alaṅkāram. In the Sanskrit work, the names of the different figures of speech or *Aṇis* generally occur along with illustrations furnished by the Acārya himself. In the Tamil rendering the author has classified each family of Alaṅkāras together in Sūtras and the illustrations have been rendered in separate Tamil verses. Along with the illustrations some notes were also found in the manuscripts. Consequently the editors of the Tamil rendering seem to have been misled into treating the Sūtras as translations of Kāvyādarśa and including the translated verses (which were really the part of the original translation) as part of the notes added by a commentator of a later date. Further they did not stop with this. They have gone far to add to or supplement what they considered to be an old commentary with illustrative examples compiled by them from other Tamil works. This editorial mistake is aggravated by the fact that they have not separated their own additions from the old illustrations or the old commentary by any printing or editorial device. The sequel is that in the absence of the original manuscripts on which the various editions were based, we have to conclude what the original manuscripts ought to have been, by comparing the various editions with each other and with the other extant manuscripts.

We may be sure that an investigation of this kind will lead to profitable results and thus be of help not only to fix the text of the original Tamil version but also in fixing its date and thus

indirectly to fix the age (i. e.) the period of Acārya Daṇḍin. One peculiarity of the original Tamil version obtained by such an investigation may be mentioned here. In a preface of his to Daṇḍi Alaṅkāram the late Mr. Kumaraswami Pillai of Chunnakam (Jaffna) writes that the old commentary contained quotations from *Nānmaṇik-Kadigai, Tirikadugam,* the *Divya-prabandam* and other ancient Tamil poems. Probably these may not at all be the part of the commentary but may be quotations culled by the original Tamil translator of Kāvyādarśa from the available Tamil poems, to illustrate the similes and metaphors mentioned in the Sūtras. For want of appropriate illustrations, the Tamil author might have probably translated into Tamil Veṇbas the examples given in the original Sanskrit work. If it be the case, that which the late Pandit considers to be a commentary might probably be part of the original translation itself. A careful examination of the works which contain some four quotations in the old commentary will help us to fix the date of the Tamil rendering.

Another point worth mentioning here is that some of the stanzas (Veṇbas) which are Tamil translations of the examples given in Kāvyādarśa, refer to one *Anapāya.* (Cf:—the Veṇba which corresponds to Kāvyādarśa II, 174). These references furnish that the Tamil translation was made at a time when *Anapāya* (whoever he was) was ruling over the Tamil country.

In conclusion, we must not forget to mention an important reference occurring in Prayogavilakkam. The author of that work, who writes both Sūtras and the illustrative verses himself, says, 'Daṇḍi Āśiriyar Mūlodāharaṇam kāṭṭinār pola', i. e., 'just as Acārya Daṇḍin showed the original example' etc.,

This reference tends to strengthen our belief that the Tamil version (both text and illustrative verses) was also in all probability the production of Ācārya Daṇḍin himself, unless we take for granted that the author of Prayogavilakkam went out of his way to justify his plan by referring not to the Tamil Daṇḍin but to the Ācārya Daṇḍin of the Sanskrit Kāvyādarśa.

EVOLUTION OF ŚAIVAGAMAS.

By S. G. Sakharpekar.

(Baroda.)

1. It is the common understanding of all the scholars that Saivism is the development of Vedic religion. It is not known that it is the development of that ancient Āgamic Śaiva religion and is equally old and consistent with Vedas. It has authoritative scriptures called Śaivāgamas which are the fountain-heads of Śaiva religion and philosophy. It is not possible to treat the above subject in detail as Āgamas are not easily accessible.

Introductory.

2. What is meant by Āgama ? Prof. Whitney says that it etymologically means "that which has come down from Guru to Śiṣya" or from another language. In Rudrayāmala, it is said that "which has emanated from the mouth of Śiva is called an Āgama". The word Āgama is used jointly as Nigamāgama or Āgamanigama. In pursuance to Āgamic school, Nigama is that form of Āgama where Pārvati is Guru instead of Śiṣyā as opposed to Āgama wherein Pārvati is Śiṣyā and Śiva is Guru. The words, Āmnāya, Saṁhitā, Yāmala, Ḍāmara and Uḍḍiśa are used to denote the sense of Āgama by Vedic school. All these, as well as the word Tantra, have some distinct meaning. They are the complete parts of it. Āgama deals with twenty-five subjects such as creation, destruction, nature of Brahma, etc. Tantra treats of seven and Āmnāya deals with five out of twent-five subjects contained in Āgama.

Definition of Āgama.

3. It is impossible to fix the definite period when the Āgamas came into being. But, its existence and development seem simultaneous with the Vedic period. Vedic cult achieved its object through the worship of fire only and

Antiquity of Saivāgamic worship.

Āgamic cult did through the practice of Jñāna and Yoga. These two different ways appear to be in existence from time immemorial. The amalgamation of these two different kinds of worship took place in the time of Upaniṣadic period. Āgamas appear to have been studied as a part of sacred learning, in ancient times. But, Smṛtikāras innovated that Āgamas were meant only for those who were fallen from the teachings of Vedas, while Saṅkarācārya introduced the indispensable portion of Āgamas in Vedic scripture and ignored the authority of Āgamas.

4. At such a critical juncture, highly intellectual Āgamavādins, especially, Śivācāryas flourished one after another and established the authority of Āgamas. Also, the Vaidikas could not totally ignore the Āgamas as it was only in those that the ways of गायत्रीजप, installation of Liṅga, etc., were described in detail. Therefore, Vaidikas do refer to these in their books and from such references, I shall reveal the antiquity of Āgamas :—

(1) Appayya Dikṣita, the great commentator of the 17th century, refers to Śaivāgamas in his commentary on his own work named Śivatattvaviveka and in his other Śaiva literature.

(2) Sāyaṇa Mādhava of the 13th century, praises king Bukkaṇa, in his work named Jaimininyāyamālā, as being the preserving power of the Supreme being as described in Āgama. He mentions often Śaivāgamas in his commentary named Tātparyadīpikā upon Sūta Saṁhitā. He was the author of the work named Samastaśaivāgamasārasaṅgraha containing the essence of Śaivāgamas.

(3) Vidyāraṇya of the 13th century refers to Āgamas in Śloka 73 of canto 6 and to Āgamic 'Vrata' in Śloka 10 of canto 7, in his Śaṅkaradigvijaya.

(4) Soḍḍhala of the 11th century refers to Āgama in his Udayasundarīkathā, in the first chapter.

(5) Swāmī Parānanda of the 9th century attempts to unite the Tāntric or Āgamic religion with the Vedic in his Pārānanda Sūtra.

(6) Bhāravi of the 6th century refers to Āgamas in the 22nd stanza of the 5th canto of his Kirātārjunīya.

(7) In the Rājarājeśvara temple at Kāñcīpuram, there are some inscriptions in which titles of Rājasiṁha of the 6th century show that he was a follower of Āgamic Śaiva religion. See Hultzsch's South Indian Inscriptions (Tamil & Sanskrit) Vol. I p. 15.

37th. Niche (1) श्री आगमानुसारि the follower of Śaiva doctrines.

(8) In the Kailāsanātha temple at the same place we have the earliest record of 28 Śaivāgamas in which the Pallava King Rājasiṁhavarman of the 5th century states his faith (Radhakrishnan's Indian Philosophy pt. II p. 723 footnote).

(9) Kālidāsa of the 4th century A. D. refers to Agamas in Raghuvaṁśa stanza 26 of canto 10 and reveals the knowledge of Saivāgamic theory by the first stanza of the first canto.

(10) Śaiva Purāṇas accept the Āgamas as authoritative scriptures for the Śaiva Dharma and refer to them for detailed procedure of worship, contemplation etc. Śiva Purāṇa shows clearly that Saivāgamas are revelations by God Śiva and are consistent with Vedas and independent too, in the following śloka :--

श्रीकण्ठेन शिवेनोक्ताः शिवायै च शिवागमाः ।
शिवाश्रितानां कारुण्याच्छ्रेयसामेकसाधनम् ॥
शैवागमोऽपि द्विविधः श्रौतोऽश्रौतश्च स स्मृतः ।
श्रुतिसारमयः श्रौतः स्वतंत्र इतरो मतः ॥ –(वायवीयसंहिता ।)

(11) In the Mahābhārata, there is a reference to Agamic worship in Śloka 17 of chapter 257 of Sāntiparvan.

5. These are not the only references about Āgamas in Vedic scriptures. There are still too many. Yet, the above survey is sufficient to reveal that Agamic literature is as ancient as Vedic, and undoubtedly anterior to Smārta literature.

6. The Agamas have been kept very secret, very few having been printed. The worship of Śiva, Śakti and Viṣṇu gave rise to different classes of Agamas. The twenty-eight Śaivāgamās are authoritative scriptures for Śaiva school. They are of two kinds--Vaidika and Avaidika. The former are consistent with the Vedas and the latter not. Each of them is divided into four parts or Pādas, namely, Caryā, Kriyā, Yoga and Jñāna. The first three correspond to Karma Kāṇḍa of Vedas and the last one, to Jñāna Kāṇḍa corresponding to the Upaniṣadic portion of Vedas.

Revelation of S'aivāgamas.

7. Śaivāgamas have emanated from the mouths of God Śiva. He has five faces, namely Sadyojāta, Vāmadeva, Aghora, Īśāna and Tatpuruṣa. From Sadyojāta have issued out five Āgamas, namely, Kāmika, Yogaja, Cintya, Kāraṇa and Ajita. From Vāmadeva emanated five Agamas namely, Dīpta, Sūkṣma, Sahasra, Aṁśumān, and Suprabheda. Aghora revealed five Āgamas namely,-Vijaya, Niśvāsa, Swāyambhuva, Āgneya and Vīra. From Īśāna emanated five Āgamas namely, Raurava, Makuṭa, Vimala, Candrajñāna and Bimba. Tatpuruṣa revealed eight Āgamas namely, Prodgīta, Lalita, Siddha, Santāna, Sarvokta, Pārameśvara, Kiraṇa and Vātula. The first ten are considered as Śivabheda or Śaiva and the remaining eighteen are Rudrabheda or Raudra.

8. In all, there are twenty-eight Śaivāgamas having one hundred and ninty-eight main divisions with innumerable Ślokas. They teach us the methods of meditation, contemplation and worship for realization of self by various means. The Śiva worship gave a great impetus to Bhakti i. e. absorbing love and self-surrender. It is open to all castes including both sexes after Śaivī initiation (Dīkṣā).

9. It appears that there arose a controversy between Vaidikas and Āgamavādins in respect to consistency of Śaivāgamas with Vedas. The question was debated by Sivācāryas with Vaidikas. Tirumūlar in his Tirumantiram, Śrīkaṇṭha in his Śrīkaṇṭhabhāṣya, Nīlakaṇṭha in his Kriyāsāra, Śrīpati in his

Consistency of S'aivāgamas with Vedas.

Śrīkarabhāṣya, Śivayogī in his Siddhāntaśikhāmaṇi, Nañjanācārya in his Vedāntasāravīraśaivacintāmaṇi, Cannabasaveśvara in his Vīraśaivotkarṣapradīpikā, and Appayya Dīkṣita in his Śivatattvaviveka and Śivārkamaṇidīpikā established that Śaivāgamas are consistent with Vedas in philosophical questions but independent with regard to Śiva worship etc. Vaidikas have to rely on Āgamas for the latter. As such, Śaivāgamas are not Avaidika but Vaidika. This too is clearly stated in Śiva Purāṇa :—

शैवागमोऽपि द्विविध: श्रौतोऽश्रौतश्च स स्मृत: ।
श्रुतिसारमय: श्रौत: स्वतंत्र इतरो मत: ॥

—वायवीयसंहिता ।

10. Āgamavādins of Śaiva school were separated into different sects before the arrival of Śaṅkarācārya on the religious stage. The main sects are as under :—

S'aivāgamic sects.

(1) Vīraśaiva,
(2) Mahāpāśupata,
(3) Kashmir Śaiva,
(4) Śaivasiddhānta,
(5) and, Nepal Pāśupata.

Each sect has got some peculiarity to distinguish it from others and has a literature of its own. Yet, they are a homologous one. Besides, there were many minor Śaiva sects but they were merged in one or the other in course of time.

11. In short, a study of Śaiva scriptures reveals that the importance of Śaivāgamas is not understood correctly by scholars. A few have taken up the subject for study from Āgamic point of view. They proclaim that Śaiva school is the follower of Nigamāgamadharma. Śiva worship is as ancient as Vedic. Śaivāgamas are twenty-eight in number with 198 main divisions containing innumerable Ślokas. They are the authoritative scriptures for Śaiva religion and philosophy. They are believed to be revelations of God Śiva. Later

Conclusion.

literature is well developed by the above-mentioned Saiva sects. Śaiva Purāṇas contain references to Śaivāgamas and Agamic worship. On the dates of the Purāṇas, the President of the present session has remarked that the solution of race origins and identification of ancient civilizations will be found in them. They are amongst the ancient documents on race history and tradition and the data embodied therein go back to the Flood and even earlier. They are the richest documents on race-movements in India. Hence, it is essential to study them from the Āgamic point of view.

TIME-ANALYSIS IN THE ŚAKUNTALA OF KALIDASA.

By Prof. C. Kunhan Raja, M. A., D. Phil. (Oxon).
(*Madras*).

The Śākuntala has been ever recognised as one of the best specimens of literature in the whole world. In ancient days in India, it occupied the position of being *the drama* in Sanskrit. When the drama was introduced to European scholars in recent times, it acquired a wide fame in Europe also, as a masterpiece. Much has been written regarding the artistic beauty of the drama, both in recent times and in ancient days. Modern scholars have spent much time in establishing the date of the drama, its chronology within the works of Kālidāsa and such other matters. There is one aspect of dramatic criticism to which proper attention has not been given in recent times, though in ancient days, much emphasis has been laid on it, I mean, the technique of Indian drama. There is much to be done by way of studying the techniques in Indian drama. What is the relation of the Prastāvanā to the main plot of the drama and what is the relation of the Sūtradhāra to the main characters of the drama ? Is there any design and symmetry in the dramas? What plan is there in the grouping of characters and in the sequence of scenes ? These are questions which require much study.

Let me say a few words as a preliminary about some of these points, as regards the Śākuntala. There is the expression " sūtradhārakṛtārambhaiḥ ", found in the Harṣacarita of Bāṇa, which has played a great part in the Bhāsa controversy. I had made a suggestion even before this that this expression means a drama where the Sūtradhāra plays a part in the Prastāvanā as a character in the main story of the drama. The

well-known instance of it is the Uttararāmacarita of Bhavabhūti, where the Sūtradhāra, as soon as he enters the stage, says that he has become a citizen of Ayodhyā at the time of the coronation of Rāma, and he plays the rôle of a citizen of Ayodhyā at the time when the incidents in the drama took place, not as a citizen of the town where the drama was acted at the time when it was acted. This latter is the usual custom in all the dramas. From one point of view, even the Śākuntala of Kālidāsa is sūtradhārakṛtārambha. In the last verse of the Prastāvanā, the Sūtradhāra says, "eṣa rājeva Duṣyantaḥ sāraṅgeṇātiraṃhasā". It is usually said that the word 'eṣaḥ', signifies the king who is to enter and whom the Sūtradhāra is pointing out. My own view is that the word signifies the Sūtradhāra himself, who has become the king (having taken up his part in the drama). It was the custom for the Sūtradhāra to enter in the costume of the chief character of the drama. This is quite plain from the Mālatīmādhava of Bhavabhūti. There, at the end of Prastāvanā, the Sūtradhāra says, "eṣo 'smi kāmandakī saṃvṛttaḥ"; and the Naṭa responds by saying, "aham apyavalokitā". Unless the Sūtradhāra and the Naṭa had already been on the stage in costumes of Kāmandakī and Avalokitā respectively, this statement cannot be explained. Further, in a system of dramatic representation even now current in some parts of South India, which follows the rules of Bharata, the Sūtradhāra appears in the costume of one of the chief characters of the drama, Indra, Kṛṣṇa, Yudhiṣṭhira etc. From these facts it may be safely assumed that when in Śākuntala, the Sūtradhāra says. "eṣa rājeva duṣyantaḥ", he must be meaning himself who from that point appears in the rôle of the king, and who must have already appeared in his costume, when he was playing the rôle of the Sūtradhāra. Thus in a sense, the story of the drama is begun by the Sūtradhāra. This is an important point and many controversies regarding Bhāsa could have been avoided, if the problem of Sūtradhāra and Prastāvanā in the Sanskrit dramas had been more carefully investigated into. As regards design and symmetry in Śākuntala, there are many very interesting points. On an examination of the drama, it will be noticed that the turning point in the drama—the point where the

story reaches its highest point as the father of Śakuntalā sends her to her husband's, and where we expect that everything is over, but where we are rudely shocked at the suggestion of one of the Sakhīs that the ring must be taken particular care of—is exactly in the middle of the whole drama and in the middle Act too. The king appears in the first three and in the last three Acts, but not in the middle Act. Śakuntalā appears in all the Acts except in the second from the beginning and in the second from the end. The sage Kaṇva appears only in the middle Act, where the king does not appear. These are very interesting points that deserve more close study. In the following paper, I take up only one interesting point, which has to do more with the technique of dramatic construction rather than with that of dramatic art, i. e., the time-analysis in the drama.

The question to be considered in this connection is this:—what is the interval that has elapsed between the time when the king is introduced in the first Act of the play and the reunion of the king with the queen in the last Act? On the face of it, the answer is very simple. In the first Act, the king is introduced before his marriage with Śakuntalā, and in the last Act the king's son through Śakuntalā is introduced as a grown-up boy. So the interval must be a few years, it may be five, six or seven; it may be even more. But when one reads the drama and puts the book away, then some difficulties arise. When one actually reads the play, one does not pay much attention to the passage of time. In a drama there is no direct narration of the story and as such the lapse of time is not definitely mentioned in the drama; one is rather seeing the events, and all that one knows is that time is also passing, but has no idea what length of time has passed. It is when one has finished reading the last Act that one is conscious of the time that has elapsed and then one considers the question at what points actually the time has passed and what length of time. There is the same difference in a landscape-painting and in the actual description of the plot of ground. In a landscape-painting, one knows that the actual plot of land is bigger than the area of the canvas, but he has no idea regarding the actual

size of the plot. But in a description of the plot, the actual dimensions are given. From an analysis of the painting, one can get some idea of the size of the plot; but that requires effort, that requires some analysis. The trees, streams, birds, animals and all such things that figure in the painting afford some material for making the necessary calculation. Similarly, when one reads a drama, one gets an idea that time taken is much more than the time taken to read the book. But what is the actual length of time ? This can be settled only after an analysis of the events presented in the drama. What I propose to do is to make an analysis of the plot of the drama Śākuntala and see if we can definitely decide the actual length of time that has elapsed between the first and the last Acts.

One thing is certain. In a drama, there is no passage of time within the Acts themselves, longer than the time taken to present the events, which is practically the time taken to read the Act. The real passage of time must be between the various Acts. If a few years have elapsed between the first and the last Acts, we must settle the particular gap between the various Acts which is wide enough to hold this long time.

The story begins in an afternoon. The king goes out hunting. He was pursuing a deer and must have been following the deer for some time; he is introduced as getting impatient of shooting the animal. He comes within arrow-range of the animal, and just when he was taking the aim before discharging the arrow, some sages intercept; the sages invite the king to the hermitage of Kaṇva and go on their errand. The king enters the hermitage, sees Śakuntalā and her two companions and indulges in a long conversation with them; when they depart, it is nearly sun-set.

M. R. Kale in his introduction to the Bombay edition of Śākuntala (1925), page 37, says that the story begins in the morning. His reasons are :-(1) The Vaikhānasa says, "samidāharaṇāya prasthitā vayam", which must be in the morning. Really the sages go out to the forest to collect

'samit' in the afternoon, when they have leisure. In the morning they must bathe early and they have their religious duties to attend to. Further in the third Act, Prologue, the Ṛṣikumāra says, "Yāvad imān vedisaṁstaraṇārthān darbhān ṛtvigbhya upaharāmi". Presumably the 'darbha' is what they had collected from the forests; it cannot be 'darbha' from the hermitage-stock being taken to the ṛtviks for the yāga, since the noon-ceremony had finished and the people were having some rest. (2) The girls must have begun to water the trees in the morning, as is seen from the words of Kaṇva in the fourth Act, "Pātuṁ na prathamaṁ vyavasyati jalaṁ yuṣmāsv-apīteṣu yā". Even if they water the trees in the afternoon, there is no difficulty to interpret the passage. It is in the afternoon that people get thirsty and not early morning. So before Śakuntalā drinks water, she gives water to the trees. This is all that the passage means. (3) The sun is high up in the sky, and so Priyaṁvadā suggests that they sit under the shady tree. This is equally true even it be in the afternoon. (4) "And the whole interview is probably over by ten O'clock in the morning as the bark-garments hanging on the boughs of the trees in the mornings are not yet completely dried." The very stanza where this reference is seen hints that the time is in the afternoon. The stanza runs :—

> "Turagakhurahatas tathā hi reṇur-
> viṭapaviṣaktajalārdravalkaleṣu;
> patati pariṇatāruṇaprakāśaḥ
> śalabhasamūha ivāśramadrumeṣu."

In this stanza, the expression pariṇatāruṇaprakāśaḥ is interpreted in the commentary that accompanies the text as "parinataḥ sāyaṅkālīnaḥ yo 'ruṇaḥ sūryaḥ tadvat prakāśaḥ sphuṭaḥ", and the translation is, "having the colour of the evening twilight (sun)" Here the word pariṇata means "setting" and it will be appropriate if it is the description of the sun-set. Again, the king is introduced at the end of the day's hunt, and not at the beginning. Thus from all considerations, the scene of the first Act must be in the afternoon.

The first hint that we get, from which we can deduce anything bearing on the time-element in the play, is the statement of the Vaikhānasa in the first Act, "idānīmeva duhitaraṁ śakuntalāmatithisatkāre niyujya daivamasyāḥ pratikūlam vārayituṁ somatīrthaṁ gataḥ". "The sage Kaṇva had just at that time left the hermitage on a pilgrimage." Usually, the Ṛṣis go from place to place in the afternoon, and this shows that the time of the first Act must be in the afternoon. But the real point is that the action in the drama begins at the time when the sage Kaṇva had left the hermitage for his pilgrimage. This helps us to fix the interval between the first and the second Acts. In the beginning of the second Act, the Vidūṣaka says, "hyaḥ kilāsmāsvavahineṣu tatrabhavato mṛgayānusāreṇāśramapadaṁ praviṣṭasya tāpasakanyakā śakuntalā mamādhanyatayā darśitā". This clearly shows that there is only the interval of night between the first and the second Acts, the second Act being in the morning. But this express statement in the drama is in conflict with many indications of a much longer interval. Towards the end of the close of the second Act, the Ṛṣikumāra says, "tatrabhavataḥ kaṇvasya maharṣerasānnidhyād rakṣāṁsi na iṣṭivighnaṁ utpādayanti." What iṣṭi is this? When the king visited the hermitage previously, there was no sacrifice going on there. This is quite clear from the way in which the Vaikhānasa invited the king to the hermitage, which was as follows :— "eṣa khalu kaṇvasya kulapateranumālinītīramāśramo dṛśyate. na ced anyakāryātipātaḥ praviśya pratigṛhyatāmātitheyaḥ satkāraḥ api ca —

> ramyās tapodhanānāṁ pratihatavighnāḥ kriyāḥ samavalokya
> jñāsyasi kiyad bhujo me rakṣati maurvīkiṇāṅka iti."

Here there is no mention of an iṣṭi going on there, and there is no fear of any trouble from the Rākṣasas: In the prelude to the fourth Act, Anasūyā says, "adya sa rājarṣiriṣṭiṁ parisamāpya." From these indications it is certain that the iṣṭi must be an important sacrifice extending over a number of days. In the second Act, the Ṛṣikumāra says, "katipayarātraṁ sārathidvitīyena bhavatā sanāthīkriyatāmāśramaḥ." The king was invited to stay in the hermitage for a few days. When

the king goes to the hermitage for the first time, there was nothing special going on in the place. The place is quite secure and the sage Kaṇva had just then left the place. Is it possible that over a night, they had decided to start a sacrifice, the Rākṣasas came and gave them trouble, and the residents of the hermitage decided to invite the king to the hermitage, for protection ? If a sacrifice was to begin that night, why did Kaṇva leave the hermitage that afternoon ? These are all matters that cannot be ignored. The only conclusion is that although in the play it is expressly stated that the interval is only that of a night, in the actual story which the drama represents, we must allow a long interval of a few days between the first and the second acts. There are two sets of times in the drama. One is the time in the drama and the other is the time in the story which the drama represents. If we call them A time and B time respectively, then the A time is one night and the B time is some days.

The third Act is in an afternoon. There are many express statements in the drama, which show clearly that between the second and the third many days must have elapsed. The words of the king, "kin nu khalu me priyādarśanād ṛte śaraṇamanyat" show that to go about the hermitage in the afternoons and to watch Śakuntalā was a usual pastime of the king to ease his troubled heart. The words of Priyaṁvadā, "tasya rājarṣeḥ prathamadarśanād ārabhya" and "anudivasaṁ khalu parihīyase 'ṅgaiḥ" also show that many days have passed after Śakuntalā first saw the king. The king too says, "dṛṣṭo vivṛtya bahuśo 'pyanayā" and "niśi niśi bhujanyastāpāṅgaprasarpibhiraśrubhiḥ". Sakuntalā herself says, "yataḥ prabhṛti mama darśanapathamāgataḥ sa tapovanarakṣitā rājarṣiḥ". All these show that many days have passed between the arrival of the king in the hermitage and the incidents of the third Act. Between the beginning of the third Act and the end there is practically no interval except the time taken by the incidents represented there. In the beginning of the Act the Ṛṣikumāra says, "kasyedamuśīrānulepanam mṛṇālavanti ca nalinīpatrāṇi" This uśīrānulepana and this nalinīpatra are seen at the middle of the Act. Again he

says, "aham api tāvad vaitānikaṁ śāntyudakamasyai gautamī haste visarjayiṣyāmi." At the end of the Act Gautamī brings the sacred water. Thus the long lapse of time cannot be within the Act itself. It must be between the end of the second Act, where the king starts for the hermitage and the third Act. But can we allow such a long interval? Towards the close of the second Act, the Ṛṣikumāras leave the stage with the assurance of the king, "ahamapyanupadamāgata eva". In the very beginning of the third Act the Ṛṣikumāra says,

> "kā kathā bāṇasandhāne jyāśabdenaiva dūrataḥ
> huṅkāreṇeva dhanuṣaḥ sa hi vighnān apohati."

Such an admiration of the king's prowess is appropriate if it is immediately after the king's arrival and the sudden removal of all obstacles. Read along with what are given in the second Act, this passage suggests that the incidents of the third Act follow immediately after the incidents of the second Act.

There are reasons to assume that the incidents of the third Act took place on the last day but one of the iṣṭi to protect which from the Rākṣasas the king had been staying in the hermitage. At the close of the third Act, the conversation of the king and Śakuntalā is broken by the arrival of Gautamī. The king conceals himself behind a grove. Śakuntalā takes leave of him in the following words: "latāvalaya āmantraye tvā bhūyo 'pi paribhogāya." This, in the guise of an address to the grove, is an invitation to the king to meet her in the same place at a more convenient time. They must have met at the place the same night and the marriage must have taken place at that time. It is impossible that the king should have stayed on in the hermitage after the secret marriage. He must have left the hermitage the next day, and the incidents of the prelude to the fourth Act must have taken place in the afternoon of the day on which the king should have gone away. That there is no interval between the marriage of [illegible]talā and the incidents of the prelude to the fourth Act is [illegible] by the statement of Anasūyā, "nanu sakhyāḥ [illegible]lāyāḥ saubhāgyadevatā arcanīyā." Priyaṁvadā says [illegible] had collected enough flowers, and Anasūyā informs

her that from that day onwards they must have more flowers as Śakuntalā has to perform Saubhāgyadevatārcana. This must be some ceremonial immediately after the marriage. The curse of Durvāsas must have taken place before the king's arrival in the palace. If he had remembered the marriage when he reached the palace, it is impossible that he did not tell the Vidūṣaka about it immediately. But we knew that he did not inform the Vidūṣaka about the marriage, and the reason for his silence must be that before he reached the palace, Durvāsas must have cursed him and he must have completely forgotten Śakuntalā. Thus, the incidents of the third Act must have been in an afternoon, the marriage must have taken place that night, the king must have left the hermitage the next day, and the incidents of the prelude to the fourth Act must have been the same afternoon. There is no difference in the intervals between the third Act and the prelude to the fourth Act according to A time and B time; it must be a day.

There is sufficient indication of a long interval, a few months between the prelude and the fourth Act itself. In the fourth Act, Kaṇva has returned from his pilgrimage, he knows about the marriage and he arranges to send Śakuntalā to the palace of the king properly escorted. The journey to the palace cannot have taken more than two days. Because, when the king left Śakuntalā, he had promised to send his men and escort her to the palace in as many days as there are syllables in the name Duṣyanta.

> "ekaikamātra divase divase madīyaṁ
> nāmākṣaraṁ gaṇaya gacchasi yāvad antam
> tāvat priye madavarodhagṛhapraveśaṁ
> netā janastava samīpamupaiṣyatīti."

The king has to reach the palace and his men have to reach the hermitage in three days. So, with the facilities that the king can command, the hermitage is only a little over a day's journey from the palace. The messenger from the king's mother to the king in the forest announces that on the fourth day from that day, there is a ceremonial to be performed in

the palace and that the king is expected back. This also shows that the distance from the hermitage to the palace must be very short. So Śakuntalā's journey to the palace cannot have taken more than two days. At the time when Śakuntalā reaches the palace, her pregnancy had developed to such an extent as could be easily recognised. Says the king, "katham-imāmabhivyaktasatvalakṣaṇām", in the fifth Act, when Śakuntalā is in the palace. The interval may be five or six months. And this interval must be placed between the prelude and the fourth Act. But difficulties arise in assuming such a long interval at that point. In the fourth Act, it is certain that Gautamī did not know anything about the marriage. Is it possible that a young lady of marriageable age could live in the hermitage in the immediate sight of an elderly lady like Gautamī, pregnant for about five or six months and not being noticed by Gautamī? That Gautamī did not notice her change in life and her pregnancy for such a long time is an impossibility. Anasūyā and Priyaṁvadā knew about the marriage, and must have known about the pregnancy. How can one believe that they did not tell Gautamī about it and seek her help to get out of the difficulty? The friends of Sakuntalā must have been expecting the escort of the king two or three days after the incidents of the prelude to the fourth Act. When they did not see the king's men coming at the appointed time, they must have got worried and the uneasiness is expressed in the words of Anasūyā, "yady api nāma viṣayaparāṅmukhasya janasyaitanna viditam :tathāpi tena rājñā śakuntalāyāmanāryamācaritam." ...."pratibuddhāpi kiṁ kariṣyāmi. na me uciteṣv-api nijakaraṇīyeṣu hastapādaṁ prasarati. kāma idānīm sakāmo bhavatu yenāsatyasandhe jane śuddhahṛdayā sakhī padaṁ kāritā. athavā durvāsaḥśāpa eṣa vikārayati. anyathā kathaṁ sa rājarṣistādṛśāni mantrayitvaitāvataḥ kālasya lekhamātramapi na visṛjati. tad ito 'bhijñanamaṅgulīyakaṁ visṛjāvaḥ. duḥkhaśīle tapasvijane ko 'bhyarthyatām" It is impossible that the two friends of Śakuntalā carried on in this strain for five months. There is a hint in the above passage that they had an idea of appealing to Gautamī as a last resort.

At best we may say that after the day appointed by the king, they waited for a few days. Meanwhile, the sage Kaṇva returned and the story proceeded further. Thus between the prelude and the fourth Act, the A time can at best be only a few days, while the B time is a few months, perhaps five or six months. There is another hint that makes it difficult to assume the lapse of five or six months between the prelude and the fourth Act. When Priyaṁvadā told Anasūyā that the sage Kaṇva had made arrangements for sending Śakuntalā to the palace, Anasūyā says, "tena hyetasmiṁś-cūtaśākhāvalambite nālikerasamudgake etannimittameva kālāntarakṣamā nikṣiptā mayā kesaramālikā." When could Anasūyā have made this garland? It must be on the day of the incidents of the prelude or the day after, since she was expecting Śakuntalā to go to the palace on that day. It is the same garland that she now takes. It is impossible that, however carefully kept and whatever the quality of the flower, a flower-garland could be kept for five or six months. This also shows that the interval between the prelude and the fourth Act can be only a few days, and not a few months.

Between the fourth and the fifth Acts, the interval can be only two days, as was already said and there is no difference between the A time and the B time, so far as this interval is concerned.

The long interval of a few years must be assigned to the interval between the fifth and the sixth Acts. In the fifth Act, the king refuses to accept Śakuntalā; some divine being carries away the young lady. In the seventh Act, we see the same young lady as the mother of a grown-up child. And between the sixth and the seventh Acts, the interval is only a day. So the long interval during which Śakuntalā gave birth to a son and during which the son grew up to be a boy able to drag a lion-cub by the tail must be assigned to the interval between the fifth and the sixth Acts.

Here again there is considerable difficulty in assigning any interval longer than a day or two. The whole trend of the king's words gives the hint that the king had some sort

f feeling that there was something which he had forgotten. When he enters the stage at the opening of the fifth Act, ie says—

> "ramyāṇi vīkṣya madhurāṁśca niśamya śabdān
> paryutsuko bhavati yat sukhito 'pi jantuḥ
> taccetasā smarati nūnamabodhapūrvaṁ
> bhāvasthirāṇi jananāntarasauhṛdāni."

Again, the king says—

> "idamupanatamevaṁrūpamakliṣṭakānti
> prathamaparigṛhītaṁ syānna vetyavyavasyan
> bhramara iva vibhāte kundamantastuṣāraṁ
> na ca khalu paribhoktuṁ nāpi śaknomi hātum."

Further, he says, "sandigdhabuddhiṁ māṁ kurvannakaitava vāsyāḥ kopo lakṣyate." And in the end the king closes the Act with the words—

> "kāmaṁ pratyādiṣṭāṁ smarāmi na parigrahaṁ munestanayām
> balavattu dūyamānaṁ pratyāyayatīva me hṛdayam.

All these words show that the king was very uneasy about he refusal to accept Śakuntalā. Further, the hermitage of Kaṇva was only a little over a day's journey from the palace. It was the family-teacher of the king that had sent Śakuntalā as the legally-wedded wife of the king. Then here was Sakuntalā's mother, Menakā. There was Sānumatī oo. Kaṇva was not the heartless recluse to remain silent ver such an unhappy event for five or six years. He loved akuntalā as much as his own life; he undertook a pilgrimage remove some evil fate of Śakuntalā. The two friends of akuntalā, namely Anasūyā and Priyaṁvadā, would not keep uiet for such a long time. Śakuntalā was kept by her other in the hermitage of Mārīca, and he could have done mething to save the situation. How is it that all of them mained quiet, without raising a finger, when any e of them could very easily have found out the ith of the unfortunate position? The only explanation is t none of them had any time to do anything. Before

anything could be thought of, everything had cleared, the king had been reminded of his marriage and the reunion of the king with Śakuntalā had been effected. It must have taken two days for Śārṅgarava and party to return from the palace to the hermitage and to report the events to Kaṇva. By that time the king had been reunited with Śakuntalā at the hermitage of Mārīca. The king in the hermitage of Mārīca was anxious to send on the information to Kaṇva, but Mārīca assures him that Kaṇva had known about the happy reunion by his supernatural powers. Says Mārīca, "tapaḥprabhāvāt pratyakṣameva sarvaṁ tatrabhavataḥ". There are many hints in the sixth Act to show that the incidents of the sixth Act must have happened immediately after the incidents of the fifth Act. When Sānumatī appears, there is no reference to any previous visit to the palace. It is impossible that she did not visit the palace and try to get information about the after-effects of discarding Śakuntalā for such a long time. If she had been visiting the palace for six years, this is not the way that she would begin her thoughts. Further, she would have known about the condition of the king and she could have known about the existence of Śakuntalā in the hermitage of Mārīca. A reunion is the easiest thing for her to bring about. She had not known about the recovery of the ring and the consequent recollection by the king of his marriage with Sakuntalā. This shows that the incidents of the main Act are immediately after the incidents of the prelude to the sixth Act. She came to the palace to know something about what could be done for Śakuntalā. The words, "sāmpratamasya rājarṣerudantaṁ pratyakṣīkariṣyāmaḥ" suggest that that was the first time she visited the palace after the king discarded Śakuntalā. The words of the Kañcukī "kimatrabhavatyoḥ karṇapathaṁ nāyātaṁ Śakuntalāpratyādeśakaulīnam" and the words of the two Ceṭīs, "śrutaṁ rāṣṭriyamukhād yāvadaṅgulīyakadarśanam" show that the incident of discarding Śakuntalā was a new and recent affair, not a story six years old. It is clear that the seventh Act was separated from the sixth Act only by a day. Thus there are enough hints to show that the meeting of Śakuntalā and the king at the hermitage of the sage Mārīca was two days after the king

discarded Sakuntālā. If this could be so, there is no difficulty in understanding the silence of all the people concerned. There was no time for any one to do anything. The king went to bed with a very disturbed mind. Next morning, the ring was recovered, and soon after that he went to the Heaven-world to help Indra and the next day he met Śakuntalā. By the time Kaṇva and the Sakhīs got the sad news, the king had been reunited with Śakuntalā. Thus everything becomes quite clear. We find that if we allot six years between the fifth and sixth Acts, there is great difficulty in reconciling many things in the drama, and to reconcile these things we must assume another time, which is very short.

To conclude, according to A time, the whole drama was over in six days, whereas according to B time, it must be about as many years.

MÂLAVIKÂGNIMITRA–A STUDY.

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(*Baroda*).

Part I.

Two questions are discussed.

I. Is the conquest, annexation and resettlement of the kingdom of Vidarbha by the hero of the play, king Agnimitra of Vidiśā, to be taken as a historical fact or merely as an invention by the dramatist ?

(1) Outside this play we have no evidence in support of it.

(2) What we know of Vidarbha in the 2nd century B.C. renders such an event improbable. The eastern parts of the territory, north and south, appear to have been covered by Gaṇa-Saṅghas which Khāravela brought under his suzerainty or influence about that time. Secondly Khāravela to the east of Vidarbha was certainly much stronger than Agnimitra. Nor have we any ground to assume that the Śātakarṇi kings to the west of Vidarbha were much weaker. Would these neighbours have remained with folded hands while there rages a war of succession in Vidarbha on the death of its aged king ? Would not the rivals themselves have begged their aid and thus brought them in or immediately after, when a power from the north of the Vindhyas pounces upon so rich and extensive a territory ? With such neighbours to the right and left of Vidarbha, is it at all probable that Agnimitra's adventure was such a walk over as it is represented to have been in the play ?

(3) Sanskrit dramatists have repeatedly drawn upon the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata for their plots because of the

outstanding popularity through the ages of these great epics. People have always looked upon them as sacred history, i. e. the principal characters and the principal events and narrations have been believed to be historical; and yet Sanskrit dramatists have taken great liberties with them. They have added and omitted, they have altered and recast and invented with perfect freedom; artistic harmony and beauty, emotional grandeur and ethical nobility are what they have aimed at, and the epic-stories they have handled as raw material to be shaped in their own plots exactly as it suited the purposes of their new work of art. The Nāṭya Śāstra has also recognised the need for such independent handling, encouraged the dramatists to indulge in it, given them full detailed facilities for it, and specially insisted that the ending of each play should be both originally conceived and marvellous in sentiment (*rasa*). It is not quite unlikely that the main portions of Sanskrit dramaturgy were settled before the age of Kālidāsa, who, I have assumed for the purposes of this paper, flourished early in the Gupta Age. No incident, merely because it occurs in a Sanskrit play, deserves to be regarded as a historical fact unless we find good independent evidence for it.

(4) The Guptas revived the great Vedic sacrifices and thought very highly of the Śuṅgas who were the first imperial family to start such a revival in their high policy of overthrowing Buddhism which their predecessors the Mauryas had accepted as the state religion and richly endowed at the expense of Vedic Brahmanism which they persecuted and wanted to uproot. Kālidāsa may have begun his career as a poet of some petty king in his native province the Daśārṇās or Eastern Malva (probably split up under the Śuṅgas into two kingdoms in subordinate alliance to the Empire, the western part of which had Vidiśā as its capital), whose name might have been Agnimitra. This suggested to him a play on Agnimitra Śuṅga, and he wanted to magnify his hero, for the reason just stated. But the love-plot he adopted gave him no scope to bring out his greatness as a conquering king and a master of state-craft. Moreover one of the incidents in the plot was such as even to lower him. This he sought to remedy by giving to the love-

plot as a background this incident of the conquest of Vidarbha. Thus it should be looked upon as invented by the poet and not a historical fact.

II. In the play Kālidāsa makes Vasumitra, Agnimitra's eldest son the commander-in-chief of the Śuṅga imperial forces which were guarding the sacrificial horse and defeated the Yavanas in the battle of the black Sindhu, a tributary of the Cambal, just north-west of Eastern Malva. Is this credible ? Vasumitra is represented to have been an inexperienced youth hardly out of his teens. The older we suppose him, the older would Agnimitra himself have to be, the more unsuitable as the hero of the love-story which is the main plot of the play. The "*duṣṭa-vikrānta*" Yavanas are the great foes of the empire, and we may say of North India at this period (the second century B. C.), their main army being the critical battlefront of the empire. The revival of Vedic Brahmanism requires the total defeat of the Yavanas making them leave all North India bag and baggage. Is it credible that the commander-in-chief of such an army should be Vasumitra when Puṣpamitra himself has to be at Pataliputra since he has started the Aśvamedha and taken the vows ? Moreover, we learn from incontestable evidence that he had a number of sons, and his organisation of the empire was of the Vairājya type, where there was no anointed emperor, the provinces being each entrusted to a son or other member of the family, all ruling over their respective charges under the guidance of Puṣpamitra who had contented himself (not without reason) with his old title of Senāpati. . It is almost certain that Agnimitra and other experienced and senior members of the imperial Śuṅga house must have been with the army which won this decisive victory. But if Agnimitra had been there with the army in person, he could not play the hero in a love-episode at his capital as the Sanskrit Drama allows only one principal story in its plot. The fame he probably won as victor of that battle, the poet therefore enhances by assigning to him an even greater exploit at the same time, viz. the conquest of Vidarbha single-handed which he has invented; and this incident has for the dramatist this indispensable merit that

the victory could be won without his personal presence with the army, by his lieutenants. Note further that the Vidarbha princess is named Mālavikā; the Mālava lady of humble birth, whom because of her youthful charms the king picked up out of the maid-servants of the harem and made his queen, is named Irāvatī. We might have expected the Vidarbha princess to bear the latter, and the Mālava maid-servant to bear the former name. It may be a historical fact still remembered upto Kālidāsa's day that Agnimitra in his declining years was much under the influence of his junior queen Mālavikā (i. e. the maid-servant whom he had married). The poet might have kept the name, but altered her descent in order to suit his invention of the conquest of Vidarbha by the hero.

PART II.

Three matters are discussed.

I. The Parivrājikā is generally taken to be a Buddhist. This paper sets out the reasons for rejecting this view, and proves that in this play as in the later 'Kaumudīmahotsava', (not mentioned by Dr. Keith in his work on the Sanskrit Drama) the Parivrājikā is a Brahmin.

II. The Vikramorvaśiya was the first of the author's plays to be written. But it remained long with the author so that he had ample time to polish and improve the literary expression. Its defects as a dramatic structure, inherent in the plot adopted, could not be amended unless traditional myth had been transformed out of recognition. But Kālidāsa appears to have decided that if the essential part of the old myth had to be kept, it was not possible to invent anything better. The Mālavikāgnimitra, the second of his plays to be written, was written in a hurry, and was staged at once. Thus it passed out of the hands of the author before he could polish and improve it, and it was the first of his plays to be performed, as is proved by the Prastāvanās of the two works.

III. Bifocal and trifocal structure in a scene defined. Act III analysed. After a brief introduction it becomes a bifocal scene and thus passes into a trifocal one; then it again

becomes bifocal as soon as the king reveals himself to Mālavikā. From the point that Irāvatī also reveals herself it becomes an ordinary scene. A trifocal scene, it is also pointed out, cannot be very effective on the stage and this is why such scenes are so rare in dramatic literature, while bifocal scenes are fairly numerous.

PART III.

Twenty seven passages are very briefly examined to settle the readings.

KUNDAMĀLĀ AND THE UTTARARĀMACARITA.

PROF. K. A. SUBRAMANIA IYER, M.A. (LONDON).

(Lucknow.)

The drama, Kundamālā, was first published by Mr. Rāmakṛṣṇakavi and Mr. Rāmanāthaśāstriar in the Dakṣiṇabhārati Series in 1923. The editors attributed the work to Diṅnāga, the famous Buddhist logician of the 5th century A. D. Later on they seem to have thought that they made a mistake and have changed the name of the author to Dhīranāga.

In 1932 another edition of the work appeared in Lahore by Mr. Jai Chand Shastri. It is accompanied by a translation and introduction by Messrs. Vedavyasa and Bhanot. The work is again attributed to Diṅnāga, the famous Buddhist philosopher on the following grounds :—

(1) The two Mysore manuscripts mention दिङ्नाग as the author in the prelude : आदिष्टोऽहं परिषदा...... तत्र भवतोऽरारालपुरवास्तव्यस्य कवेर्दिङ्नागस्य कृतिः कुंदमाला नाम etc.

(2) " The second verse of our drama is quoted under Diṅnāga in Vallabhadeva's Subhāṣitāvali and this, in itself, is enough to settle that Diṅnāga and not Dhīranāga is the author of the drama " (Kundamālā–Lahore edition p. IV).

The translators also hold that the Diṅnāga, mentioned by Mallinātha and Dakṣiṇāvarta in their commentaries on Meghadūta 14th verse as the rival of Kālidāsa, was precisely the author of Kundamālā. Being thus satisfied about the high antiquity of the Kundamālā, the translators are of opinion that Bhavabhūti in his Uttararāmacarita is indebted to Diṅnāga for certain scenes and ideas. They remark : "In this respect, Bhavabhūti is solely indebted to his predecessor, the author of the Kundamālā for the suggestion of Rāmā's meeting with Vāsanti and the invisible presence of Sītā in the Daṇḍaka forest". (Introduction p. XXX.)

Thus the originality of Bhavabhūti has also been called into question!

Are the editor and the translators justified in attributing the work to Diṅnāga? On an answer to this question depends the question of Bhavabhūti's indebtedness to the Kundamālā. To me, Diṅnāga's authorship of the Kundamālā seems a very doubtful affair. Let us examine the evidence.

The Lahore edition is based on four manuscripts. Two of them are from the Tanjore Palace Library (Nos. 4342 and 4343). The translators remark that one of them is a copy of the other. In both of them, the work is attributed to *Dhīranāga* and not to Diṅnāga. The other two manuscripts are from the Government Oriental Library, Mysore. In the catalogue of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in this library, published by the Mysore Government, we find the following entry on p. 275: कुन्दमालानाटकं दिङ्नागाचार्यकृतम् B (758) क 67 प; (2763) ग्र 47 प. According to the translators, the prelude in these two manuscripts contains the sentence quoted above, attributing the work to Diṅnāga. They also remark that one of these manuscripts is copied from the other.

So far then the manuscript evidence is evenly balanced: two manuscripts for Diṅnāga and two for Dhīranāga. Unless we have some further evidence, it is impossible to decide between the two. The translators believe they have found the further evidence required in the Subhāṣitāvalī of Vallabhadeva. The second verse of our drama, they say, is quoted in the Subhāsitāvalī under Diṅnāga.

If this is true, the evidence cannot be ignored. On turning the pages of the Subhāṣitāvalī published in the Bombay Sankrit Series, we find a different state of things. Only one verse is attributed to Diṅnāga in the Subhāṣitāvalī and it runs as follows:—

तर्कोऽप्रतिष्ठः श्रुतयो विभिन्ना
नासौ मुनिर्यस्य वचोऽप्रमाणम्।
धर्मस्य मूलं निहितं गुहायां
महाजनो येन गतः स पन्थाः ॥

Subhāṣitāvalī 3437.

This verse is not found in the Kundamālā at all. This is a well-known verse. It occurs in the Mahābhārata. Secondly, the positive statement of the translators that the second verse of our drama is found in the Subhāṣitāvali is not correct. Not only is the second verse of our drama not found in the Subhāṣitāvali, *not a single verse* of our drama is found in that anthology, at least not in the edition in the B. S. Series. It would have very much helped verification if the translators had given reference to edition and page when they said that the second verse of our drama is quoted under Diṅnāga in Vallabhadeva's Subhāṣitāvalī.

Thus the main evidence on which the attribution of the Kundamālā to Diṅnāga is based is found to be without value.

Is there any confirmatory evidence for the attribution of the work to Dhīranāga?

Dhīranāga is mentioned in anthologies like Sūktimuktāvalī and Subhāṣitāvalī. Sometimes the epithet Bhadanta is found prefixed to his name. Not less than five verses are attributed to him in the Subhāṣitāvalī (Nos. 1064, 1142, 3387, 3385, 3389). *None* of these verses is found in our drama. The claim of Dhīranāga would be just as weak as that of Diṅnāga if we had nothing but these quotations in the Subhāṣitāvalī. Fortunately, we get some help in deciding this question from another source.

The work is mentioned in the commentary of Rāmacandra and Guṇacandra on their own Nāṭyadarpaṇa. The passage runs as follows:—

तत्र पताकाया मुख्यत्वं यथा–श्रीशूद्रकविरचितायां मृच्छकटिकायां पूर्वो-कारोपगृहीतस्यार्थकस्य । प्रकर्यां यथा–वीरनागनिबद्धायां कुन्दमालायां सीतायास्त-पत्ययोश्च पालनसंयोजनाभ्यां स्वफलनिरपेक्षस्य वाल्मीकेः ॥

Nāṭyadarpaṇa page 48 (G.O.S.)

Nāṭyadarpaṇa belongs to the end of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th century A.D. and this passage *is the only one* I know of where the Kundamālā is mentioned together with its author and the author is not Diṅnāga! It is Vīranāga!

Who is this Vīranāga? I have searched for a reference to Vīranāga in all the anthologies, but I have found none. Could Vīranāga be a corruption of Dhīranāga? In any case Vīranāga is nearer to Dhīranāga than to Diṅnāga. Dhīranāga is not altogether unknown in Sanskrit literature. As shown above, his verses are quoted in the Subhāṣitāvali. It seems to me therefore that the author of Kundamālā is Dhīranāga or Vīranāga, but not Diṅnāga.

Bhavabhūti's indebtedness to Kundamālā now becomes altogether doubtful. We have so far not the slightest reason to believe that the Kundamālā existed before Bhavabhūti. It is true that the work has been known to writers on Alānkāra-śāstra. The earliest reference is the one found in Nāṭyadarpaṇa quoted above. The Bhāvaprakāśana (1,175 – 1,250 A. D.) mentions the Kundamālā as containing the five 'Sandhis' of a drama.

कुन्दमालाऽत्र सुश्लिष्टा संधिपंचकसंयुता

Bhāvaprakāśana p. 223 (G.O.S.).

The Sāhityadarpaṇa, while illustrating प्रयोगातिशय quotes the final portion of the prelude of our drama which is mentioned by name.

यथा कुन्दमालायाम् । नेपथ्ये । इत इतोऽवतरत्वार्या । सूत्र । कोऽयं खल्वार्यवार्तानेन सहायकं मे संपादयति । विलोक्य । कष्टमतिकरुणं वर्तते ।

लङ्केश्वरस्य भवने सुचिरं स्थितेति
रामेण लोकपरिवादभयाकुलेन ।
निर्वासितां जनपदादपि गर्भगुर्वी
सीतां वनाय परिकर्षति लक्ष्मणोऽयम् ॥

अत्र नृत्यप्रयोगार्थं स्वभार्याह्वानमिच्छता सूत्रधारेण " सीतां वनाय परिकर्षति लक्ष्मणोऽयमि " ति सीतालक्ष्मणयोः प्रवेशं सूचयित्वा निष्क्रान्तेन स्वप्रयोगमतिशयान एव प्रयोगः प्रयोजितः ।

Sāhityādarpaṇa VI. v. 291.

But the Sāhityādarpaṇa belongs to the 14th century. If the Dhīranāga mentioned in the Subhāṣitāvalī is the author

of our drama, we must remember that the anthology is a late composition, perhaps of the 15th century. The verse

> द्यूते पणः प्रणयकेलिषु कण्ठपाशः
> क्रीडापरिश्रमहरं व्यजनं रतान्ते।
> शय्या निशीथकलहे हरिणेक्षणायाः
> प्राप्तं मया विधिवशादिदमुत्तरीयम्॥
>
> (Kundamālā IV, 20).

is verse I, Act V of the Hanumannāṭaka. But the Hanumannāṭaka must be later than Bhavabhūti because it has taken many verses from Bhavabhūti. This very verse is supposed to be found in the Śṛṅgāraprakāśa of Bhojadeva. I have not been able to verify this; but even if it is a fact, Bhoja belongs only to the 11th century A. D. Thus we have not so far come across any reference to the Kundamālā which is earlier than Bhavabhūti. All those which we have found are much later. This, coupled with the practical certainty that Diṅnāga was not the name of the author of the Kundamālā makes it very improbable that Bhavabhūti is indebted to the Kundamālā.

Nor can a comparison of the two dramas lead us to the conclusion that the Kundamālā is earlier than Bhavabhūti. The translators of the Kundamālā are certain that, where there are resemblances between the two dramas in ideas, Bhavabhūti must be indebted to the Kundamālā. This is, however, only a matter of opinion. It is not right to allow one's preference or admiration for one of them to bias one's judgement as to posteriority or priority. While recognizing these limitations, I believe it is possible to maintain with equal justification that the author of the Kundamālā has borrowed from the Uttararāmacarita. Let me now make this point clearer.

The story, in both the dramas, is based on the Uttarakāṇḍa of the Vālmīkirāmāyaṇa and in both there are deviations from the original story. Both agree in giving a happy ending to the story by reuniting Rāma and Sītā, whereas in Vālmīki, as everyone knows, the end is semitragic. But this happy ending is brought about in the two dramas in quite different

ways. In the Uttararāmacarita, we are taken through seven acts containing some of the best poetry in Sanskrit literature. Bhavabhūti is a master of the art of describing the tender emotions of human life. Some of the pictures of domestic happiness in the Uttararāmacarita are very beautiful indeed and must have been inspired by Bhavabhūti's own experience. There is very little of all this in the other drama where the poetry is of mediocre quality and the sentiments expressed are mostly conventional.

And yet there are, here and there, points of resemblance in detail which suggest borrowal and to my mind at least, there is absolutely no reason to believe that Bhavabhūti borrowed from Kundamālā. The translators of the latter have mentioned the idea of Sitā's invisible presence in the Daṇḍaka as an example of borrowal. To me, it seems that this idea is extremely important in the Uttararāmacarita. It is absolutely essential for that psychological reconciliation between Rāma and Sitā which is preliminary to their union. The invisible Sītā has an opportunity of seeing Rāma in separation and of hearing him speak about it and of convincing herself of his good motives. In the Kundamālā, the invisible presence of Sītā plays no such vital part. The message which Rāma sends through Lakṣmaṇa (p. 27) makes the purity of his motives quite clear and there is no need for reconciliation. Kundamālā seems to have borrowed the idea from the Uttararāmacarita without making proper use of it ! Again, Bhavabhūti has made better use of the idea of sending messages. In Vālmīki, Sītā sends a message to Rāma when she is abandoned by Lakṣmaṇa. It is only meant to give expression to her feelings and has no bearing on coming events. In the Kundamālā, Rāma and Sītā send messages to each other, again only to give expression to their feelings. These messages do not influence the action of the drama. It is in Bhavabhūti that these messages have been given a fully dramatic significance. The messages sent by the queens, Vasiṣṭha, Arundhatī and [illegible] are all connected with the coming events. Again, in the Uttararāmacarita Rāma requests Gaṅgā and Pṛthivī to [illegible] and the way in which the two deities comply

ith this request is closely connected with the development f the action of the drama. In the Kundamālā, Lakṣmaṇa 1akes a similar request to Gaṅgā, but its dramatic value is very ight. Such little details make on me the impression that it is 1e Uttararāmacarita which is the original and Kundamālā the opy, but, as I said before, such considerations cannot finally ecide the question. The facts, which it is very important to emember before deciding that Bhavabhūti is indebted to the undamālā, are the following :—

(1) That the author of the Kundamālā is Dhīranāga or Vīranāga and not Diṅnāga.

(2) That no reference to the Kundamālā earlier than the 12th century A. D. has been found.

KING PRAVARASENA AND KALIDASA

By K. S. Ramaswami Shastri, Siromaṇi.

(*Baroda.*)

Acārya Daṇḍin in his Kāvyādarśa says that the poem Setubandha is written in the Mahārāṣṭrī language, which is the best amongst the Prākṛts, and that it is a repository of good sayings.[1]

Bāṇa, in his Harṣacarita, tells us that the fame of Pravarasena spread even unto the far countries beyond the ocean because of the Setu just as the army of the Vānaras penetrated beyond the limits of India over the Setu or bridge.[2]

Kṣemendra in his Aucityavicāracarcā quotes a verse from the Setubandha and attributes it to Pravarasena.[3]

From the above it is evident that Pravarasena was held without question to be the author of the Setubandha written in the Mahārāṣṭrīprākṛta. But the Kāvayamālā edition of the work bears a colophon at the end of each Āśvāsaka which attributes the authorship of the Kāvya to both Pravarasena and Kālidāsa. The commentator, Rāmadāsabhūpati, further

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1. महाराष्ट्राश्रयां भाषां प्रकृष्टं प्राकृतं विदुः ।
   सागरः सूक्तिरत्नानां सेतुबन्धादि यन्मयम् ॥
   I–34.

2. कीर्तिः प्रवरसेनस्य प्रयाता कुमुदोज्वला ।
   सागरस्य परं पारं कपिसेनेव सेतुना ॥
   I.

3. " यथा प्रवरसेनस्य--
   दणुइन्दरुहिरलग्गे जस्स फुरन्ते ण हप्पहाविच्छे ।
   गुप्पन्ती विवलाया गलिअब्बयणंसुए महासुरलच्छी ॥ "
   I–2.

informs us that it was not Pravarasena who was the real author of the poem, but the poet Kālidāsa, who at the request of one Vikramāditya, composed the Setubandha, and attributed it to Pravarasena.[1] The efforts made by the editors in the introduction of the edition to confirm the statement of Rāmadāsabhūpati and prove the veracity of the colophons with the help of all historical facts, then available, proved futile. It is a puzzle to all students of Sanskrit literature and Indian history how the three persons Vikramāditya, Pravarasena and Kālidāsa could be described as contemporaries by Rāmadāsabhūpati, since according to current notions they flourished at widely different periods. I propose to examine this problem here and make an attempt to show that all the three persons mentioned above were really, and could conceivably be regarded as contemporaries.

There are six MSS of the Setubandha Kāvya in the MSS collection of the Oriental Institute of Baroda. Out of these six MSS, No. 5561 mentions Mahārāja Pravarasena alone as the author of the work at the end of each chapter which is in the form of a Prākṛta verse.[2] Moreover, the poem is called Rāvaṇavaha. The same verse, in prose form, has been printed in the Kāvyamālā edition as the colophon, but it mentions Kālidāsa also as the author of the Kāvya.[3] Nos 12447 and 13093 contain two different commentaries on the Setubandha by Mudamalla and Mādhavayajvan respectively, but both of these being incomplete, in no way help us to decide the

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1. धीराणां काव्यचर्चाचतुरिमविधये विक्रमादित्यवाचा
यं चक्रे कालिदासः कविकुमुदविधुः सेतुनामप्रबन्धम् ।
तद्व्याख्यासौष्ठवार्थं परिषदि कुरुते रामदासः स एव
ग्रन्थं जल्लालदीन्द्रक्षितिपतिवचसा रामसेतुप्रदीपम् ॥
इह तावन्महाराजप्रवरसेननिमित्तं महाराजाधिराजविक्रमादित्ये-
नाज्ञप्तो निखिलकविचक्रचूडामणिः कालिदासमहाशयः
सेतुबन्धप्रबन्धं चिकीर्षुः । etc.

2. इअ राअसिरिपवरसेणविरइअदहमुहवहे महाकव्वम्मि ।
साअरभडपच्छाणो पढमो आसासओ पडिसमत्तो ॥

3. इअ सिरिपवरसेणविरइए कालिदासकए दहमुहवहे महाकव्वे
तइओ आसासओ परिसमत्तो ।

authorship of the text. The other three MSS., Nos. 5565 12543, and 12637 contain the Rāmasetupradīpa, a commentary by Rāmadāsabhūpati, now available in print. Of these three MSS. No. 12637 contains only fragments of the text, and throws no light on the problem of authorship. No. 5565 which contains only the first few chapters states clearly that one Vikramāditya, a king of kings, requested the very able poet Kālidāsa to compose this poem Setubandha and attribute it to king Pravarasena.

But the last MS No. 12543, which is fairly complete and looks fairly ancient, mentions Kālidāsa alone as the author of the poem in each colophon and not Pravarasena.[1] But the colophon of the last chapter records that Vikramāditya made Kālidāsa to write the poem. This MS. also states that the commentary of Ramadāsabhūpati was written in 159 A. D. by a contemporary of king Akbar.[2]

It is evident from the statements contained in these MSS that Rāmadāsabhūpati, who flourished nearly ten centuries after Daṇḍin and Bāṇa, believes very strongly in the tradition, probably current in his days, that Kālidāsa was the author of the work in question. The validity of the tradition which is recorded by a recent commentator, and which seems to contradict the statements of early authors such as Daṇḍin Bāṇa and Kṣemendra, cannot be questioned, because in reality the work was attributed to Pravarasena by Kālidāsa at the request of Vikramāditya and according to that Pravarasena was taken to be the author of it by early writers. In fact, Bāṇa may be said to have known the truth for he does not make clearly Pravarasena as the author, but tells us that the fame of Pravarasena reached far and wide through the Setubandha, and this saying does not in any way militate against the tradition

1. इति श्रीकविचूडामणिश्रीकालिदासविरचिते सेतुबन्धप्रबन्धे । etc.
2. इति श्रीमहाराजाधिराजश्रीविक्रमादित्यकारिते कविचूडामणिश्री etc.
चक्षुर्भूतारिशीतांशु (१६५२) भिरभिगणिते साहसांकस्य वर्षे
वर्षे जल्लालदीन्द्रक्षितिमुकुटमणेरप्यनन्तागमाभ्याम् ।
पञ्चम्यां शुक्लपक्षे नभसि गुरुदिने रामदासेन राज्ञा
विज्ञेनापूरितोऽयं तिथितुलितशिखो रामसेतुप्रदीपः ॥

recorded in the commentary. Thus it may be said that there is truth in the statement made by the commentator, and his knowledge probably was derived from a tradition handed down since the time of Bāṇa and others. This is supported by a verse, which occurs as the 9th in the printed edition or as 10th in MSS, of the first chapter of the Setubandha.[1] In this verse, the author expresses his modesty, the care taken in composing the poem, and asks for forgiveness for any defect that may be found in the composition. He further says in the same verse that the poem is an attempt of a young or newly crowned king, but it is revised and completed by another when the king found himself unable to complete the project. The commentator explains this verse with a statement[2] that the poem was first written by king Pravarasena and completed by Kālidāsa at the request of Vikramāditya. One of the Oriental Institute MSS No. 12637 also contains the same passage which explains the 10th verse of the first chapter of the Setubandha or the 9th of the printed edition. The verse referred to above lends support to the statement of Rāmadāsa-bhūpati, when he says that king Pravarasena was only a beginner in the art of poetry, and the real authorship belongs to Kālidāsa, or a poet who helped him considerably in his undertaking.

Let us now examine the veracity of the next portion of the statement contained in the Rāmasetupradīpa, which says that Vikramāditya asked Kālidāsa to compose the Kāvya and attribute it to Pravarasena. Here it may be noted that Vikramāditya is described as Mahārājādhirāja or king of kings while Pravarasena is given merely the epithet of Mahārāja or a king.[3] These two epithets show that Pravarasena held an

1. अहिणवराआरद्धा चुक्कक्खलिएसु विहडिअपरिट्ठविआ ।
   [illegible] पमुहरसिआ णिव्वोढुं होई दुक्करं कव्वकहा ॥
2. [illegible] राज्ञा प्रवरसेनेनारब्धा । कालिदासद्वारा तस्यैव कृतिरियमित्याशयः । [illegible]: कविः तस्य स्खलितेषु छन्दोभङ्गादिनानास्थानेषु विघटिता [illegible] परिस्थापिता परिष्कारं प्रापिता ।
3. [illegible] महाराजप्रवरसेननिमित्तं महाराजाधिराजविक्रमादित्येन etc.

inferior position to that of the emperor Vikramāditya but their relations were friendly. As will be shown in the sequel, Pravarasena was a Sāmanta under the emperor Vikramāditya and thus it is quite natural that Kālidāsa, a friend of Vikramāditya, may have been requested by him to compose or give literary help to one of his feudal kings. The relation of Kālidāsa with two kings one superior and the other inferior, reminds us of a similar statement made by Kṣemendra in his Aucityavicāracarcā. In this work it is recorded that a great king had sent Kālidāsa as an ambassador to the court of one of his subordinate kings who had become hostile for a time. In this connection Kṣemendra quotes a verse from the work, now lost, Kuntaleśvaradautya composed by Kālidāsa.[1] While explaining this verse, Kṣemendra states that when Kālidāsa was sent by a Mahārāja or a great king as an ambassador to the court of one of his subordinate kings Kuntaleśvara he was not accorded a respectful reception and was obliged to sit on the ground.[2] We thus learn from Kṣemendra that Kālidāsa had composed one more Kāvya, the Kuntaleśvaradautya, where he recorded an account of the events connected with his mission as an ambassador when he had been sent by a sovereign king to the court of his subordinate king, the Lord of Kuntala. We can further infer that the same Kuntaleśvara who was once subordinate to the sovereign king, turned hostile towards him and this feeling of hostility was the main reason for not showing any respect to the ambassador Kālidāsa. Very probably, the mission which Kālidāsa undertook for his master was to re-establish the friendly relation between the two kings, and Kālidāsa appears to have been eminently successful in his mission. It is very probable that the successful termination of Kālidāsa's mission was recorded in his Kuntaleśvaradautya, but as this work is now

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1. अधिकरणौचित्यं यथा कुन्तेश्वरदौत्ये कालिदासस्य—

इह निवसति मेरुः शेखरः क्ष्माधराणामिह विनिहितभाराः सागराः सप्त चान्ये।
इदमहिपतिभोगस्तंभविभ्राज्यमानं धरणितलमिहैव स्थानमस्मद्विधानाम्॥

2. अत्र महाराजदूतोऽपि सामन्तास्थाने स्वप्रभुसमुचितगौरवपूजार्हमासनमनासाद्य कार्यवशेन भूमावेवोपविष्टः

not available, we have to depend on the meagre citations from the text as found in other works. Two verses, very probably quoted from the Kuntaleśvaradautya, appear in Rājaśekhara's Kāvyamīmāṁsā.[1] These two verses record a conversation regarding the attitude of Kuntaleśvara. In the first verse it is said that the king of the Kuntala country consented to be faithful and wished to enjoy worldly pleasures, leaving all political problems and activities to a certain king and was prepared to be guided by him in all matters. In the second verse which is in the same wording as the first with only two changes, the king gives his assent to these conditions of alliance as proposed by the Lord of Kuntala.

From the above, it can be inferred that this conversation may have taken place between the sovereign king and Kālidāsa after the latter's return from the court of Kuntaleśvara. The same verses are again found quoted by king Bhoja in his Śṛṅgāraprakāśa. Bhoja, while introducing the verses, states that the first verse is a reply given by Kālidāsa to the question put to him by Vikramāditya regarding the attitude of Kuntaleśvara. He also adds that in the second verse, Vikramāditya approves of the action of Kuntaleśvara notified through Kālidāsa.[2] Thus it is possible to infer that these two verses are the compositions of Kālidāsa, and have been quoted from the now lost work Kuntaleśvaradautya, by Bhoja and Rājaśekhara. Kṣemendra also describes Kālidāsa as the Mahārājadūta and this piece of evidence makes it probable that Kālidāsa was sent as an ambassador to the court of Kuntaleśvara by Vikramāditya.

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1. Kāvyamīmāṁsā G. O. S. edition. pp. 60–61.

2. तद्यथा–कालिदासः 'किं कुन्तलेश्वरः करोति' इति विक्रमादित्येन पृष्टः उक्तवान्- असकलहसितत्वात् क्षालितानीव कान्त्या मुकुलितनयनत्वात् व्यक्तकर्णोत्पलानि। पिबति मधुसुगन्धीन्याननानि प्रियाणां त्वयि विनिहितभारः कुन्तलानामधीशः ॥

एतच्छ्रुत्वा विक्रमादित्यः प्रत्युवाच—

पिबतु मधुसुगन्धीन्याननानि प्रियाणां मयि विनिहितभारः कुन्तलानामधीशः ॥

Reverting to our original subject, we find the same persons, who were connected together in the Kuntala embassy, were also responsible for the composition of the poem Setubandha, as stated by the commentator Rāmadāsabhūpati. The three verses, quoted by Rājaśekhara, Bhoja and Kṣemendra from the Kuntaleśvaradautya show that king Vikramāditya re-established friendly relations with the Kuntaleśvara through the efforts of Kālidāsa. We further learn that the Setubandha was composed by Kālidāsa at the request of Vikrama on behalf of not the same Kuntaleśvara but for one Pravarasena.

Let us now examine the epigraphical and inscriptional evidences and make an attempt to find out whether Pravarasena had any relation with the Kuntala country and whether any Vikramāditya who was a contemporary of Kālidāsa could conceivably have any relation with Pravarasena. Two Pravarasenas are known to history. Both of them belonged to the Vākāṭaka dynasty and were called Kuntaleśvaras, because their kingdom extended upto the Kuntala country in the south, and also because they had conquered the Kuntala country. It is also known that the Gupta princes used the title of Vikramāditya, and that Kālidāsa was traditionally connected with the court of one Vikramāditya. Further, we obtain the following particulars regarding these persons from the history of the Gupta Vākāṭaka period of Ancient India as re-constructed by Mr. K. P. Jayaswal in the J. B. O. R. S. Vol. XIX, pts. I and II. Pravarasena I was the second king of the Vākāṭaka dynasty who ruled over the country of the whole of Dakṣiṇāpatha for 60 years during the period of cir. 284-344 A.D. He was a Brahmin of the Viṣṇuvṛddha gotra, performed four Aśvamedhas and Bṛhaspatisava and assumed the title of Samrāṭ. His grandson Rudrasena I succeeded him and ruled upto cir. 348 A. D. Rudrasena's son Pṛthvīsena I succeeded his father and ruled for the period of cir. 348-375 A. D. This king evinced great political fore-sight and heroism. He subjugated the king of Kuntala or the Karṇāṭaka country ruled over by the Kadamba kings. Naturally, after the subjugation of the Kuntala country, he was known as

Kuntaleśvara. Rudrasena II was his son and reigned upto 395 A. D. He was married to Prabhāvatīguptā, the daughter of Candragupta II Vikramāditya of the Gupta dynasty Pravarasena II was her second son, and during his minority Queen Prabhāvatī assumed regency after the death of her husband Rudrasena II, and worked in that capacity for nearly 20 years upto 415 A.D., when Pravarasena II assumed power. This Pravarasena is, therefore, the grand-son of Candragupta Vikramāditya through Prabhāvatīguptā. The above chronology which is primarily based on the evidence of the Purāṇas and inscriptions is in accord with the known chronology of the Gupta kings. Candragupta I who ruled in Magadha under the protection of the Licchavis was a contemporary of Pravarasena I. After the death of Pravarasena I in cir. 344 A.D. Samudragupta the great warrior king occupied the Gupta throne. He was thus a contemporary to Rudrasena I, the grandson of Pravarasena I. In his second Āryāvarta war, Samudragupta attacked several kings including Rudradeva, Maṭila, Nāgadatta etc. among whom Rudradeva was killed on the battlefield. This Rudradeva is none but Rudrasena I Vākāṭaka because at that time he was one of the most important and powerful monarchs in North West India. The kingdom of Vākāṭaka Rudrasena was subsequently restored by Samudragupta to Pṛthvīsena, the son of Rudrasena I. Thereafter, Pṛthvīsena ruled as a sovereign king under Samudragupta and after him under his son Candragupta II. He conquered the Kuntala Kadamba kingdom and was known as Kuntaleśa during the reign of Candragupta Vikramāditya. The Ajanta inscription and Balaghat plates make it clear that after the death of Samudragupta, the Vākāṭakas had their own feudatories and they made war and peace on their own account. Being in possession of full sovereignty, recognized by the Gupta kings, it is not unnatural to suppose that Pṛthvīsena entertained a feeling of hostility against Guptas as his father Rudrasena I was killed by Samudragupta and thus made the Vākāṭakas lose their supremacy in Northern India. It is during this period that Candragupta Vikramāditya sent Kālidāsa to the court of Pṛthvīsena Kuntaleśa as an ambassador. The embassy of

Kālidāsa subsequently became the theme of the poem Kuntaleśvaradautya. It thus becomes evident that the verses quoted by Bhoja and Rājaśekhara refer to this Pṛthvīsena as the Lord of the Kuntala country, who became friendly with Candragupta through the good offices of Kālidāsa. As a result of this friendly relation between the two kings, Candragupta married his daughter to the son of Pṛthvīsena. Through this marriage Pravarasena II the minor king of the Vākāṭakas became the grandson of Candragupta II and Pṛthvīsena I with whom Kālidāsa, the author of the Kuntaleśvaradautya, also had intimate friendship. It is very probable that this Pravarasena II commenced the writing of the Setubandha, and when he found this too difficult for him, he approached Kālidāsa to complete the poem, and this he could do because his mother and Queen Regent was the daughter of Candragupta II. Kālidāsa being the court poet of his grand-father, it is not unnatural that Kālidāsa should be in need of an order or request from his master.

We can infer all this from the 10th verse of the Setubandha referred to above, and the statement recorded in the verse is quite in harmony with the known facts of history as gleaned from epigraphic and other evidences. At the time of revising and completing the immature production of the young king Pravarasena, Kālidāsa must have been pretty old, as he led his embassy at the time of his grand-father Candragupta II of the Gupta dynasty. The Vikramāditya mentioned by Bhoja in his Śṛṅgāraprakāśa and Rāmadāsabhūpati in his Rāmasetupradīpa is none other than the Candragupta Vikramāditya of the Gupta dynasty. Thus it appears evident that the statement of Rāmadāsabhūpati and that contained in the chapter colophons of the Setubandha Kāvya itself are not only genuine, but also pieces of very valuable historical evidence. These establish without doubt, the contemporaneity of several historical personages such as Kālidāsa, his patron Candragupta II, and his friend Pravarasena II of the Vākāṭaka dynasty and the grandson of Candragupta II.

The historical and literary material dealt with in this short article not only proves the truthfulness of the joint

authorship of the Setubandha Kāvya but also incidentally supplies with information which leads us to estimate fairly accurately the time in which Kālidāsa flourished, namely between 375 A. D. and 425 A. D. During this period, be it noted, Candragupta, Pṛthvīsena, Rudrasena II and Pravarasena II flourished, and with all of them Kālidāsa had intimate relations, be it political or literary.

In conclusion, it may be said that the time of Kālidāsa in the past has given rise to considerable controversy. This controversy could only end after a re-examination of old materials and the discovery of new. Much of the material treated of in this paper is new and let us hope that the time of Kālidāsa as given here will be taken as a settled fact which will end further controversy on this subject.

THE AUTHORSHIP AND DATE OF PAUMACARIYA, THE OLDEST EXTANT EPIC, IN THE JAINA MAHARAṢṬRĪ LANGUAGE.

By S. C. Upadhyaya, M.A.

(*Nadiad*).

Drs. Leumann, Winternitz and Pandit Haragovinda Das accept the date given by Vimalasūri, the author of the Paumacariya, viz. the year 530 after Vīra. Drs. Jacobi, Keith and Muni Jinavijayaji post-date it on the point of language and certain Greek Aṣtronomical terms, about 300 A. D. I stand for a late date, 630–770 A. D. on the point of the occurrence of the words, Suraṅgā, Dīnāra, Maukhari and the Greek influence in the horoscope of Hanūmān. Their occurrence in literature is dated from 200–450 A. D. My conclusion is strengthened by finding indirect influence of the dramatists and poets–from Kālidāsa to Bāṇa–on Vimalasūri. D. B. K H. Dhruva's conclusions support my final limit for Vimalasūri.

AN UNPUBLISHED BUDDHIST EPIC POEM OR KASMĪRABHAṬṬA ŚIVASVĀMIN'S KAPPHIṆABHYUDAYA MAHĀKĀVYA.

By Gaurī Shankar, M.A., B. Litt (Oxon).

(*Lahore*).

In the following pages an attempt is made to give an account of Śivasvāmin's unpublished Mahākāvya based on a single manuscript, the only one available, in the Madras Government Oriental Mss. Library.

Śivasvāmin lived in the reign of King Avantivarman of Kashmir 855–883 A. D. who aided by his far–sighted and able minister Śūra, succeeded in giving the happy valley a comparatively long period of peace and prosperity which provided a fruitful era of great literary activity. Kalhaṇa in his Rājataraṅgiṇī says—

मुक्ताकण: शिवस्वामी कविरानन्दवर्धन:
प्रथां रत्नाकरश्चागात् साम्राज्येऽवन्तिवर्मण: ॥ ५,३४ ॥

"Muktākaṇa, Śivsvāmin, the poet Ānandavardhana, and, Ratnākara became famous during the reign of Avantivarman".

Ānandavardhana and Ratnākara have their fame established through published works. Muktākaṇa is familiar only through stray quotations; while Śivasvāmin till 1893 was known only from several stanzas attributed to him in anthologies and Kṣemendra. Śeṣagiri Śastri in his report in 1893 and more fully Professor Thomas in his Kavīndravacanasamuccaya gave a detailed account of Śivasvāmin's work Kapphiṇābhyudaya.

This poem itself seems to have been quite well known and the fact that it had established a reputation for itself

among the great Sanskrit works is testified to by the liberal use made of it by many a Sanskrit writer-compilers of anthologies, writers on Sanskrit poetry, commentators on Lexicon, and Grammarians. The compiler of the Kavīndravacana-samuccaya (Circa 1000 A. D.) Sarvānanda the author of Ṭīkāsarvasva. (1159 A.D.) the compiler of Saduktikarṇāmṛta, (1208 A. D.) Sāṛṅgadhara (1363 A. D.), and Ramānātha (1537 A. D.). a grammarian, have all at one time or another recognised its merit and acknowledged their debt by extensive quotations from it. I have traced in Mammaṭa's Kāvyaprakāśa (Circa 1100 A. D.) quotations from Kapphiṇābhyudaya.

Śivasvāmin acknowledges that in writing his poem he was inspired by his Buddhist preceptor Candramitra; yet it is not the Buddhist ideal of monkhood that he holds supreme in the concluding verses of his poem, but it is that of a househloder or the " gṛhastha " whose " Aśrama " has always been given the highest place in the fabric of the Hindu society. This seems to indicate the process of absorption of the later Buddhism by the reviving Vaiṣṇavism and suggests that the teachings of Kṛṣṇa and the Buddha had begun to be reconciled. Thus Śivasvāmin's poem is an important evidence of the tendency, which gradually found its full expression in Kṣemendra's Daśāvatāracarita.

From the following stanza written perhaps by some contemporary admirer of his it seems that Sivasvāmin wrote several works out of which only this poem and some stray verses attributed to him in anthologies and Kṣemendra, have survived the ravages of time. This stanza is found in a footnote in Kavikaṇṭhābharaṇa, Kāvyamālā series and Bhandarkar's Report, 1897.

वाक्यानि द्विपदीयुतान्यथ महाकाव्यानि सप्त क्रमात्
अक्षप्रत्यहनिर्मितस्तुतिकथालक्षाणि चैकादश ।
कृत्वा नाटकनाटिकाप्रकरणप्रायान् प्रबन्धान् बहून्
विश्राम्यत्यधुनापि नातिशयिता वाणी शिवस्वामिन: ।

"Not even now does Śivasvāmin's unsurpassed Muse find rest though he has composed seven Mahākāvyas which have dvipadis, and has written eleven lacs of hymns to Siva every day (?), and several dramas, prose works, and other minor works."

In the following pages an analytic comparison has been instituted among Māgha, Ratnākara, and Śivasvāmin to illustrate the greatness of this poet in an age when literary genius was by no means rare. The text is based on the Madras manuscript (See Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library Volume, XX, pages 7696–7), although transcripts from Puri and Kashmir were also collated. But the latter do not yield much textual help as they simply show how the scribal errors are manipulated when a single manuscript passes through different scripts, in this case Śāradā, Oriya, Telugu and Devanāgarī.

It seems strange that such a poem should have remained comparatively obscure, and although it had the distinction of being widely known it has not so far attracted any Mallinātha. The plausible reason for this seems to be that the Brahmanic literary society ignored its importance under the mistaken belief that it celebrated the triumph of a non-Brahmanic faith. As it will be shown later (*see* Śivasvāmin and Buddhism) what appears to be a triumph on the surface is in reality an attempt to reflect the growing tendency of the time to absorb Buddhism in the fold of Vaiṣṇavism.

His date and Contemporaries.

Ancient Kāśmīra was known among the pandits of Northern India as the abode of Śāradā, the goddess of learning and this belief was not groundless in that it contributed very much to the mass of Sanskrit learning. Among the outstanding poets and writers on poetics one may refer to Ratnākara, Ānandavardhana, Mammaṭa, Bilhaṇa, Kṣemendra, and Kalhaṇa. In the famous Rājataraṅgiṇī of Kalhaṇa, edited and translated by Stein, one finds the names of other writers whose works are lost, such as Śaṅkuka.

Ratnākara lived under two kings, Jayāpīḍa and Avantivarman. Avantivarman (855–83 A. D.) was a great patron of learning. In the Rājataraṅgiṇī we have—

> "The Minister Śūra by honouring learned men with a seat in the King's sabha, caused learning, whose flow had been interrupted, to descend again upon this land". V. (32)

"The scholars who were granted great fortunes and high honours proceeded to the sabhā in vehicles (litters) worthy of kings". (33)

" Muktākaṇa, Śivasvāmin, the poet Ānandavardhana, and Ratnākara obtained fame during the reign of Avantivarman." V. (34)

" In the time of Avantivarman the illustrious Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa and other holy men (siddhas) descended to the earth for the benefit of the people ". V. (66)

Ratnākara wrote his voluminous Mahākāvya, the Haravijaya, in fifty cantos. In that work, his exquisite language, his command of style in all its varieties, his ability to use various metres, his art of making the sound correspond with the sense, his full knowledge of Śaiva philosophy, and his mastery of Nītiśāstra, Kāmasūtras, the Epics and the Purāṇas, make him stand unique among the writers of Kāvya and testify to his being a true successor of Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, Māgha and Bāṇa.

Anandavardhana belonged to that school of poetics which held that suggestion was the soul of poetry. As a matter of fact by writing Dhvanyāloka he put that theory on a firm footing.

Kallaṭa wrote commentaries on Spanda and Śaivasūtras.

To this galaxy of writers in the times of Avantivarman belonged Śivasvāmin, the writer of the Kapphiṇābhyudaya.

To write a Mahākāvya, by Śivasvāmin's time, had become the indispensable condition of greatness of a poet and that Śivasvāmin, from all evidence a Śaiva, should have delved deep into Buddhist tradition and thought, and should have celebrated a Buddhist legend in a work of such major importance, is evidence not only of the influence exerted over him by his preceptor Candramitra, not only of the tendency to incorporate the Buddha in the hierarchy of Avatāras, but also of the receptive nature of the poet's mind, which refused to be hide-bound by narrow orthodox Brahmanism, but thirsted to explore fresh fields and pastures new.

Ratnākara—a 'Śaiva' to the core—had celebrated exploits of Śiva, Śivasvāmin's own ideal; Māgha, a Vaiṣṇa thought and spirit, had sung the overmastering trium Lord Kṛṣṇa over his arch-enemy Śiśupāla, but Śivasvāmin, a boldness characteristic of him, hit upon a theme ent new in thought and spirit, and surpassed them by celebr not so much the heroism of the victor or the degeneratio the vanquished, as the triumph of the very soul over ambitions. And to do this he turned for inspiration, and guidance to the lore of a religion where reason devotion are mingled in such a pleasing and appe combination.

S'ivasvāmin, Ratnākara and their predecessors.

Śivasvāmin, as he was a successor of the great write artificial Sanskrit poetry, has combined in him all the n and demerits of such writers, chiefly Bhāravi, Bhaṭṭi, M and especially Ratnākara. The opening of his poem is Haravijaya, the introduction of a spy from the north fol that in Bhāravi, the description of the mountain is com to them all, the appearance of a Vidyādhara resembles th a Yakṣa in Bhāravi and Dāruka in Māgha. In the sixth he very closely imitates Māgha even in the scheme of m Māgha has, in the beginning of the fourth canto, eig Upajāti verses. These are followed by verses, every thi which is a 'Yamaka'; while Śivasvāmin has the first tv verses of the sixth canto in Upajāti metre, these b followed by others in which every second verse is a Yan In the nineteenth canto, which can be read as Sanskrit as as Prākṛt, he has followed Bhaṭṭi.

Bhāravi employed the word 'Lakṣmī', Māgha use word 'Śrī', Ratnākara has 'Ratna' and Śivasvāmin 'Śiva' i last verse of every canto. The 'praśasti' is found at the of the works of Māgha, Ratnākara, and Śivasvāmin.

THE SOURCES OF THE POEM.

The story of Kapphiṇa, or Mahākapphiṇa or Kapp the Great or Kapphiṇa the Elder is found in the Avad

ataka,[1] in the Manorathapūraṇī,[2] which is a commentary in the Aṅguttaranikāya, and in the commentary on the Dhammapada.[3]

The Kapphiṇābhyudaya is based on the story in the Avadānaśataka with minor changes.

The Avadānaśataka.[4]

Kapphiṇa in one of his previous births was contemporary f Vipaśyī and built a Vihāra. He was, then, known as Brahmadatta, king of Benares, when he served a Pratyeka Buddha, and, in the time of Kaśyapa, he achieved complete ontrol of his senses. In the time of Śākyamuni he was known s the son of Kalpa, a king in Southern India. When he as in power he sent an insolent message to the rulers of six ities, Śrāvastī and others, in Northern India, that they must ıbmit to his rule. The rulers of those cities took refuge un- er Buddha who appeared on the scene and converted king apphiṇa who had come there under the command of the uddha. He was then raised to the status of an Arhat.

Śivasvāmin following the version of the Avadānaśataka in riting his Kapphiṇābhyudaya has introduced many changes ıd that with evident reason. The deviations from the legend the Avadānaśataka are:—

i. King Kapphiṇa is informed by a spy that Prasenajit, ruler of Śrāvastī is hostile towards him. He holds a council of his allies who decide that an embassy should be despatched to Prasenajit asking him to make submission to him. Otherwise war will be declared. (Kapphiṇa-I-v.)

ii. The digression which follows is purely introduced to conform to the rules of writing a Mahākāvya.

iii. The envoy goes to Prasenajit who refuses to submit.

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1. Bibliotheca Buddhica III.
2. P. T. S. Manorathapūraṇī Vol. I.
3. P. T. S. The commentary on the Dhammapada, Vol. II.
4. Les Annales du Musee Guimet, Tome 18, pp. 336 and 459.

(iv) War is declared and the two opposing armies engage in a fierce battle.

(v) The Buddha appears on the scene as the result of the prayers of Prasenajit who is unable to withstand the advance of the enemy. The Buddha changes the mind of king Kapphiṇa with a miracle. He preaches to him the Law, but when requested by king Kapphiṇa to initiate him into the Order, he refuses to do so but admonishes him to practise selflessness in the discharge of his duties as the ruler of his kingdom.

(vi) Queen Anoja does not find any mention in Śivasvâmin.

The first four of these departures from the original are due to the regulations for writing artificial Sanskrit poetry of high standard, while the last one shows the influence of the Hindu ideal of life as found in the Laws of Manu. The doctrine of 'non-attachment' in the pursuit of one's duties finds full adherence in Śivasvāmin. The Buddhist ideal of monkhood is replaced by that of a householder who seeks salvation by doing his duties in a spirit of self-renunciation.

The name Kapphiṇa.

M. Burnouf in the Lotus suggested Kampilya as the locality which gave rise to the name. He gives various readings of the name as found in the Buddhist Sanskrit works.

In Chinese Kapphiṇa or Kamphilla has come to be associated with the Constellation Scorpio and it is suggested that Kapphiṇa was so called because he was born in answer to prayer addressed to the Regent of Scorpio. M. Sylvain Levi has given Kosala and Kipin under the Nakṣatra Rohiṇī.

With regard to the association of the word Kapphiṇa with Kipin or Kapin or Kophene, I have to make a suggestion.

(i) In the Pāli text the king is said to have crossed the Candrabhāgā before he met the Buddha. This shows that he must have come

from the North if the Candrabhāgā is the modern Chenab of the Punjab. His personal features, especially the Aryan nose, also resemble that of a man from the North.

'Do you see that monk coming to us, pale, thin, with prominent nose'-Kindred sayings II. pp. 193-4.

(ii) Kipin or Kapin may tend to denote the kingdom of Kāśmīra and the poet Śivasvāmin chose a theme by which he could sing the glories of Kāśmīra as well as that of Kapphiṇa, one of the twelve great disciples of the Buddha.

The Haravijaya, Māgha and the Kapphiṇābhyudaya.

A comparison of the poem with Māgha and the Haravijaya has been made and it will be noticed how common stray phrases and even single lines in stanzas in the three Kāvyas so closely resemble. This will give the reader an idea of the influence exerted by Māgha and Ratnākara on Sivasvāmin in the choice of language, thoughts and feelings.

But the similarities which exist in thought or in language in certain cases do not necessarily mean that there was actual plagiarism practised by Śivasvāmin. In the works of two inspired poets especially where they (the works) belong to the same class of poetry following the same set of rules, descriptions of similar objects may correspond and the language they choose to express their common ideas may turn out to be more or less similar.

Moreover, in the training of a Sanskrit poet it was essential that he should set up a model for the exercise of his poetic talent and then attempt to equal and excel it. Śivasvāmin does not merely borrow phrases or poetic expressions from Māgha and Ratnākara, but improves upon their ideals and expressions.

In his Mahākāvya, Śivāsvamin has throughout, made a very apt choice of the style (rīti) to confirm to the sentiment (rasa) and by that harmony imbues the reader with an appeal

and charm of his own. In the first five cantos wherein he describes the scenes in the court of a king attended by chieftains whose enthusiasm is at its height in anticipation of a war, he employs 'ojoguṇa' in the service of 'vīrarasa'. In the descriptive portion of the poem (VI–4) he takes us away from the main theme of the poem and uses the 'vaidarbhī rīti', whose chief qualities, perspicuity, grace, and elevation are best noticeable, in his description of the seasons, the rising of the moon, and the dawn.

Again in the description of the battle–scenes he employs long compounds, hyperbolic expressions, and words which lack sweetness, all these being the qualities of 'gauḍī rīti'.

In the closing canto of his poem he has 'mādhurya' (sweetness), 'kānti' (grace) and 'prasāda' (vivacity), which agree with the sublime and tranquillising influence of the Buddha who is introduced there.

Taking the poem as a whole if we could ignore the 'citrakāvya' which according to Mammaṭa does not constitute poetry of the highest order, 'Śivasvāmin's achievement as a Mahākavi does in no way fall short of the ideals of a true Sanskrit poet.

Sivasvāmin has used thirty–eight metres in his poem, but he surpasses Bhāravi and Māgha in employing thirty–four metres where they could only use sixteen and twenty–two in the corresponding cantos of their poems.[1]

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1. For want of space I had to cut short the examples from the Kapphiṇābhyudaya. The reader should wait to see this Kāvya published in the Punjab University Oriental Publication series very shortly.

A CRITICAL REVIEW OF THE "SUBHĀṢITA-SUDHANIDHI", AN UNPUBLISHED WORK OF SAYAṆĀCĀRYA.

By H. YOGANARASIMHA, M. A.

(*Mysore*).

1. THE AUTHOR:—Sāyaṇācārya, scholar, statesman, and soldier, was the second of the three sons of Māyaṇa and Śrīmatī. He was educated under one Vidyātīrtha and also one Śrīkaṇṭha Upādhyāya. He is credited with a victory over one Campa king, probably grand-son of a Cola king Vīra Campa who reigned about A. D. 1314 in Tiruvallur.[1] He is also said to have defeated a king of Garuḍanagara who has not been identified. He was prime minister under four kings roughly from 1340 to 1404 and indulged in a long career of literary activity throughout this period. He died about 1387 A..D. one year after the death of his brother Vidyāraṇya.[2]

2. DATE OF THE WORK:—The work was composed in the reign of Kampaṇa, brother of Bukka[1] which extended from 1340 to 1354. Kampaṇa was the first king under whom Sāyaṇa held office. Hence the work under review may be among the earliest, if not the first of the works of Sāyaṇa. It is thus prior to the Paddhati of Śārṁgadhara who composed his anthology in 1363.

3. TITLE OF THE WORK:—" Sudhānidhi " is a favourite title with Sāyaṇa. He has given this title to six out of the nine works ascribed to his pen:—

1. Subhāṣitasudhānidhi.
2. Alaṅkārasudhānidhi.

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1. Mr. R. Narasimhachar in the Indian Antiquary for Feb. 1916, Vol. XLV, pp. 23–24.
2. Aufrecht, Indian Antiquary, Feb. 1916, Vol. XLV. p. 24; also Epi. Ind. Vol. III. p. 24.

3. Yajñatantrasudhānidhi.
4. Prāyaścittasudhānidhi.
5. Āyurvédasudhānidhi.
6. Dhātuvṛtti.
7. Puruṣārthasudhānidhi.
8. Védārtharprakāśa.
9. Commentaries on certain Brāhmaṇas.

4. SUBJECT MATTER :—Sāyaṇa treats in this work of the four "Puruṣārthas" or urges or ends which impel human activity. Verses dealing with each of these urges are culled from older poets and arranged in four compartments; each being called a Parvan. The four Parvans thus are धर्मपर्व, अर्थपर्व, कामपर्व and मोक्षपर्व.

In the course of the history of Indian thought greater or less emphasis has been laid upon one or other of the Puruṣārthas as the state of society in the country at the time demanded. Jaimini, Cāṇakya, Vātsyāyana and Bādarāyaṇa each lay emphasis on one of the Puruṣārthas.

The balance of the modern view seems to be in favour of the समुच्चय theory of the Puruṣārthas as explained by Kumārila in commenting upon the verse of the Mahābhārata:—

धर्मे चार्थे च कामे च मोक्षे च भरतर्षभ ।

Sāyaṇa's plan of collecting the old aphorisms dealing with all the four Puruṣārthas implies that Sāyaṇa believed in the समुच्चय view of Kumārila, of which his ample life is additional proof.

5. COMPARISON WITH "PURUṢĀRTHASUDHĀNIDHI":—While this work also deals with quotations on the four Puruṣārthas the difference between the two works consists in the source from which the verses are culled. In the "Subhāṣitasudhānidhi" the verses are taken from various authors whereas in the "Puruṣārthasudhānidhi" the selections are all from the voluminous works of Vyāsa. Further the latter work is illustrated by stories whereas there is no illustration in the former.

6. ANALYSIS OF THE WORK :—The work has come do in two recensions one short and one long, the one under revi being the short one. It is an abridgement of the longer c and is deposited in the Saraswati Bhandar Library of I Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, who is a renowned patı of letters. The following abstract will give an idea of · extent of the work :—

Name of Parva.		No. of Paddhatis.	No. of ver:
धर्मपर्व	...	34	203
अर्थपर्व	...	127	637½
कामपर्व	...	52	215
मोक्षपर्व	...	16	63
Total	...	229	1,118½

The Arthaparva, it will be observed, is the longest in work, longer than the three other Parvas put together. Thi: evidently due to the fact that Sāyaṇa, by virtue of his office Prime Minister, was practically interested in Arthaśāstra. I also stated that the work was read out by Sāyaṇa to the k in an assembly :—

स कदाचित्समाजेऽथ कम्पभूपं कलानिधिः ।
अश्रावयदनूनश्रीर्निःश्रेयसकरं परम् ॥

(Subhāṣitasudhānidhi)

The limitation of space allotted to this article forbids lo quotations from the work. But a few sample verses are gi below ;—

(1) परीक्ष्य सत्कुलं शीलं विद्यां शौर्यं वयश्शुभम् ।
विधिर्ददाति निपुणः कन्यामिव दरिद्रताम् ॥

(2) कुभृत्यो दुरुपानच्च प्राप्यापि स्नेहसंक्रियाम् ।
स्वामिनः पदभङ्गाय स्वकाठिन्येन कल्पते ॥

(3) स्त्रीषु राजसु सर्वेषु स्वाध्याये शत्रुसेविषु ।
भोगे चायुषि विश्वासं कः पुमान् कर्तुमर्हति ॥

(4) मेरुः स्थितोऽपि दूरे मनुष्यभूमिं धिया परित्यज्य ।
भीतोऽवश्यं चौर्याच्चोराणां हेमकाराणाम् ॥

(5) अनुयातोऽनेकजनैः परपुरुषधृतः सुवर्णशकलयुतः ।
अधिकारस्थः शव इव न वदति न शृणोति नेक्षते कञ्चित् ॥

(6) ज्ञानवृद्धा वयोवृद्धाः शीलवृद्धाश्च ये नराः ।
सर्वे ते धनवृद्धस्य द्वारे तिष्ठन्ति किङ्कराः ॥

(7) नात्युच्चशिखरो मेरुर्नातिनीचं धरातलम् ।
व्यवसायद्वितीयानां न ह्यपारो महोदधिः ॥

(8) अङ्गणभूमिर्वसुधा कुल्या जलधिः स्थलीव पातालम् ।
वल्मीकश्च सुमेरुः कृतप्रतिज्ञस्य शूरस्य ॥

(9) त्यागं भोगं च विना सत्तामात्रेण यदि धनिनः ।
वयमपि किमपि न धनिनस्तिष्ठति नः काञ्चनो मेरुः ॥

(10) आशा नाम मनुष्याणां काचिदाश्चर्यशृङ्खला ।
यया बद्धाः प्रधावन्ति मुक्तास्तिष्ठन्ति कुत्रचित् ॥

*(11) अनग्नङ्करिणी भूमेरियं हि मणिमेखला ।
अयमेव पुरां हन्तुर्हालाहलमहानसः ॥

(12) त्रिणयनजटावल्लीपुष्पं मनोभवकार्मुकं
प्रहकिसलयं सन्ध्यानारीनितम्बनखक्षतम् ।
तिमिरभिदुरं व्योम्नःशृङ्गं निशावदनस्मितं
प्रतिपदि नवस्येन्दोर्बिम्बं सुखोदयमस्तु वः ॥

7. ESTIMATE OF THE WORK:—

(a) Being an Anthology a little older than the Pad dhati of Sārṅgadhara it preserves for us several verses of the older poets, which would otherwise have passed into oblivion.

(b) The Artha and Kāma Parvas were hitherto supposed to have been lost. They are now available though in an abridged form in the manuscript now under review.

(c) The राजचाटुपद्धति which is a long section in the Arthaparva is of value as giving information about the lives of several of the rulers of Vijayanagara in those days. This might prove to the historian of Vijayanagara a contemporary and therefore valuable record.

(d) The work would have been even more valuable, had the names of the poets under contribution been mentioned by Sāyaṇa as has been done by Jalhaṇa and Vallabhadeva.

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* बाहुवर्णनपरमिदं पद्यम्.

THE VEDIC GODS.

BY H. A. SHAH.

(Bombay)

The article is a result of the attempts of the writer to understand the basic conception of Vedic Gods (and accordingly of Godhood as conceived by humanity), their distinctive features, the worship or the rituals that are associated with them with reference to time and season. Only the most reliable, unimpeachable and authentic sources are used to get at the truth ; various corroborations from different sources create a presumption of veracity in favour of the proposed interpretations. It is found that many of the prevalent notions of to-day are not in harmony with the results obtained herein.

The article is in four sections, running to 51 pages and several sheets of notes and quotations.

The first section deals with the singular characteristics of god Varuṇa (" वेद नावः समुद्रियः"–" वेदमासो धृतव्रतो द्वादश प्रजावतः वेद य उपजायते etc.) and of the god Mitra. It is disclosed that Varuṇa is the regent god of the star Dhruva (Pole Star) which is helpful to the navigators and to the people in ascertaining a proper Śaṅku–Gnomon, since it is unchanging and at the north. The Mitra–god associated with Varuṇa is the regent of the Gnomon–of the Samrāṭyantra type in the observatories of Jai Sinha–inclined *always* to the Pole star marking other cardinal points. The other god associated with this Gnomon, Mitra, is the Sun who casts his light on it and the shadow leads to the measurement of Time–a matter of extra-great importance in ancient times for religious and for social purposes. The stellar basis of Varuṇa is of the first rate importance and it adds to the scope of investigations of the other gods, in the same direction. The

fixing up of the three—Varuṇa, Mitra and Sun—for the purposes of the ascertainment of Time leads us to the consideration of the Vedic calendar in the second section. The first section is complete in itself.

The second section deals with the various aspects of the Vedic calendar and here the prevalent notions are set aside in favour of the evidence secured from the Meghadūta of Kālidāsa ("आषाढस्य प्रथमदिवसे मेघम्"), "प्रत्यासन्ने नभसि" "शापान्तो मे भुजगशयनादुत्थिते शार्ङ्गपाणौ मासानन्यान्गमय चतुरः", from the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya ("त्रिशतं चतुःपञ्चाशच्चाहोरात्राणां कर्मसंवत्सरः। तमाषाढीपर्यवसानम्" "श्रावणः प्रोष्ठपदश्च वर्षाः। वर्षादि दक्षिणायनम्। आषाढे मासि नष्टच्छायो मध्याह्नो भवति", etc.) and from the sacred Jain texts which have preserved salient features and old data as to the calendar in the time of Lord Mahāvīra (6*th* century B. C.) e. g. "'गोअमा'! चंदाइया संवच्छरा, दक्खिणाइया अयणा, पाउसाइया उऊ, सावणाइया मासा, बहुलाइया पक्खा, दिवसाइया अहोरत्ता ...अभियाइया नक्खत्ता पन्नत्ता समणाउसो......" "पञ्चापि विषुवन्त्यर्कः कुर्याद्याम्यायनस्थितः। स्वातेर्नक्षत्रस्य भुक्त्वा त्रयोविंशतिमंशकान्" "श्रावणासितपक्षस्य तिथेः प्रतिपदोऽपि च। नक्षत्रस्याभिजितस्तथा। प्रथमे समये प्रोक्तो युगारम्भश्चिदुत्तरै...जिनैः।" etc. The facts supplied from the one source are in harmony with those gleaned from the other sources. The texts are sifted and where they are irregular, they are discussed in the article and in the notes. The calendar that is thus evolved points out that the present notions about it are not valid. The calendar that is fixed has its basis in an ecliptic of 3660 spaces (not 360 degrees) divided into 28 constellations, all completed by the sun in 366 days, a round figure; but the provision of an expurgated month (malamāsa) seems to correct it to the year of about 365¼ days. The year is essentially luni-solar but it is tied to the solar year in a Yuga (cycle) of five years. The months are luni-solar but Pūrṇimānta (ending in full moon). The first year of the Yuga is a standard year for the practical considerations of worship and time. The commencement of this year is at the summer solstice, when the rainy season begins, when it is the morn of the first day of the dark half of the Śrāvaṇa month, when the sun has traversed 46 spaces of the Puṣya (Delta Cancri) constellation in the ecliptic (of 3660 spaces) and when the moon starts [illegible] in the very first space of the constellation

Abhijit (Alpha Lyra). The mean motion of the sun is 10 spaces and of the moon 134 spaces for every solar day. With these elements for the summer solstice point, the data for the other three cardinal points are fixed up. Thus the autumnal equinox occurs in the midst of the season Śarat when the sun covers 23 spaces of the constellation Svāti (Arcturus). The winter solstice occurs when the season Śiśira begins and when the sun completes all the spaces of the constellation Uttarāṣāḍhā (Phi of Sagittarius). In that way, the Vernal equinox takes place in the midst of the season Vasanta, when the sun has completed 69 spaces of the constellation Aśvini (Alpha Aries). The position of the sun repeats in the five solar years of the Yuga while that of the moon has to be calculated as per data of 134 spaces a day (approximately).

Four tables are given to show the Vedic calendar along with the data that makes it up and with the probable modern equivalents of the stars and constellations. The regent gods of the constellations have a special significance with reference to the Vedic gods and the seasons; the third section contains application of these data to the Vernal equinox and to the twin gods Aśvins of the Aśvini constellation and the goddess Uṣas-the Vedic Dawn.

The third section treats the significance of the long Vedic night and day and it is pointed out that the divine day (of a night and of day time) is equivalent to one mortal year, the daybreak being placed at the Vernal equinox, thus associating the Aśvins and the Uṣas,-"at the yoking of their car (Aśvins car) the daughter of the sky (Uṣas-the Dawn) is born.' The opposite end-the Svāti-marks the evening of the gods and the summer solstice the divine midday. Indra receives the midday libation of Soma in the Vedic rituals; while the Ṛbhus (of the Saptarṣi-Ursa Majoris group) receive the evening libation of Soma. It is evident that the 'Arctic Home' postulates arise out of the misconception of this Vedic Uṣas (of the divine day) associated with the Aśvins. The section terminates when the consideration of the Uṣas with reference to the Autumnal equinox is taken up in the subsequent section

involving considerations of Soma, Vāyu (the regent gods of of Svāti), the release of the cows, the steps of Viṣṇu and of most of the Vedic gods and goddesses if not all of them.

The fourth section deals with several gods and goddesses who are of importance and who are concerned with the period intervening the Aśvinī and the Svātī constellations, including those stellar groups or stars which are either far in the north or the south of the ecliptic, groups such as Saptarṣis (Ursa Majoris), the Hydra-Sarpa or Vṛtra and the stars Agastya (Canopus-Alpha Argo Navis) and Rudra (Sirius-Alpha Canis Majoris) etc.

Grouping together of Varuṇa-Mitra-Sūrya, of Aśvins and Uṣas has been explained and further groups or associations of gods are explained. It is no longer a mystery. The "Vedic Mythology" of Prof. A. A. Macdonell is used to cite the substance of the various Vedic texts and for the characteristics of several gods and goddesses; and they are interpreted afresh in the light of what has been urged and established in this article. The tithi and constellation for the worship of the goddess Sarasvatī are explained with the help of the calendar evolved, and the stellar nature of this goddess is shown in her association with the Fathers and Tvaṣṭṛ. The nature of Soma, Āpaḥ, Cows and of the Agni worship is explained as well as that of Bṛhaspati, Maruts, Indra, Aṅgirasas, Vṛtra Trita, Manu, Yama, Viṣṇu, Apsarasas, Aditi, Apām Napāt and others. The story of the journey of the Ṛbhus and the house of Agohya are referred to as the annual movement of the Saptarṣis whose heliacal rise is completed when the Sun reaches the Hasta (Corvus) constellation and when the heliacal rise of Agastya (Canopus) has taken place. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the bearing and importance of these divinations of the Vedic gods and goddesses and of the Vedic calendar to the consideration of the Iranian pantheon and of those of other nations. The pre-eminent lord Ahura-Mazda, on the analogy of Varuṇa, is referred to as the regent god of the Pole star. The stellar nature of the gods and goddesses unfold many of the mysteries that hang around their conception and worship. The section is not exhaustive and it is by no means

the last word on the subject; but it is calculated to lead to fresh investigations for the truth, with a more robust or healthy understanding on our part. The gods and goddesses are as under :—

Varuṇa	The regent god of Dhruva–Pole Star.
Vivasvat	,, ,, ,, ,, ,,
Mitra	,, ,, of Śaṅku–the Gnomon (Samrāṭ Yantra type of the observatories of Jai Siṁha.
Uṣas	The Dawn. With reference to the gods, the two equinoctial points and with reference to the calendar, equinoctial points and the daily phenomena.
Aśvins	The twin gods, regents of Aśvinī (Alpha Aries)constellation at the Vernal Equinox.
Vāyu, Maruts, Mātariśvan.	The regent gods of Svātī (Arcturus) at the Autumnal Equinox.
Bṛhaspati	The regent god of Puṣya at the summer solstice–an imagery of Saptarṣi (Ursa Majoris).
Viṣṇu	Agastya (Canopus–Alpha Argo Navis).
Indra	Regent god of Sun.
Ahi, Vṛtra	Hydra, the serpentine god, regent of the constellation Āśleṣā.
Fathers	Regents of the constellation Maghā (Alpha Leo) Saptarṣis.
Ṛbhus	Of the Saptarṣi group.
Sapta Sindhus	Seven stars of Saptarṣi.
Cows	Rays of star–light, particularly at the Autumnal Equinox.
Soma	The regent god of Light and of the Light combined with Time.
Āpaḥ	As divine, they are Light. As terrestrial, they are transformations into water, juice.
Sarasvatī	The regent goddess of Citrā (Spica–Alpha Virgo).

Tvaṣṭṛ	The regent god of the Citrā (Spica-Alpha Virgo) constellation.
Manu, Yama	Śaṅku-The Gnomon styled at times as Puruṣa.
Yima	Shadow which is the Light that alights on the Śaṅku-Gnomon.
Agni	Representative (Purohita) of the stars-of stellar Light, on this earth and accordingly of the gods (cf. Div-to shine) who are stellar in essence.
Trita	Śaṅku, the Gnomon with its two quadrants on its sides.
Apām Napāt	Agastya, (Canopus) during its heliacal rise and in the rainy season.
Apsarasas	Lights, the shadows that come to the earth.
Gandharvas	Star groups at the Autumnal Equinox, such as Böötes.
Cowstalls	Lights-Star-Lights-particularly of Böötes arising from the star Arundhati (Alcor) upto Svāti (Arcturus and Böötes) at the Autumnal Equinox.
Aditi	The Milky Way, the Heavenly Ganges (Via Lactea).
Kāmadhenu	The star-group Böötes.
Aṅgirasas	The Saptarṣis (Ursa Majoris).
Rudras	Sirius (Alpha Canis Majoris).

Besides these, references are made to the creation of Eve out of the ribs of Adam and to the Bhakti cult as well as to the notions about women that arise from these conceptions of Śaṅku (Adam) and the Shadow (Eve), showing how the dogmas and the laws arise from such elementary conceptions as this article deals with. The entire article is on a synthetical basis. It shows that truth is religion, not vice-versa.

A FRAGMENT OF A TIBETAN VERSION OF A LOST INDIAN WORK.

By Prof. Dr. P. V. Bapat, M.A, Ph. D.

(*Poona.*)

Lately while I was going through the Comparative Analytical Catalogue of the Tibetan Kanjur published by the Otani Daigaku Library, Kyoto, Japan (1930–32), I came across one title no. 972 (p. 376) 'Rnam-par Grol-baḥi Lam-las Yon-tan bStan-pa Shes-bya-ba' which when rendered in Sanskrit would be 'Vimuktimārga-dhautaguṇa-nirdeśa nāma', 'Exposition of the purifying practices in the path of deliverance'. This title at once attracted my attention and I suspected that this may be a fragment in the Tibetan Tripiṭaka corresponding to a chapter in the Vimuktimārga or Vimuttimagga. As soon as I suspected this, I wrote to Pandit Vidhuśekhara Sastri of Śāntiniketana, Bolpur, requesting him to get me a copy of this text from the Tibetan Tripiṭaka of the Viśvabhāratī institute. On receipt of this copy, I made a survey of the contents of this text which confirmed my suspicion. I intend to give below the result of this survey, comparing it wherever necessary, with other available versions.

This text begins with the salutation to Mañjuśrī–kumārabhūta and ends with a statement which implies that this text is a 'miscellany' extracted from various texts. In the colophon there is the mention of the Indian teacher, Bid kir Prabha i. e. Vidyākaraprabha, along with the name of a Tibetan collaborator, 'dPal brtsegs'.

The introductory portion of the text tells us that, as it is necessary for the successful accomplishment of good conduct to observe purifying practices and that as they being of many

kinds are not easily understood by men of low intelligence, the author takes the trouble of going into the detailed explanation of these 'Purifying Practices'.

The 'Purifying Practices' form the third chapter of the Vimuttimagga as we can see from its Chinese version,[1] and the second chapter of the Visuddhimagga of Buddhaghoṣa. This book 'Vimuttimagga' has been referred to by Dhammapāla in his commentary[2] on the Visuddhimagga and has been ascribed by him to Upatissa. The Chinese version also mentions Upatissa as the author of the book. The writer of this paper has shown elsewhere[3] the close similarity of Upatissa's Vimuttimagga and Buddhaghoṣa's Visuddhimagga and has expressed what in his opinion should have been the inter-relation of the two books of these two authors. The book in its original form has been lost to India and what we can know of it is through the Chinese version only. This Chinese translation of the Vimuttimagga was made in the early part of the sixth century by a Buddhist monk from Siam or Cambodia, named Seng-chie-po-lo, variously rendered in Sanskrit as Saṅghapāla, or Saṅghabhadra or Saṅghavarman. This monk was a disciple of an Indian monk called Kiu-nā-phu-tho i. e. Guṇabhadra, who passed through Ceylon and came to China in 435 A. D. and worked on translations till 445 A. D.

The Tibetan fragment, that we have before us, seems to include, along with extracts from other Mahāyāna books, a Tibetan version of the third chapter of the Vimuttimagga which corresponds to the second chapter of the Visuddhimagga as already said before. It may also be mentioned that a little less than one half of the Tibetan text seems to be made up of extracts from Indian works such as *Arthaviniścayasūtra* (Nanjio, Arthaviniścayadharmaparyāya No. 1015, Kanjur

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1. Nanjio, Catalogue of the Buddhist Tripiṭaka, No. 1,293, gives the title as Vimokṣamārgaśāstra; see also Taisho edition vol. 32 pp. 399–461 (No. 1648).
2. Burmese ed. of the Muṇḍayara Tripiṭaka Press (1909) p. 113; ed. of the Zabu Meit Swe Press, p. 105; Sinhalese ed. of the same p. 69.
3. See the Summary of my Dissertation for the degree of Ph. D. (Harvard Uni. 1932) printed in the Harvard Series in Classical Philology, vol. XLIII, 1932.

Catalogue mentioned above, No. 983. p. 379), *Āryavimalakīrtinirdeśa* (Nanjio, Vimalakīrtinirdeśa No. 144–47, 149,181; Kanjur Cat. No. 843, p. 323; Madhyamakakārikā of Nāgārjuna, Bib. Bud. p. 333), *Vimati* (Vicikitsā ?) *viṣkambhanasūtra* (?), *Sūryagarbha* (Nanjio no. 62), *Ākāśagarbhasūtra* (Nanjio 67–70; Kanjur no. 926, p. 359; also see transl. of Śikṣāsamuccaya p. 61–62) and some other extracts the source of which is not mentioned. These texts do not seem to have any inherent connection with the latter half of the book which alone forms the real subject of the text, namely 'the purifying practices'. It is this part only which corresponds to the Chinese version, and it may be remarked here that the Tibetan text closely corresponds to the Chinese version of the Vimuttimagga and differs in several respects from the Visuddhimagga. In fact, it may be surmised that both the Tibetan and Chinese versions had the same original. The Tibetan text differs from the Pali text wherever the Chinese version differs from it.

This main part of the text begins with the classification of the 'Purifying Practices'. There are two concerning clothes, five concerning food, five concerning dwelling places and one concerning strenuous exertion. This exactly corresponds to the classification found in the Chinese version as well as in the Pali text Visuddhimagga. [It may be noted that Mahāvyutpatti (Jap. ed. of Sakaki 1127–39) mentions only twelve purifying practices.] In the nomenclature of these practices the Tibetan text agrees with the Chinese version. Instead of Buddhaghoṣa's 'pattapiṇḍikaṅga' both the Tibetan and Chinese texts use expressions which correspond to 'bhojanamātrajñatā', i. e. knowing moderation in food.

After giving the interpretations of each of the terms for the 'Purifying Practices', the Tibetan text goes on to give, as in the Chinese version, a detailed treatment of each of these thirteen practices. In the detailed treatment of the first of these practices, the practice of 'wearing rags of dust', for instance, we are told how the practice is taken up, what the advantages of its observance are, how many kinds of rags of dust there are, how the practice is violated, etc. In the same manner follows the detailed treatment of the remaining practices.

After this, exactly as in the Chinese version, there follows a section which purports to enumerate cases of convenience or emergency when a certain laxity in the observance of these practices may be allowed. Buddhaghoṣa devotes no separate section to these occasions of exception but mentions them in the course of the detailed treatment.

We are also told how these thirteen practices can be condensed into eight and further into three also. As in the Chinese version, here also we find the discussion of the following points :—

(i) Two things are necessary for one who observes these practices: *alobha* and *amoha*. Here it will be found that this text agrees more with the Chinese text than with the Pali text.

(ii) Men of what disposition take recourse to such practices ? Those of passionate disposition and those who have delusion.

(iii) Which of these are limited by time ? The practice of sitting at the foot of a tree, sitting in the open and staying in the cemetery are restricted to eight months. There is nothing corresponding to this in Visuddhimagga.

(iv) The explanation of terms such as— *dhuto ca dhutavādo ca, dhuto ca na dhutavādo ca, na dhuto ca dhutavādo ca* and *na dhuto ca na dhutavādo ca* agrees with the explanation given in the Chinese version and is much simpler and less scholastic than that of Buddhaghoṣa.

(v) The characteristics, functions and manifestations of these purifying practices.

(vi) The beginning, middle and end of these practices.

Such is the review of the subject-matter of the Tibetan text and it will be thus found that it corresponds to the third chapter of the Vimuttimagga which we know from its Chinese version.

Now the question arises 'Was there a Tibetan translation also of the Vimuttimagga ?' or 'Was the translation of only the third chapter made and incorporated in this miscellany?'. In the present state of our knowledge there is nothing to decide this question definitely. But it may be surmised from the title of the Tibetan text that the translators thought the third chapter of the Vimuttimagga fit to be translated and included it in this 'miscellany'.

The discovery and identification of this Tibetan text with a chapter of the Vimuttimagga has an importance of its own. It provides an additional evidence to prove that the country of the origin of the Vimuttimagga must be, as I have elsewhere[1] shown, India, and not Ceylon as is averred by Prof. Nagai.[2] There is no evidence in the whole of the Vimuttimagga to show Ceylon as the country of its origin; but on the contrary, there is ample evidence to show India as the country of the origin of that book. We cannot imagine the probability of a text from Ceylon being taken to India and there being studied in the various schools, or the probability of its assuming such importance as to warrant a translation, in part at least, in Tibetan language.

This Tibetan text shows that the Vimuttimagga had assumed a great importance as an Abhidhamma-manual in the Buddhist schools of India and that it did not disappear when its copy was taken out of India to China, but that it existed in India at least until the time of the eighth or the ninth century A.D. when the Buddhists in India commenced to visit Tibet and translate Indian Buddhist texts into Tibetan. The name of the Indian Paṇḍit Vidyākaraprabha mentioned in the colophon of this text, along with a Tibetan collaborator, is given by Shri Sarat Chandra Das in his 'Indian Pandits in the Land of Snow' (p. 49–50) among the names of the learned Paṇḍits from Bengal invited by King Ralpachan of Tibet in the ninth century.

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1. See the summary of my Dissertation in Harvard Studies in Classical Philology, vol. XLIII, 1932, pp. 168–70.
2. J. P. T. S. 1917–19, pp. 69–80.

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF THE DHAMMAPADA (IN PĀLI, PRAKṚT, SANSKṚT, BUDDHIST-SANSKṚT, CHINESE, AND TIBETAN VERSIONS.)

By Prabhat Kumar Mukherji, M.A.

(Santiniketan.)

The *Dhammapada* in Pāli is a well-known work. The English translation on one of its Chinese versions was first brought out by S. Beal, and the translation of the Tibetan version, known as *Udānavarga* was made by W. Rockhill. The sources of these works were not known at that time.

From Central Asian excavations, fragments of Prākṛt *Dhammapada*, Sanskṛt *Udānavarga* and the translation of the latter into Tokharian language of Kucha were discovered.

There are four Chinese translations, the earliest of which was done in 224 A. C., by an Indian monk, who had gone from Ceylon by the sea-route to China. The second one was the translation of the same text, but much abridged; it has a commentary in Chinese. This was the book which was translated into English by Beal.

Of the *Udānavarga* there are two translations in Chinese, the first being done about 398-99 A. C., by a Hindu monk named Fo-hien (Buddhasmṛti), i. e. at the time when Fa-hien left China for India; and the last one was done six hundred years after by one Tien-si-tsai, a monk from N. W. India, whose Indian name has not been restored.

The third Chinese translation contains a big commentary besides the text. The text, we think, was composed in Sanskrit and was known in China before 224 A. C. The first Chinese translation was made either from Pāli or Prākṛt, presumably from the first.

The *Udānavarga* must have been composed in the 3rd century A. C. The most complete translation in Chinese was the last one in about a thousand verses. The Tibetan translation of the *Udānavarga* is faithful, but it seems that the original used for the translation was different from the one used for the fourth Chinese translation.

In the present paper the writer has studied all the versions of the text, viz, Sanskṛt, Prākṛt, Pāli, Tibetan and Chinese, and has tried to show the interrelation among them, and in doing so each chapter has been studied and discussed. It may be regarded as an introduction to a critical study of Dhammapada and Udānavarga.

To the end of the paper is appended one English translation of the first chapter of the first and the fourth Chinese versions.

HOME OF THE KAPIṢṬHALAS.

By Lachhmidhar Kalla, M.A., M.O.L.,

(*Delhi.*)

Dr. Raghuvir of the S. D. College, Lahore, in his introduction to the Kapiṣṭhala-Kaṭha Saṁhitā which he has edited in 1932, writes that the original home of the Kapiṣṭhalas can be ascertained by tracing the origin of the name Kapiṣṭhala itself, and that in all probability it is derived from Kapiṣṭhala, the modern Kaithal, a small town in the region of Kurukṣetra. Dr. Raghuvir as he identifies Kapiṣṭhala with Kaithal derives the term Kaithal thus:—Kaithal >< Kavital or Kavithal >< Kapisthalam or Kapiṣṭhala. I am afraid I cannot agree with this. Dr. Raghuvir bases his conclusion regarding the original home of the Kapiṣṭhalas in Kaithal on the phonetic similarity that is not warranted by facts in history. If philology must decide the issue, I suggest a simpler equation that explains the term Kapiṣṭhala, i. e. Kapiśa-sthala >< Kapiṣṭhala. It has been suggested that the term Kapiśa may originally be the same as Kāpiśī mentioned by Pāṇini in the Sūtra कापिश्याः ष्फक् (4-2-99). The place is noted for its grapes and wine—कापिशायनी द्राक्षा। कापिशायनं मधु. In that case the equation would stand as below: Kāpiśī-sthala >< Kapiṣṭhala. In either case the passage to the irregular form Kapiṣṭhala is easy enough. Now Cunningham exhaustively deals with Kapiśa. Kapiśa, we learn, was an ancient town at the southern foot of the Hindukush. Pliny states that Kapiśa the ancient capital of Capisene or the district of Kapiśa was destroyed by Cyrus. The large district of Kapiśa or Kapiśa-sthala, that is said to have comprised an area of nearly 600 miles, has been identified with the modern Kafiristan with the adjoining valleys, and the capital Kapiśa with Kuśan at Opian near Charikar to the immediate north of Kabul. Kapiśa was an important place that was chosen by

Alexander on the parting of 'the three roads' leading to Bactria Hwen Thsang visited it twice. The Chinese pilgrim describes Kiapishe or Kapiśa as being entirely surrounded by mountains. Masson describes it as distinguished by its huge artificial mounds from which at various times copious antique treasures have been extracted. He notes that it possesses many vestiges of antiquity that are of a religious character. Round this district of Kapiśa or Kapiśa-sthala I submit, was prevalent the famous Kaṭha recension of the Yajurveda, as it was prevalent throughout the north in the neighbouring valley of Kaṣhmir where it is extant even to this day. Patañjali in his commentary on the Sūtra 4. 3. 101, notes that the Kaṭha recension was recited in every village–ग्रामे ग्रामे काठकं प्रोच्यते. During the time of Alexander's invasion 'Kathaioi,' whom I identify with the Kaṭhas, are said to live on the Hydaspes or the Vitastā that travels from Kashmir. But the Kapiṣṭhalas flourished long before Alexander's invasion and the Kaṭhas of Kashmir in that early age appear to be around them. Pāṇini mentions the Kaṭhas in 4. 3. 107–कठचरणाल्लुक्. The Kaṭha recension as recited by Kapiṣṭhalas, the residents of the district of Kapiśa or Kapiśa–sthala, came to be known as the Kapiṣṭhala–Kaṭha recension of the Yajurveda. Thus the Kapiṣṭhalas rose from among the Kaṭhas who lived round them in the north or north-west–this explains why the Kapiṣṭhala varies so little from the Kaṭha recension. Pāṇini who lived at Sālātūr or Lahor in the lower Kabul valley takes notice of his neighbour the Kapiṣṭhala of the upper Kabul valley in a special Sūtra 8. 3. 91.—कपिष्ठलो गोत्रे.

After the destruction of Kapiśa by Cyrus the Kapiṣṭhalas must have dispersed themselves in the adjoining territories and so it is that we find a cluster of families bearing Kapiṣṭhala as their gotra residing in Kashmir and around it, even to this date. The Kapiṣṭhalas may differ from the Kaṭhas, on account of their greater adherence to the model supplied by the Ṛgveda, but they are both neighbours since both of them follow the common text not found in other recensions of the Yajurveda (*Vide* Raghuvir's introd. page 9, para E.) The Kaṭhas are never known to be the original inhabitants of

Kurukṣetra. They belong to northern Punjab or the extreme north or northwest of India. All this goes to indicate that the original home of the well-known people the Kapiṣṭhalas, mentioned by various Pravara Sūtras and even by Megasthenes as the Kambistholoi (Arrian 4, 8), is in all probability round the vast and famous district of Kapisa or Kapiśa-sthala on the spurs of the Hindukush, rather than in a small town of Kaithal in Kurukṣetra.

THE PRACTICE OF SĀMAVEDA.

By Dr. Arnold A. Bake.

(Holland.)

Sāmaveda, that remarkable cultural phenomenon, can be approached in two different ways, that is to say, theoretically and practically. The second division falls again into two, namely the practical side of the gānas and Sāmaveda as sung at the actual sacrifices.

The approach from the theoretical side was made, as far as I know, first by Burnell, round about 1870, and then by many other Western scholars amongst whom we find the names of Oldenberg, Benfey, Haug, Bloomfield and many others, whose studies were made possible by the gradual edition of Sāmavedic texts, first amongst which ranks Satyavrata Sāmāśramin's edition of the Sāmaveda Saṁhitā in the Bibliotheca Indica, Calcutta 1874–1878.

The knowledge of the theoretical side of Sāmaveda was greatly increased by the publications of the late Prof. Caland whose numerous editions and patient and illuminating explanations cannot be praised highly enough.

The last of the group of theoretical scholars I will mention, because he brings us closest to the second division ot Sāmavedic studies, is Prof. Dr. Richard Simon, whose publications like the Puṣpasūtra touch the practice of Sāmaveda immediately, and throw a flood of light on the way of execution followed in India in ancient days.

There is a great drawback to all the theoretical treatises mentioned so far, namely that none of the scholars had had the opportunity of studying the matter in India, except Burnell, of course.

Naturally that fact influenced the nature of their studies, and led to statements that would not have been made, had the writers had the opportunity of intimate contact with the subject in the land of its birth.

If, for instance, Dr. J. M. van der Hoogt–whose publication, "The Vedic Chant in its textual and melodic form" must be definitely counted amongst the group of publications mentioned so far had been in India, he never could have written a sentence like the following "Though Sāmavedic science and Paṇḍit traditions on that subject are *extinct* in India........"

Sāmaveda and its science are still practised in India, and not until that which is living in nooks and corners has been carefully checked in all its divisions, a statement like the abovementioned can have any *justification. Why is it necessary to* suppose beforehand that the practice of a certain Brahmin in Kumbakonam,–who has been taught by his father, who in his turn had been taught the tradition of singing Sāmans by his father and so on for thirty generations, which takes us back about a thousand years a time when, certainly in S. India, Sāmaveda was not extinct by any means–*why is it necessary to presume* that the tradition of such a man is not sound, until one has proved that it is false when compared with the text books he professes to follow ?

In the neighbourhood of Baroda there is a colony of Sāmavedins, whose style seems to be remarkably pure and devoid of innovations, and, as far as I know, their methods of singing have never been investigated.

Then, of course, south of Madras, in the Tamil country, Chidambaram, Tanjore, Kumbakonam and Trichinopoly, centres of orthodoxy, tradition is kept with the greatest care, and Sāmaveda is sung following the rules of the Kauthuma school. Unless their tradition is carefully surveyed and compared with the texts they profess to follow, not just one [illegible] chants of one singer but in detail and in different places, one is not justified in saying that Kauthuma Sāmaveda is extinct.

Then again, in some village of the Tinnevelly district, about thirty miles away from Tinnevelly itself, and, above all in Malabar, there is a strongly living traditon of Sāmavedins, who follow the rules of the Jaiminīya school. Nobody has made any study of their practice and the rules they follow, so far.

It is true that it is extremely difficult to get at them, and that at first hearing, *if* one can induce the Brahmins to sing, the melodies are not what one would expect after reading the texts; but that may have different reasons. Even if the practice were different, it would make an interesting study how far they differed and when and why things had changed.

This has brought us to the middle of the second division of Sāmavedic research, namely, the Sāmavedic practice.

The publications on this subject written in direct contact with India are very few. Burnell, in his edition of the Ārṣeya Brāhmaṇa, gives some instances of notation taken on the spot. Then there are M. Seshagiri Shastri's explanations in the descriptive catalogue of the Madras Govt. Library of Sanskrit manuscripts. Both give very valuable data indeed, but not extensive enough, covering only a small area of the vast field. Lastly there is Dr. Erwin Felber's book, "Die Musik der vedischen u. klassischen Zeit" written in co-operation with the Viennese Professor of Sanskrit Dr. Bernhard Geiger and edited by the Imperial Academy of Sciences in Vienna, 1912.

This book gives an account and detailed description of the phonographic cylinders brought to Vienna by Dr. Felix Exaner, who went to India in 1904 on a metereological expedition. In addition to his own he took a phonographic outfit, and made 68 records in Bombay, Benares, Calcutta and Madras. Out of these only nine have to do with Vedic tradition; six are taken from Sāmaveda proper; two contain recitations from the Taittirīya-brāhmaṇa and are consequently only distantly connected with Sāmavedic practice; and the ninth of the series gives a recitation of the Veda in a way that openly declares to be modern, and as such is of no value whatsoever.

The knowledge of the West, as far as actual practice of Sāmaveda is concerned, is consequently limited to six records, taken in 1904. As far as I know, India has not contributed anything to fill the gap after Seshagiri Shastri's description, mentioned above.

Let us consider these six Sāmavedic records a little more closely. The first (No. 425) is sung by the son of Satyavrata Sāmāśramin, a young boy of 12, called Dharmavrata Chattopadhyaya. The second record is by another young Bengali Brahmin, called Krishnavrata Chattopadhyaya (No. 426), both singers living in Calcutta.

The following two records (Nos. 427–28) are sung by a Brahmin from Paskara, Jodhpur, called Laksminarayana Sharma Sāmavedi, officiating in Calcutta.

These four records cannot be counted as very valuable, because the tradition of Sāmaveda in Rajputana, and certainly in Bengal cannot be taken as sound. The learning of Satyavrata Sāmāśramin, the father of the first singer, cannot make up for the lack of orthodox tradition in Bengal.

Of course, one cannot expect that a metereologist, a newcomer to India, should know at once where and how to look for true Sāmaveda. Consequently, whatever the merits of those first records may be in other respects, they certainly are no means of judging the condition of Sāmaveda in India.

Remain the last two records of the set (No. 443, 444) which certainly give a surer hold. Both are sung by a certain V. Subrahmanya Shastri, from Tanjore, officiating in Madras. The records contain a part of Grāmageyagāna 14/1/36, to the melody Yaudhājayam, beginning " punanaḥ soma ". The second record contains a chant from Ūhagāna, 1·1·2 to a melody called Rauravam and words the same as the previous record.

The danger is there that both records, being sung by the same man, may have eventual individual errors in common. The editor of the book notes "distonierend" which means "intonation impure". This lessens of course the value of the

cylinders as a standard of the way of singing Sāmans in Tanjore. There is no sufficient material to make out whether this uncertain intonation is done intentionally and according to the rules, or is a failing in the singer's musical power.

So, practically speaking, we have nothing at all whereon to base any judgement.

Dr. Felber propounds a very interesting and probable theory in his book concerning the relative position of Ṛg, Sāma and Yajur veda, comparable to what we find in Roman Catholic liturgy, namely that the Yajus would be spoken, or recited in an even murmur designated as "bhāṣikasvara" like the "lectiones" in Roman Catholic liturgy. In contrast to that comes the "mantrasvara" of the Ṛgvedic recitation, that shows a wider range, three-four notes, indicated by the accents, udātta, anudātta and svarita, comparable to the "accentus" in Roman Catholic liturgy; whereas the Sāmasvara, used in the chants of the Sāmaveda, would bring the octave occasionally, in any case, use a far wider compass than either Yajurveda, or Ṛgveda, and as such would be comparable to the chants called "concentus" in Gregorian music.

I have been able to make a record in the temple of Amballapura near Alleppey in Travancore. The texts concerned were not Vedic texts, but chants sung at the temple, in Malayalam, not connected with Vedic offerings. The remarkable part of it was, however, that the three stages as indicated by Felber were represented in it. The beginning, an invocation, could be called mantrasvara; the even recitation following it, would, as far as its compass is concerned, *not* in its rythmic aspect, be "bhāṣikasvara" which gradually merges into something like singing, comparable to Sāmasvara, to end up again in "bhaṣikasvara" in an invocation of Nārāyaṇa.

I have not been able to find this distribution in the Vedic practice of to day as neatly as put by Dr. Felber. To begin with, Ṛgveda and Yajurveda have become close to one another. Two records, taken from a young Nambudiri Brahmin at Kottayam, who had just been trained at the centre of Nambudiri Vedic learning Trichur, (Cochin State),

do not show very great differences, at least not as far as compass is concerned. The Nambudiris, a sect that has had little or no contact with the outside world, have kept their traditions very pure but these traditions are distinctly different from those of all other Brahmin communities in India. At least amongst them one hardly notes any difference between the way of chanting Ṛg or Yajurveda.

But even amongst the Tamil Brahmins there is little distinction. A record taken of the Yajus text, "Pracīṇa vayaṃśam" sounds exactly like the recitation usually in vogue for the Ṛgveda.

I inquired from the singer about this peculiarity, and he told me that all the adherents of the Black Yajurveda chant their texts in this way, and that only those who follow the White Yajurveda chant them in the Bhāṣikasvara as indicated by Felber. It will be necessary to hunt up White Yajurvedins now, in order to verify how far this statement tallies with the actual state of affairs.

The record, I referred to above, was taken at Chidambaram, but the singer did not disclose his name, a matter of safety in these orthodox parts of India, where the very fact that a Brahmin had chanted before a mleccha might bring him into endless difficulties.

Is it necessary to disbelieve either the śāstras or the practice of to-day, or to condemn the way in which the Black Yajurvedins sing their texts, because it does not tally with the śāstras as we know them?

At present, it does not seem necessary to do either. To begin with, not all the theoretical treatises are known; and another school and its text-books may be brought to light by which this way of chanting Yajurveda will be sufficiently explained. If this is not the case, it will be our task to find out why and when this other method has been adopted and to strive to discover how this change came about in a place where traditions are so rigorously adhered to as in the Tamil country. Further investigation into the matter may show both traditions living side by side.

Sāmaveda in practice has, as mentioned above, two sides. The Saṁhitā has no practical sacrificial value, and can be omitted in this connection. The two divisions that have to be taken into consideration are the gānas, namely grāmageya, āraṇyaka, ūha and ūhyagāna; and secondly, the actual form in which the songs were or are executed at the time of the performing of the different sacrifices.

In the gānas we do not find the way in which the hymns are to be divided over the different priests, namely the Udgātā with his different helpers, who, amongst them, share the five divisions of the chant. (1) Prastāva by the Prastotā; (2) the Udgītha by the Udgātā, (3) the Pratihāra by the Pratihartā; (4) the Upadrava by the Udgātā again; and (5) the Nidhana, sung by the three priests together.

The difference between the gānas and the actual hymns lies in the fact that the first contain the melodies as memorised by the students individually. This form is called the Rūpāntara in contrast to the Svarūpa, the form of the hymns as sung at the time of the sacrifices. As Simon says in his introduction to the edition of the Pañcavidhasūtra (page 2), it leaves no doubt that this practice did exist but in connection with the actual sacrifices and never otherwise.

The changes that were brought into the texts of the gānas consist again according to Simon, who bases his statements on Brāhmaṇas, Sūtras, Paddhatis and Prayogas—of the insertion of the syllables "oṃ" and "huṃ" of aniruktagāna, that is to say, the replacing of the syllables of the text by the vowel "o' of bhakāraprayoga, that is to say, the replacing of the original syllables by the syllable "bha", "bhi," etc, of the utterance of the syllable "ho" by the chorus, and the replacing of the nidhanas, that is to say, closing passages as found in the gānas, by sets of other nidhanas.

Simon further mentions the above quoted distribution of the different parts of the hymns over the different priests, a division not indicated in the gānas.

It stands to reason that in the study of the Sāmavedic chant this so-called svarūpa form is of greatest importance.

This form presents almost unsurmountable difficulties, however, on account of the rarity of the offer-ceremonies with which it is inseparably connected. I have, however, been assured by two Sāmavedins, connected with the Srirangam temple at Trichinopoly that Vedic sacrifices of the kind that necessitate the use of Sāmaveda are being performed even to-day. This form of Sāmaveda then, is not yet quite extinct.

This form, or what is left of it, ought to be properly recorded in detail, and *as soon as possible;* for there is no doubt that our present time is not in favour of the survival of these practices. The breaking down of orthodoxy has many beneficial effects; but it cannot be helped that, with the disappearance of much that is bad, or has become bad, things that are important vanish also, and are lost for ever, unless recorded before it is too late.

The rūpāntara fashion of Sāmaveda, that which is contained in the gānas, is slightly easier to get at. I have been able to take records from the grāmageyagāna as well as from the āraṇyakagāna as sung in different schools.

As usual, the best information about the theoretical side of the matter is given by Simon. It is the general notion that the saptasvara, the seven notes of the octave, are used in Sāmaveda; but this is not so in all schools by any means. The Ahvārakas are said to have used only three notes; the Taittirīyas four; the Jaiminiyas six; and the Rāṇāyaniyas and Kauthumas seven notes. These seven notes were very seldom used; even the Kauthumas and Rāṇāyaniyas used them only in one or two chants.

At present the Jaiminiyas are found only in two places, namely, as mentioned above, in Malabar amongst the Nambudiri Brahmins, and in one or two villages of the Tinnevelly district. I have not been able to take any records of the latter; but in Malabar I was so fortunate as to find a few Nambudiri [illegible] trained according to the most orthodox traditions, [illegible] willing to have their chants recorded. Through the [illegible] and assistance of Mr. R. Vasudev Poduval, [illegible] of Archæology of Travancore State, I got into

contact with two Nambudiris of Kottayam; whereas the influence of H. H. Rama Varma Appan Tampuran of Trichur induced some Nambudiris of that cultural centre to impart a portion of their treasures to me.

It would have been worth while to compare these two traditions of the Jaiminīyas alive still in our time, because the Nambudiris do not show a trace of the comparative melodic riches attributed to their school in the śāstras.

I have mentioned above that the Nambudiris have traditions of their own in every respect, and their Sāmaveda, at least their way of singing the gānas, shows an indefinitely older stage than that of the six notes, which in itself points to a fairly late development. As a matter of fact, the way of chanting seems to go back to primitive times, to the very beginnings of melodic development. It may be possible that the Nambudiris follow an older school, of which the practice subsists but the name has been abolished by the later-adopted Jaiminīya-śākhā.

Last year, when we were travelling in Malabar, it happened to be the time when the great harvest festival, Oṇam was being celebrated and all the Brahmins had gone to their villages. Consequently no singers could be hunted up at Trichur. It was when we were discussing Sāmaveda, especially the way in which the Nambudiris practise it, that H. H. Appan Tampuran mentioned the fact to me, that he had been struck by the similarity of the music of the Todas he had heard at Ootacamand, and the way in which the Nambudiris sing their Sāmaveda.

There is a good deal of truth in this statement, as I was able to ascertain. One can put for instance the first Sāman of the Grāmageyagāna, "agnāi ayāhi" and an ordinary song of Toda men side by side. The similarity is striking as far as the compass goes, that is to say, half a tone to a tone. Still more striking it would be, if one could play a sacrificial tune of the Todas next to the Sāmaveda of the Nambudiris, but the Todas were unwilling to have their holy chants recorded.

There is no necessity that this should mean any indication of relationship of the Todas and the Nambudiris, which

has been hinted at on other grounds. To my mind this similarity in structure only indicates that the Nambudiri way of chanting Sāmaveda, whether originally Jaiminīya or dating from an older school, goes back to a stratum of civilisation very much older than that of which the śāstras speak, with its compass of six notes.

The tradition is kept with great strictness as far as the text is concerned, as I was able to check from a young Brahmin who sang for me at Kottayam. From the library of the late Prof. Caland, I had got the loan of a manuscript of the Jaiminīya recension of the Grāmageya and Āraṇyakageya-gāna, copied by his own hand from a Grantha manuscript that had been in possession of Burnell, who in his turn had acquired it at Trichinopoly.

My singer had but recently finished his training, which had lasted for twelve years at Trichur as mentioned above. He knew, as I could conceive, both Grāmageya and Āraṇyaka-geyagāna by heart from one end to the other, as well as starting from any point chosen at random. Still he never had seen a manuscript or even had heard of the existence of one at the house of his guru. His entire training had been from mouth to ear. He did not know either, *why* some vowels had such duration and others some other measure, or, in general, what rules were at the back of it all. Nor did he know to which gods or at which occasions the different hymns had to be recited. He chanted as he had been taught, just the text from one end to the other, early in the morning, addressing everything to Sūrya. I suppose that, with the gradual disappearance of Vedic sacrifices as an institution, the gurus have found this means of perpetrating the gānas as a connected entity.

Still, when I followed his singing with my text, it was clear that there was not a single consonant even changed. I could discover no deviation whatsoever, safe in the pronunciation of some of the consonants in certain combinations, following the peculiarities of the pronunciation of Sanskrit used by [illegible]

As the manuscript before me hailed from the East coast and the Nambudiris have not kept in touch with Tamil Brahmins at all, it shows that, at least as far as the actual text of the gānas goes, there has not been the slightest change for no less than one or two centuries. Seeing the importance of the way of chanting and the relative unimportance of the text, there seems to be some reason to suppose that, when the lesser of the two is kept so pure, the principal part may not have changed either.

There are some indications of a greater melodic range even within this tradition of the Nambudiris and also great differences in tempo, but even where a bigger melodic step is used, there is no question of a compass of six notes, I have been unable to discover any, although I inquired repeatedly whether anything of the kind was known.

There is a great contrast between the Jaiminīya tradition as found in Malābar, and that of the Kauthumas as found in the East of South India, Chidambaram, Tanjore and the other centres of Vedic learning. That there is a distinct tradition, even if it may not be what is found in the texts edited hitherto, appears when comparing records taken of the same melody (the first sāman of the Grāmageyagāna) at different places. The text is practically identical with that of the Jaiminīyas, the difference lying in the way of chanting. Especially marked is the different division of the sentences of the Kauthumas as compared with the Jaiminīyas. Whereas the latter make their breaks coinciding with the end of certain words, the Kauthumas ignore this natural division and break off after the first consonant of a word, which is then joined to the last letter of the preceding word. This actually obscures the logical sense, and most probably is done purposely in order to enhance the magical effect of the chants.

At Trichinopoly I have been able to hear and record a Sāman in which the fulls, even notes, were used. It is the Saman "Imām stoma arhate".

From the instances of Sāmaveda I could hear from a Pandit belonging to the colony of Sāmavedins near Baroda,

also belonging to the Kauthuma school, it appears that the Kauthumas of Gujarat differ in many points from those of the Tamil country.

The study of this subject has proceeded not yet so far that one could give more than introductory remarks. It is to be hoped fervently that it will soon be tackled in a proper way; because Sāmaveda in all its aspects is a phenomenon of great importance. Its understanding will further the right appreciation of the oldest Aryan culture in India, and also will illuminate an interesting chapter of religious psychology of great antiquity.

It will be a matter of great patience and the study will be full of pitfalls, as there is much that is hidden and kept secret, and what is given out, often only pretends being the real thing; whereas it actually is an innovation, probably of most recent times.

There is for instance a practice, beloved in the South, namely that of playing Sāmaveda on the Vīṇā, which may be beautiful in itself, but has nothing to do with Sāmaveda, which derives its importance from the way words and melody are united and intoned, and thus bring about the magic and even cosmic effects intended by the ceremonies of which they form an integral part. Shorn of their words, the melodies mean nothing. The words without the melodies are an empty sequence of sounds.

The study of the subject will have as its ultimate aim to reveal the laws governing the phenomena. The different schools will have to be surveyed, theory and practice will have to go hand in hand. Patient investigations will have to show what discrepancies there are between the two. In many cases the practice of the day will be found to be a development later than the texts that have come down to us; but in some cases, as it seems to be with the Jaiminīya tradition in Malabar, the actual way of chanting will be very much older than what the [illegible] and brāhmaṇas tell us.

Somewhere we may discover that the laws of brāhmaṇas and sūtras are still followed; but, whatever the results may be Sāmaveda will at last be understood for what it really is, an important factor in the rich and varied structure of Indian culture.

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Saṅkīrtana. Amballapura, Alleppey, Serial number 162.

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Grāmageyagāna 1st Sāman (Chidambaram) No. 336.

Grāmageyagāna 1st Sāman (Trichinopoly) No. 339.

"Imām stoma arhate" (Trichinopoly) No. 340.

Philology and Grammar Section.

President.

PROF. DR. SIDDHESWAR VARMA, M.A., D.LITT.

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THE PRESENT AND FUTURE OF LINGUISTICS.

BY PROF. DR. SIDDHESWAR VARMA, M.A., D.LITT.
(Jammu).

To form an accurate view of the present and future of any subject is impossible. The past has the records of history and is safer to deal with, but the present and the future have no such safe grounds. Nevertheless, there are moments when we cannot help asking ourselves: Whither are we drifting? What is going to be the end of our various activities? Nay, the question becomes sometimes necessary when we have to choose between various courses leading to a desired end. It then becomes a practical question. Well has Brugmann[1] pointed out that the past is a projection of the present; we may equally say that the present is a projection of the past. We can never entirely dissociate them from one another.

The present and future position of Linguistics sometimes rouses the curiosity of the ordinary layman, though Linguistics is unable to gratify his curiosity. He often asks us: Is the world drifting to a common language? Is it possible some day to invent a new Esperanto which should be intelligible to every inhabitant of the world? The linguisticist is unable to reply to this question. All that he can say is that there are chances that a language which embodies the highest culture among the majority of mankind may some day become the easiest vehicle of expression for mankind as a whole. Out of the 1500 languages spoken in the world to-day, the English language, an American expert tells us, is the most widely used in the business world, for he estimates that two-third of the commercial correspondence of the world is being conducted in English. We dare say many races and nationalities

1. Indogermanische Forschungen, Vol. I. p. IX.

participate in this correspondence, and if this movement smoothly goes on, even a larger portion of the human race may some day use this language. The Linguistic expert is struck with the growing use of English among such divergent races as the Africans, Americans, Australians and Indians, and here now arises a wide problem of Linguistics which is a great subject for future investigation, viz., the general features of the English language as they are modified in pronunciation, grammar and idiom by these various races. These modifications betray certain tendencies in their own language, and when properly studied, would form an important groundwork for the preparation of a work on General Linguistics. A few workers are here and there giving stray fragments of these modifications, but nobody yet seems to be in a position to connect them into one synthetic whole. In Hindustani a similar pioneer work was done by Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji in his interesting work on "Calcutta Hindustani", but hundreds of similar modifications among the various people of India should be brought together before the desired synthesis could be arrived at.

But the vistas of Linguistics have now become much wider, as it has to meet the ever-increasing demands of Psychology, Physiology, Ethnology and Antiquity. In the view of these tremendous demands, Linguistics may be said to have arrived at present at a halting stage, in which the workers, perhaps becoming fewer every day, find themselves unable to cope with the questions from experts in Psychology, Physiology, Ethnology and Antiquity. For sometime past, I have noted a complaint in German journals that taste for Indo-European Philology has dwindled in Germany—the original home of Linguistics. But, as has been righty pointed out by G. Royen in his "Nominalen Klassifications-Systeme in den Sprachen der Erde,"[1] it is only those narrow workers in the field of formal aspects of Indo-European Philology who have cramped themselves. Those who have come out in a wider field in Linguistics connected with Sociology and Psychology, have immensely widened the horizon of Linguistics and have

1 Preface, p. III.

made it intensely interesting. But it must be admitted that the number of scholars who have such a wide equipment must be very small indeed. Psychology, for instance, is interested in the growth of the human mind. Now a peculiarity of the Eskimos' language is that the Eskimo can speak whole sentences, but does not know individual words for individual objects. The question of Psychology to the linguisticist in this connection is: What stage of the human mind does Eskimos' language represent? Is it the earliest stage or a very advanced stage? The question is very hard to answer, especially when we look into the fact that the Muṇḍa Language, although it represents a similar culture, has a somewhat opposite tendency. Before Linguistics is able to answer such questions, it must make a wide survey of the existing languages of the world. But even this is far from being done. We are told, for instance, that only three words of the language spoken in Chono, an island in South America, are yet known to the outside world. Only with the required equipment can Linguistics go deep into these questions. It is only a few gifted scholars who have such wide calibre, and thus we find that with the growing scope of Linguistics the number of workers has perhaps decreased.

If the demands of Psychology are hard, much harder still are the demands of Antiquity. If the antiquarian asks us: What are the systems of languages that have already perished? We are unable to give a definite answer. No doubt modern languages are relics of the past, but whether they faithfully preserve all the systems of the past can never be maintained. Even within living memory the language of Tasmania has entirely disappeared, and it is said that it has left no heir behind. If this is an occurrence of the near past, how many systems must have perished in the remote past?

Moreover, there are some distinguished authorities in Linguistics who suspect the accuracy of the historical results of Comparative Philology. They base their suspicion on careless and often grossly neglected transcriptions in many ancient languages. Thus in ancient Egyptian and some Semitic languages vowels are either never or rarely transcribed,

To derive results from this flimsy basis seems to be, in opinion, nothing short of rashness. This charge, how cannot be applied to Indian Linguistics, where we pc important data in the observations of ancient Indian g marians. The historical development of Indian langı has thus a strong foundation, and the charming varia which the language has now assumed are a further fe which rightly rouses the interest of many scholars.

With its vistas tremendously increased, Linguistics stands almost dazed before the formidable and multifa problems which it has to face. The question then a: Is there a practicable line of action which could be follc by most of us? In the absence of a world-wide synthes it desirable to give up the pursuit of the subject? No, ir opinion, there is a line which could be followed. I call it the Survey line. The synthetic object must be kej view, but the survey may be persued freely and fearle even if we do not possess the synthetic equipment. Onl facts selected in our respective fields should now be wider scope, facts which may have a bearing on Psycho and Sociology as well.

The present position of Linguistics in India is pecı While Linguistics in Europe is still in childhood, Lingui in India is hardly in infancy. The number of Indian sch who have acquired a thorough training in Linguistics coul counted on fingers. Yet the demands from them by Wes scholars are enormous, and it has been even complained b American authority that Indians do not possess the syntl faculty necessary for Linguistics. The peculiarity of trouble lies in the fact that in India the various system languages are so divergent that it is extremely difficult the Indian mind to view them synthetically. Much n than the average synthetic faculty is required for this purp But this faculty must be stimulated if Linguistics is to liv India; for the interests of the world at large are for a w scope for the study of the languages in India. Indian stud should be encouraged to do research work, not only in In Aryan, but also in several non-Aryan languages of India.

Now are there any practical lines of approach to the immense future before us? In the first place, if the sphere of Linguistics has now widened, and if it touches many more branches of human activity, it is but naturally expected that a rough idea of the subject should now be acquired by every educated inhabitant of the world. Linguistics should no longer be a monopoly of the Specialist. A wider communication between the layman and the specialist in this field is necessary if Linguistics has to meet the ever-increasing demands of Sociology and Psychology. To secure this communication and to increase a living interest for the subject, I have the following suggestions :—

(1) Every teacher of languages in secondary schools in general, and particularly every person trying for a degree in teaching should be required to have an elementary knowledge of Linguistics. A paper in Linguistics shall be a necessary subject in the Examination for all such teachers before they are given the license for teaching. There are several reasons for the urgency of this demand. Firstly, perhaps in no other country in the world are foreign languages taught to such an extensive and intensive scale as in India. In the Punjab, every Punjabi has to learn two foreign languages, viz. Hindustani and English. Now can we expect a rational and correct presentation of a foreign language without an elementary knowledge of Comparative Linguistics, without cognition of the difference between the pronunciation of English, Hindustani and the mother-tongue? Secondly, if all advanced teachers are required to study Psychology, applied Psychology can never be complete without an elementary knowledge of Linguistics. If teachers acquire this knowledge, the field of Linguistics is bound to get wider. A larger number of students will then begin to acquire an interest for the subject.

(2) There is a crying need for an up-to-date text-book in English on Linguistics. It is a pity that no such English book is available in England or America, although interest for the subject in

both the countries is growing. We cannot require all advanced teachers to study the subject unless we are able to give them a book to read. Even in British Universities the books taught are in French or German. We have no doubt Giles' Comparative Philology, but it is far from being up-to-date, and it is rather the Philology of Latin and Greek than Indo-European Linguistics in general. Gune's book is more suited to Indian students, but it is full of inaccuracies, and its scope is rather narrow. Could not the Linguistic Society of India, the Linguistic Society of America, and the British Philological Association combine and bring out a volume in English?

(3) Linguistics, as it is at present mostly taught in the various universities, has a repulsive aspect for the average student. Its presentation is accompanied with a catalogue of words from Dictionaries and Grammars, while no living texts (except in one or two languages) in the languages concerned are taught. The result is that the average student not only acquires no taste for the subject, he is almost disgusted with it. I had the opportunity of studying Linguistics in London with Mr. N. B. Jopson, Reader in Slavonic Philology in the University of London. It was a treat and a thrill to study Linguistics with him. He knew 24 languages, 12 of which he could speak with almost perfect accent. He often emphatically expressed the opinion that the study of Linguistics without a knowledge of texts in all the languages concerned was of no use. If we really want progress in Linguistics, we must encourage students to read the texts in Indo-European and other languages concerned. A short Chrestomathy, say selections from the Bible and other religious books, would immensely benefit the students, some of whom are then bound to take up Linguistics as a life-study.

HOMOGENEITY OF LETTERS IN THE PĀṆINIAN SYSTEM–A CRITICAL ESTIMATE OF THE VIEWS HELD BY DIFFERENT COMMENTATORS.

By S. P. Chaturvedi, M. A.
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(1)

In the following lines, an attempt is made to show that the view on the homogeneity of letters as held by वामन जयादित्य in काशिकावृत्ति, रामचन्द्र in प्रक्रियाकौमुदी and भट्टोजीदीक्षित in his well-known work सिद्धान्तकौमुदी, is erroneous on more than one ground; but the simple and natural interpretation of the पाणिनिसूत्रs or the standpoint taken by वरदराजभट्ट in लघुकौमुदी, an abridged edition of सिद्धान्तकौमुदी, gives a correct solution of the problem. Many learned Sanskrit grammarians of Benares and other places regard that वरदराज's non-acceptance in this respect of भट्टोजीदीक्षित's view is due to his anxiety for offering a simple solution for the beginners (छात्राणां सुखबोधाय) and that from an advanced student's point of view, वरदराज's solution falls short of the Pāṇinian standard. But it will be seen on an impartial consideration of the question that the standpoint of वरदराज is not only simple but also the right standpoint which is at once thorough, reasonable and scientific.

(2)

The homogeneity of letters is technically called by पाणिनि as सवर्णसंज्ञा. Its knowledge is indispensable for following the Pāṇinian method of Sandhi formation. It is necessary to know what letters are homogenous (सवर्ण) and what are not, before we should be able to apply such Pāṇinian सूत्रs, as झरो झरि सवर्णे (8–iv–65.).[1] This सूत्र means that a letter contained in झर् प्रत्याहार, if preceded by a consonant, is dropped, provided

1. हलः परस्य झरो लोपः स्यात्सवर्णे झरि ।

it is followed by a सवर्ण (homogenous) झर्, e.g. in तद् + प् + धानम्, प्, preceded by द्, a consonant, and followed by a सवर्ण झर् of धानम्, is dropped. In तद् + प् + टुम् (तृप्+तुम्) प् cannot be dropped, for it is not followed by a सवर्ण झर् (प्+त् are not सवर्ण.)

Pāṇini defines सवर्णसंज्ञा in the सूत्र, " तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नं सवर्णम् " (I-i-9)[2] which means 'The letters which have got the *same* place of pronunciation[3] and the same internal effort[4] are mutually homogenous (सवर्ण)'. The following table shows the *places of pronunciation* and *internal efforts* of the various letters (as implied in पाणिनि's सूत्रs and accepted by भट्टोजीदीक्षित).

		उच्चारण-स्थान				
		कण्ठ	तालु	मूर्धन्	दन्त	ओष्ठ
आभ्यन्तरप्रयत्न	स्पृष्ट	क्, ख्, ग्, घ्, ङ्,	च्, छ्, ज्, झ्, ञ्,	ट्, ठ्, ड्, ढ्, ण्	त्, थ्, द्, ध्, न्	प्, फ्, ब्, भ्, म्
	ईषत् स्पृष्ट		य्	र्	ल्	व्
	विवृत	अ, आ, आ ३ ह	इ, ई, ई ३ श्	ऋ, ॠ, ॠ ३, ष्	ऌ, ऌ ३ स्	उ, ऊ, ऊ ३
	संवृत	Short अ (vocalic sound d)				

2. (आस्ये भवमास्यं ताल्वादिस्थानं, प्रयतनं प्रयत्नः स्पृष्टतादिर्वर्णगुणः) ताल्वादिस्थानमाभ्यन्तरप्रयत्नश्च यस्य वर्णस्य येन वर्णेन तुल्यं तान्मियः सवर्णसंज्ञं स्यात् । सि. कौ. on I-i-9.

3. By place of pronunciation (उच्चारणस्थान) is meant the particular parts in the mouth passage wherein closing, narrowing or friction of the air-passage determines the character of the sound produced, These places are कण्ठ, तालु, मूर्धन्, दन्त and ओष्ठ.

4. The internal effort (आभ्यन्तरप्रयत्न) means the various positions and situations in the air-passage, such as complete blocking (स्पृष्ट-literally 'touched'-as in क), narrowing (ईषत्स्पृष्ट-'a little touched'-as in य्) opening of the vocal passage (विवृत 'opened'-as in case of आ, इ, उ,) or contraction of the vocal passage (संवृत 'contracted'-as in case of the vocalic sound (d-called *swa* by philologist). Pāṇini by 'अ अ'-the last सूत्र of अष्टाध्यायी. prescribes that a short अ is really speaking संवृत, but it is to be taken as विवृत for grammatical purposes.

The above table[5] would show that अ+ह्, इ+य्, ऋ+र्, and ऌ+ल् have the *same* उच्चारणस्थान and आभ्यन्तरप्रयत्न in the Pāṇinian scheme. Lest these pairs should be regarded as homogenous (सवर्ण), Pāṇini gives another सूत्र " नाज्झलौ " (I–i–10),[6] which says that letters contained in the प्रत्याहार ' अच् ' have *no* relation of homogeneity with the letters contained in the हल् प्रत्याहार. The letters अ, इ, उ, etc. in अच् of नाज्झलौ (I–i–10), as usual, stand for all the varieties of अ, इ, उ, etc , e.g. दीर्घ, प्लुत, उदात्त, अनुनासिक etc. Therefore दीर्घ आ and ह् , दीर्घ ई and श् etc. also are not सवर्ण (homogenous).

There lies the simple solution[7] of the problem (that अ, आ, etc. are not सवर्ण of ह् . Similarly इ, ई, etc. of श्) as given by Pāṇini. But the commentators, with their hair-splitting acumen, raise further difficulties and try to solve them in fanciful ways. पतञ्जलि, in his महाभाष्य on (I–i–10), offers two solutions for prohibiting the homogeneity of letters, आ and ह् , ई and श् etc.*

(i) The first solution does away with the सूत्र ' नाज्झलौ ' (I–i–10) by adding one *more* internal effort (ईषद् विवृत) in the list of आभ्यन्तरप्रयत्नs (see below).

(ii) The second solution retains the सूत्र 'नाज्झलौ' (I–i–10) but gives rise to difficulties–imaginary though they are for the later commentators. (see below).

वरदराज accepts the first solution in his work 'लघुकौमुदी', while जयादित्य, रामचन्द्र and भट्टोजीदीक्षित adhere to the second solution and complicate the matter further.

(3)

भट्टोजीदीक्षित retains the सूत्र ' नाज्झलौ ' for prohibiting the homogeneity of अ+ह् etc. But on account of his accepting an unsound standpoint, he has to meet a number of difficulties.

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5. It should be noted that such sounds as विसर्ग, अनुस्वार, composite letters as ए, ऐ, ओ, औ, and many others are omitted in the above table, being unnecessary for our present purpose.

6. अच् च हल् च अज्झलौ तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नावपि अज्झलौ परस्परं सवर्णसंज्ञौ न भवतः।
–काशिकावृत्ति on पा. सू. (I–i–10.)

7. But unfortunately all commentators have overlooked this simple interpretation of the सूत्र नाज्झलौ as we shall see presently.

* The problem before पतञ्जलि is not identically this, but virtually it amounts to the same.

His standpoint is known as वाक्यापरिसमाप्तिन्याय, which is propoun ed by वाक्यापरिसमाप्ति[8] and should be regarded as an एकदेशीय (and not as a सिद्धान्तपक्षभाष्य). This न्याय, in short implies th we have an order–a gradation–in various stages of our unde standing the letters contained in a प्रत्याहार (e.g. अच्, हल् etc Take for example, the प्रत्याहार अच्. First we get the च् of declared as इत् (an indicatory sign by the सूत्र 'हलन्त्यम्' (I–iii–३) Then by 'आदिरन्त्येन सहेता' (I–i–71,)[10] we know that अच् (अ+च् stands for all letters from अ to च् in वर्णसमाम्नाय.[11] After that v come to know by the सूत्र 'तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नं सवर्णम्'[12] (I–i–9) what lette are homogenous (सवर्ण); and *then only* the सूत्र 'अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः' (I–i–69)[13] tells us that ' letters contained in a प्रत्याह (e. g. अच्) stand for themselves *and also* for their varieti (दीर्घ, प्लुत etc.).'

Now, according to the rule 'अपवादविषयं परित्यज्योत्सर्गः प्रवर्तते,' the (उत्सर्ग) general सूत्र 'तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नं सवर्णम्' (I–i–9) should t interpreted in conjunction with the exceptional (अपवाद) स् 'नाज्झलौ' (I–i–10). Thus, when we are interpreting the स् 'नाज्झलौ+तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नं सवर्णम्' (उत्सर्गापवादसूत्रवाक्यार्थबोध), (the acceptan of वाक्यापरिसमाप्तिन्याय will mean that) the सूत्र 'अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः (I– 69)–which authorizes us to take all the varieties of the lette contained in अच् प्रत्याहार—is not known and so cannot l

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8. On the सूत्र नाज्झलौ, See. महाभाष्य (I–i–3–1).
" वर्णानामुपदेशस्तावदुपदेशोत्तरकालेत्संज्ञा, इत्संज्ञोत्तरकाल आदिरन्त्येनेत प्रत्याहारः, प्रत्याहारोत्तरकाला सवर्णसंज्ञा, सवर्णसंज्ञोत्तरकालम् ' अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः ' इति सवर्णग्रहणम्। एतेन सर्वेण समुदित वाक्येनान्यत्र सवर्णग्रहणं भवति। "

9. 'उपदेशेऽन्त्यं हलित्स्यात्।'–वृत्ति in सि. कौ.

10. 'अन्त्येनेता सहित आदिर्मध्यगानां स्वस्य च संज्ञा स्यात्। वृत्ति in सि. कौ.

11. i, e, in the माहेश्वरसूत्रs (अ इ उ ण् । ऋ लृक् । ए ओ ङ् । ऐ औ च् for अच् प्रत्याहार.

12. See before the footnote on 2.

13. ' अण् गृह्यमाण उदित्च सवर्णानां ग्राहको भवति स्वस्य च रूपस्य, प्रत्ययं वर्जयित्वा ' ।—काशिकावृत्ति on I–i–69.

14. This rule means that the scope of a general rule is determined afte making an allowance for the exceptional rules.

employed. Consequently the letters contained in the प्रत्याहार अच् of 'नाज्झलौ' do not stand for दीर्घ and प्लुत forms. That is, the सूत्र 'नाज्झलौ' will prohibit the homogeneity (सवर्णसंज्ञा) of (ह्रस्व) अ+ह् only and *not* of (दीर्घ) आ+ह्. So the difficulty arises that, as the homogeneity of दीर्घ आ+ह् is not prohibited by the सूत्र 'नाज्झलौ,' (दीर्घ) आ+ह् should be treated as homogenous. The acceptance of दीर्घ आ+ह् letters as homogenous will force upon us the incongruity that we should have ह्, substituted for आ in the word विश्वपाभिः by the सूत्र 'हो ढः (VIII–ii–31).[15]

महोजीदीक्षित accepts the force of this objection and meets it in his own way. He says that the सूत्र 'नाज्झलौ' should be split as न+आ+अच्+हलौ; the meaning of the सूत्र is that दीर्घ आ, अच्+हल् are not homogenous. In this way he avoids the homogeneity of दीर्घ आ+ह्; so the question of substituting ह् for आ in विश्वपाभिः does not arise.

This is the solution as regards दीर्घ आ+ह्; but what about दीर्घ ई+श् ? The सूत्र नाज्झलौ, as interpreted by महोजीदीक्षित in light of his readily-accepted doctrine वाक्यापरिसमाप्तिन्याय, will prohibit the homogeneity of आ&अच् with हल्; there is nothing in the सूत्र to prohibit the homogeneity of ई and श्. So there comes the objection that we should have दीर्घविध in place of दीर्घ ई and श् in कुमारी+शेते by the सूत्र अकःसवर्णे दीर्घः[16] (VI–i–101.) To meet this difficulty, महोजीदीक्षित brings the अनुवृत्ति of the word 'अचि' to the सूत्र 'अकःसवर्णे दीर्घः (VI–i–101) from a previous सूत्र 'इको यणचि' (VI–i–77) by having recourse to मण्डूकानुवृत्ति.[17] Thus in short, महोजीदीक्षित, on account of his following the एकदेशीभाष्य (propounding वाक्यापरिसमाप्तिन्याय) on the सूत्र 'नाज्झलौ,' is forced to insert आ in the सूत्र 'नाज्झलौ' and accept मण्डूकानुवृत्ति of the word अचि in the सूत्र 'अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः' (VI–i–101). But as we shall see presently, all the difficulties are not yet overcome. (Shall we say 'मक्षिकेऽपि लभ्यते न व्याधिशान्तिः?).

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15. हस्य स्थाने ढः स्याज्झलि पदान्ते च ।

16. अकः सवर्णे परे पूर्वपरयोःस्थाने दीर्घ एकादेशः स्यात् ।

17. मण्डूकानुवृत्ति means that words can be brought (अनुवृत्त) even from those सूत्रs which are not immediately preceding,–the words leap like frogs. The recourse to this solution (मण्डूकानुवृत्ति) is taken in very exceptional cases.

(4)

The first serious objection against भट्टोजिदीक्षित's standpoint is his blind acceptance of वाक्यापरिसमाप्तिन्याय. This doctrine cuts at the very root of the Pāṇinian system and its acceptance will lead to many complications. The अष्टाध्यायी of पाणिनि is a whole interconnected work. For the formation of a single word, we have to apply सूत्रs from various parts of the work. Each सूत्र should be interpreted in the light of what we know from other सूत्रs. It is wrong to maintain that at the time of interpretation of 'नाज्झलौ + तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नं सवर्णम्' (I–i–9,10), we cannot take help from the सूत्र 'अणुदित्सवर्णस्य चाप्रत्ययः' (I–i–69), its meaning being still unknown to us according to वाक्यापरिसमाप्तिन्याय[20]. When we interpret the प्रत्याहार 'अच्' in 'नाज्झलौ', we should do so as we interpret other प्रत्याहारs, in the अष्टाध्यायी. If other प्रत्याहारs in various parts of the अष्टाध्यायी stand for the letters (contained in them) as well as for their varieties, why should we make an exception about the सूत्र 'नाज्झलौ only ? The प्रत्याहार 'अच्' in the सूत्र 'नाज्झलौ' means the same thing as 'अच् प्रत्याहार', as well as other प्रत्याहारs mean in other सूत्रs of the अष्टाध्यायी. To accept वाक्यापरिसमाप्तिन्याय and to carry it to its logical conclusion will mean that we cannot interpret the प्रत्याहार 'ऐच्' in the very first सूत्र of अष्टाध्यायी 'वृद्धिरादैच्' (I–i–1); for the प्रत्याहारबोधकसूत्र 'आदिरन्त्येन सहेता' (I–i–71) is still to come.[21] To interpret the सूत्रs of पाणिनि in this way will defeat the very essential purpose of the अष्टाध्यायी—a coherent, interconnected and self-complete work.

Secondly, the solution proposed by भट्टोजिदीक्षित will *not* solve all the difficulties. By insertion of दीर्घ 'आ' in the सूत्र 'नाज्झलौ' and मण्डूकप्लुति of the word 'अचि' in the सूत्र 'अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः' all the difficulties are not overcome. One may ask 'what about the homogeneity of the प्लुत (आ३) and ऋ ?' Are they homoge-

20. Here I am reminded of a funny story about an impatient student, who is said to have pointed a gender-mistake on hearing *only the first two* words 'कश्चित्कान्ता' from the first line of the first stanza of मेघदूत, without waiting to hear the full line 'कश्चित्कान्ताविरहगुरुणा स्वाधिकारप्रमत्तः (कथं कश्चित्कान्तेति ? काचित्कान्तेति भाव्यम्) ! ! !

21. I may mention here that much hair-splittings on the सूत्र 'हलन्त्यम्' (I–iii–3)–the अन्योन्याश्रयदोष+सूत्रावृत्तिकल्पना–all arise from this erroneous standpoint, which I hope to show on some other occasion.

nous? If so, we should substitute ष् for स् in 'हे पिपठिषो' by the सूत्र 'आदेशप्रत्ययोः' (VIII-iii-59).[22] Supposing that भट्टोजीदीक्षित inserts a प्लुत (आ३) also in the सूत्र 'नाज्झलौ' (न+आ+आ३+अच्+हलौ), there still remains another difficulty. What about the homogeneity of दीर्घ ई+श्? भट्टोजीदीक्षित may manage to stop दीर्घादेश (by the सूत्र 'अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः') in कुमारी शेते by having recourse to the exceptional solution, मण्डूकानुवृत्ति, which should not be ordinarily resorted to; but what about the question itself 'Are they homogenous?' Also what about the homogeneity of ऋ+ष्? One may say "Let them be homogenous; there is no difficulty as regards the grammatical formation of words." But that is only avoiding the issue. The very fact that ई+श् and ऋ+ष् are homogenous (सवर्ण) should be an abhorrent idea for Pāṇini's scientific mind.

(5)

It should be said in fairness to भट्टोजीदीक्षित that he is not the first commentator to misconstrue the meaning of the सूत्र 'नाज्झलौ' and thus expose himself to the objections referred to above. जयादित्य in काशिकावृत्ति on the सूत्र 'नाज्झलौ' (I-i-10) does not raise the difficulty of षकारादेश in the word विश्वपाभिः and consequently does not interpret the सूत्र 'नाज्झलौ', as भट्टोजीदीक्षित does; but in his वृत्ति on (VI-i-101)[23] he explicitly maintains that the सूत्र 'नाज्झलौ' does not prohibit the homogeneity of दीर्घ ई+श्. Therefore he takes help of मण्डूकानुवृत्ति of the word अचि from the सूत्र 'इकोयणचि' in the सूत्र 'अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः'.

Let us now come to another commentator, रामचन्द्र, who for the first time, makes an exhaustive attempt to classify and rearrange the सूत्रs of पाणिनि so as to suit a systematic and methodical treatment of the different subjects of grammar dealt with therein. In fact, his work 'प्रक्रियाकौमुदी' served as a model for 'सिद्धान्तकौमुदी' as regards the plan of the work and

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22. 'इण कुभ्यां परस्य, अपदान्तस्यादेशः प्रत्ययावयवश्च, यः सकारस्तस्य मूर्धन्यादेशः (षकारादेशः) स्यात्।—सि. कौ. वृत्ति.

23. अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः।....अचीत्येव। कुमारी शेते। नाज्झलावित्यत्र यत 'अच्' इति प्रत्याहारग्रहणं तत्र ग्रहणकशास्त्रस्यानभिनिर्वृत्तत्वात्सवर्णा न गृह्यन्ते इति सवर्णत्वं ईकारशकारयोरप्रतिषिद्धम्। काशिकावृत्ति.

the order of the सूत्रs—so much so that भट्टोजीदीक्षित has incorporated, without acknowledgment, the very words of वृत्ति (सूत्रार्थ) of ' प्रक्रियाकौमुदी. ' But, despite all originality displayed in giving a new shape to the commentary on the पाणिनिसूत्रs, रामचन्द्र in his प्रक्रियाकौमुदी[24] could not help following काशिकाकार as regards the interpretation of the सूत्र ' नाज्झलौ ' and the necessity of the word अपि in the सूत्र ' अकः सवर्णे दीर्घः

In the previous sections, we have set forth and examined in detail the views of भट्टोजीदीक्षित, not because he is the earliest propounder of the solution offered, but because of his attempt to tackle the problem in a comprehensive manner. Besides, so far as we know, he is the earliest commentator to insert दीर्घ ' आ ' in the सूत्र ' नाज्झलौ '. In great contrast to the overdone quibbling and yet unsuccessful attempt of these commentators, we find in वरदराज, the author of लघुकौमुदी, a simple and clear-cut solution, to which we now turn in the following sections.

(6)

वरदराजभट्ट, by following another line of पतञ्जलि's agreement (सिद्धान्तभाष्य) cuts at the very root of the problem of the homogeneity of अच् and हल् letters. Like a modern Philologist, he finds a fundamental difference in the pronunciation of अच् and [illegible] (श् ष् स् ह्) so far as the internal effort is concerned. In pronouncing अच् letters (vowels), our vocal passage is opened (विवृत); but in case of the pronunciation of letters (श् ष् स् ह्) the vocal passage is only half-opened (ईषद् विवृत). So the letters contained in अच् on one hand and श् ष् स् ह् on the other, have not *the same* internal effort (आभ्यन्तरप्रयत्न). Therefore, they are not homogenous [vide the meaning of the सूत्र 'तुल्यास्यप्रयत्नं सवर्णम् (I–i–9) given in the 2nd section]. Consequently, no question arises about the homogeneity of vowels (अच्) and शल् (श् ष् स् ह्).

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24. He says:—

न मिथः सवर्णत्वं नाज्झलाविति दीर्घयोः ।
[illegible]निषिद्धत्वादन्यत्र न निषिद्धता ॥

(Page 68 of प्रक्रियाकौमुदी, Bombay Sanskrit and Prakrit Series Edition

This line of argument as propounded by पतञ्जलि in his महाभाष्य on the सूत्र (I–i–10) and accepted by वरदराज, for the first time, as the solution of the problem, enables the latter to do away with the सूत्र 'नाज्झलौ' (I–i–10) in his work, लघुकौमुदी[25]. Thus वरदराजभट्ट comes out triumphant as the upholder of the famous dictum 'अर्धमात्रालाघवेन पुत्रोत्सवं मन्यन्ते वैयाकरणाः'.

Thus, to conclude, it is clear that there are *only two* ways for maintaining that the letters indicated by अच् (*including all their varieties*, दीर्घ, प्लुत, etc) on one hand, and श् ष् स् ह् on the other, are not homogenous:—

(i) Acceptance of the natural interpretation of the सूत्र 'नाज्झलौ' and discarding the doctrine of वाक्यपरिसमाप्तिन्याय.

(Strange to say, no commentator of पाणिनिसूत्रs seems to have followed this natural and logical way of interpreting the Pāṇini's सूत्र, as suggested in the above solution. May we say that पाणिनि also, like many other सूत्रकारs has suffered at the hands of his commentators ?)

(ii) Recognizing five (5) *internal efforts* (आभ्यन्तरप्रयत्नs) in place of four (4), as suggested in पतञ्जलि's महाभाष्य and accepted in लघुकौमुदी of वरदराजभट्ट.

The position of भट्टोजीदीक्षित and other commentators is untenable and uncritical. It neither does justice to पाणिनि, the सूत्रकार, nor bears testimony to their recognizing the fundamental difference in the pronunciation of letters.

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25. In लघुकौमुदी, we find:—

यत्नो द्विधा । आभ्यन्तरो बाह्यश्च । तत्र आद्यः पञ्चधा । 'स्पृष्ट' 'ईषत्–स्पृष्ट' 'विवृत' 'ईषद्–विवृत' 'संवृत' भेदात् ।

THE SUFFIX-WALA-IN MODERN INDO-ARYAN.

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(*Allahabad.*)

The suffix *wālā*, derived generally from *pālaka*,[1] denotes several shades of meaning in Hindi speech, viz.

(a) Agentive e.g., *Jānewālā* 'one who goes', *karnewālā* 'one who does';

(b) Possessive e.g. *gāṛīwālā* 'one who possesses a cart, cartman', *dahīwālā* 'one who possesses 'curds';

(c) Belonging to e. g., *gāvawālā* 'one who belongs to a village', *ahīrwālā bail* 'the bullock belonging to the Ahīr'.

(d) Discriminative e. g. *choṭāwālā bakas* 'the small box——as distinguished from other boxes', *yahawālā* 'this one——as distinguished from others'.

Of these the writers have generally noticed only the first two in their grammars,[2] i.e. the Agentive (*kartṛ-vācaka*) and the Possessive (*matvarthīya*). The third sense (Belonging to) is possibly included in the possessive, but the fourth (Discriminative) has been left entirely unnoticed. This is surely due to the fact that this usage is mostly restricted to spoken language up till now and has not gained access in literature. But every native speaker of the language notices it in his speech and in that of others.

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1. *Beames* : Comp. Gram. of Mod. IA. Langs. Vol. III sec. 75.
   Hoernle : Gram. of Gaud. Langs. sec. 296.
   Kellogg : Gram. of Hin. Lang. sec. 458.
   Turner : Nep. Dic. under *gwālo*.

2. See the grammars referred to under footnote 1 and Kamta Prasad Guru; Hindī Vyākaraṇa, sec. 623 (Kartṛvācaka kṛdanta) Dhirendra Varma; Hindī Bhāṣā kā itihāsa sec. 363.

Hemacandra in his Grammar, Siddha Hemacandra, notices three senses, *matvarthīya* (Possessive), *bhavārtha* (born of, belonging to) and *svārtha* (pleonasm), in which the Prākṛt correspondents of–*wālā*, viz. *illa–ulla* etc., are added (Hc. VIII. 2–159,163 and 164). Of these *matvarthīya* covers the Agentive also. So in effect, Hemacandra recognises all the four shades of meaning current to–day.

What has been termed *svārtha* by Hemacandra might well have been based on Emphasis which subsisted on distinction from other similar objects i. e. on Discrimination. When out of a lot of similar articles one has to be pointed out, a distinctive feature in its designation becomes unavoidable. This is later treated as Emphasis the significance of which is lost by and by and what was Distinctive once becomes Emphatic later and survives in the form of Pleonasm at last. This appears to have been the development in the Prākṛts. The same development is noticeable in the use of–*wālā* to–day in Hindi.

The Prākṛt–*illa* is found in many words of Modern Indo–Aryan, e. g., Hin. *mājhelā* ' the middling i. e. the second son', where it has only pleonastic sense but by far its largest survival is noticeable in the–*la* form of the Past Participle in Marāṭhī and in Bengālī and other languages of the Eastern group. This–*illa* could never have been *matvarthīya* or *bhavārtha*. I am pretty sure that it started with distinctive emphasis and survived only as pleonastic.

The Discriminative sense of the suffix–*wālā* in Hindi explains the appendage of its correspondent–*illa* in an earlier stage.

POLYGLOTTISM IN INDO-ARYAN.

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§1. A New Indo-Aryan language has words belonging to one or the other of the following categories :—

(1) Inherited Indo-aryan (Indo-European) words (words, roots and inflexions), which form the Prakritic (*tadbhava*) element.

(2) Borrowed Sanskrit words which form the *tatsama* and *semi-tatsama* elements.

(3) Indian non-Aryan words, the proper *deśī* element which was introduced into Indo-aryan from the Old Indo-aryan period downwards, up to the time of the formation of New Indo-aryan. Under this class are to be included a considerable mass of words which are certainly not Indo-European in origin, and for which, again, suitable non-Aryan (Dravidian and Austric) affinities have been discovered.

(4) Words from extra-Indian languages which came to be introduced from the OIA period downwards (beginning with the few Mesopotamian words in Vedic). Of such words, we have to note Old Iranian, Ancient Greek, Middle Iranian, one or two Ancient Chinese, New Iranian (Modern Persian, including Turki and Arabic), Portuguese, French and Dutch, and English.

(5) Besides, there are some words of unknown origin, which are not Indo-aryan or specifically foreign, but which cannot definitely be connected with the non-Aryan languages of India in the present stage of our knowledge.

The above five types of words take note of the en stock of vocables in Indo-aryan. The native element cons of words that come under (1), and the learned element native origin is made up of words classed under (2); (3), a (4) and (5) are impositions from extraneous speeches, whetl indigenous or foreign. When the non-Aryan masses of N thern India began to adopt the Aryan speech, a circumstar or process which started from the time that the Aryan speak were settled in the Panjab and began to make their preser felt and which was accelerated when the Brahmanical religi and culture became established in the Ganges valley duri the first half of the first millennium B. C—a process whi has continued down to the present day when the remnants non-Aryan speakers in North India are slowly adopting t Aryan speech, to the inevitable disappearance of all forms non-Aryan in the course of a century at the utmost—it wou only be natural that a number of non-Aryan words an non-Aryan habits of speech would enter the Aryan language l the back-door, if not openly. The non-Aryan element in O and Middle Indo-aryan, and in New Indo-aryan had i origin in this way. Contact with speakers of foreign languag who came to India as conquerors and stayed on, a conta which became largely one of mutual cultural influence, w responsible for the introduction into Indian languages of number of foreign words.

A word when once adopted becomes quickly naturalise if it really fills a want. The presence of speakers of tv languages side by side leading to mutual influence graduall familiarises one with some special vocables of the othe In the initial stages of this sort of inter-influence among differe speeches, it happens that a slight explanation becomes nece sary to familiarise one group of people with the vocabl obtained from a different group, each using its own speec [illegible] new word is coming to the fore, a new word from a foreig [illegible] which the native speaker would not usually full [illegible] a qualifying word, a sort of translation more less exact, from the native speech, would be used to make th [illegible] of the foreign word clear. This sort of what may l

called *Translation-Compounds* are found in all languages which came in living touch with another speech and were influenced by it.

Thus in English we find in Early Middle English times when Norman-French and English were spoken side by side in England, such explanations in written literature: e.g. in the *Ancrene Riwle* (c. 1225):-*cherité* thet is *luve*, 'in *desperaunce* thet is in *unhope* and in *unbileave* forte beon iboruwen, understondeth thet two *manere temptaciuns*—two *kunne vondunges*—beoth, *pacience* thet is *tholemodnesse*, *lecherie* thet is *golnesse*, *ignoraunce* thet is *unwisdom* and *unwilenesse*, etc. (Jespersen, 'Growth and Structure of the English Language,' Oxford, 1927, p. 89).

In the spoken language when French was fashionable and French words were being adopted largely, this sort of thing was perhaps more common, to help the new, fashionable foreign words to take root. Chaucer has similar phrases by the dozen—the same idea expressed by a French word and qualified and translated by an English one, or an English word strengthened by a French one (cf. Jespersen, ibid, p, 90). Thus: he *coude* songes *make* and wel *endyte*; *faire* and *fetisly*; *swinken* with his handes and *laboure*; Of studie took he most *cure* and most *hede*; *poynaunt* and *sharp*; *lord* and *sire*. Also in Caxton; *honour* and *worship*; *olde* and *auncyent*; *advenge* and *wreke*; *feblest* and *wekest*; *good* ne *proffyt*; *fowle* and *dishonestly*; *glasse* or *mirrour*; etc. In English, the French words have become fully naturalised, and the necessity for these explanatory phrases there is no longer.

In Indo-aryan, we find this kind of explaining one word—a new or foreign one—by another—a native or more familiar one-taking a slightly different form, We have here a number of compounds, of two elements, each meaning the same thing and being mutually explanatory. Thus we have as the most obvious of these *translation-compounds* in New Indo-aryan those which have a foreign word as one of its elements, or a new foreign word explained by an old or naturalised one.

These *translation-compounds* often have an intensive force and sometimes they indicate a particular variety of a thing the foreign or new word hinting at the novel aspect of it To give examples—from Bengali:—

cā-khaḍi='writing chalk, chalk', being a compound of the unfamiliar English word *chalk*, pronounced in English itself a *cāk* some three or four generations ago, plus the native Bengal word *khaḍi*='chalk': **cāk-khaḍi*>*cā-khaḍi*.

pāu-ruṭi=Portuguese *pão* 'bread' (pronounced *Pãu*) + native Bengali *ruṭi*, Hindustani *roṭī* (='bread, *chapati*-bread') The compound word is used to mean the leavened European loaf, as opposed to the native Indian unleavened *chapat* bread.

kāj-ghar='button-hole': Portuguese *casa* (pron. *kazə*) 'house', + Bengali *ghar*='house', originally 'house (for the button)'.

sīl-mohar='seal, personal seal of metal with name or monogram': English *seal* + Persian *muhr*, Bengalised a *mohar*='seal'.

We have a respectable number of such compound with Persian and native elements: to give a few further exam ples from Bengali (Hindustani and other Indian language are sure to show equivalent or analogous and sometime identical compounds)—

āśā-soṭā='mace': Perso-Arabic *asā* + Indian *śoṭā*: *soṭ* ='club, mace'.

khel-tāmāsā='sport, games, spectacle': Indian *khel*+Persian *tamāśa*.

śāk-sabji='greens, curry, vegetables': Indian (Sanskrit *śāka*='greens, herbs, vegetables'+Persian *sabzī*='greens'.

lāj-saram, or *lajjā-saram*='shame': Indian *lāi* (Verna[illegible] Prakritic) and *lajjā* (Sanskrit)+Persian *śarm*, both [illegible]aning the same thing.

[illegible]='wealth': Indian + Persian (Perso-Arabic).

jantu-jānwār='animals': Indian + Persian *jānwar*.

rājā-bādśā: 'kings, kings and such exalted folk'. Indian *rājā* + Persian *bādśāh*, = *pādiśāh*.

lok-laskar='host of followers or attendants, servants': Indian *loka*='person,' 'group of persons' + Persian *laśkar*= 'army, host'.

hāṭ-bājār='market, market and fair': Indian *hāṭ*='market, fair' + Persian *bāzār*='market'.

jhāṇḍā-niśān='banner, standard': Indian *jhaṇḍā* + Persian *niśān*.

hāḍi-murdapharāś='sweepers,' 'sweepers and cremation-ground (or burial-ground) attendants': Indian *hāḍi*= 'a low caste of sweepers', + Persian *murda-faros*='carriers of the dead'.

lep-kāthā='quilts and coverings': *lep*< Persian *lihāf*= 'quilt' + Bengali *kāthā*=Skt. *Kanthā*='a quilt or covering made from old cloth sewn together'.

ādāy-usul='realisation of debts or rent': Skt. *ādāya* + Perso-Arabic *wasūl*.

kāgaj-patra='papers', 'documents': Persian *kāghaz* + Skt. *patra*.

gomastā-karmacārī='agents and clerks': Persian *gumāśta* + Skt. *karmacārī*.

nirīha-becārā='harmless inoffensive fellow, poor simple chap': Skt. *nirīha* + Persian *bēcāra*.

Apart from *translation-compounds* of the above type, with a very clear foreign element, there are a few more where we have native elements in both parts: e. g.—

pāhāḍ-parbat='hills, hills and mountains'—Vernacular *pāhāḍ* (of uncertain origin) + Skt. *parvata*.

ghar-bāḍi='house, house and home, house and land, homestead': *ghar* + *bāḍi* (<*gṛha* + *vāṭikā*<*vṛta*-).

gāch-pālā = 'plants': *gāch* <*gaccha* + *pālā* <*pallava*.

hā̃ṛi-kũṛi = 'pots and pans, pots, furniture' <*bhāṇḍa-* + *kuṇḍa-*.

Some of these are on the border line of *dvandva* compounds, indicating an inclusive idea: e.g. *kāpaḍ-copaḍ* = 'clothes and baskets', 'clothing': *kāpaḍ* <*karpaṭa*='rags, clothes' +*copaḍ*, cf. *cupḍi*, *copḍi* = 'basket'. Probably some vague *dvandva* idea there was originally. But in many cases we find that the words are mutually explanatory, being synonymous, as, for instance, in the compound *bāksa-pẽṭra*, *bāksa-pẽḍā*='boxes,' 'boxes and receptacles', from English *box* (pron. *bāks* about a hundred years ago)+Bengali *pẽṭrā*, *pẽḍā* <*peṭaka-*.

In a few Bengali words, *deśī* elements are clear: e.g. Bengali *polā-pān*='children' (dialectal East Bengali), where *polā* is from Skt. *pola-la* and *pān* appears to be an Austric word found in Santali (Kol) as *hāpā̃n*: *pan* would be a simpler form of this word. So *chele-pile*, also meaning 'children, offspring', is from earlier *chāliyā-pilā*, where *chāliyā*=*chāwāliyā* =Old Indo-aryan *S'āba*+-*āla*+-*ika*+-*āka*, and *pilā*, which occurs in the same form in Oriya, meaning 'child, offspring, young of animal' and has been connected with Dravidian (cf. Tamil *piḷḷai*='child, son').

In modern Indo-Aryan, we thus find evidence of linguistic miscegenation in the current vocables. From a study of words like *chele-pile*, *cā-khaḍi*, *pāu-ruṭi*, *rājā-bādśā* etc., which retain something of their compound character and yet indicate a simple idea, we can see how diverse elements have contributed in the formation of New Indo-aryan. Side by side with the native Prakritic and borrowed Sanskrit elements, we see *deśī* or indigenous non-Aryan elements, and foreign elements—Perso-Arabic, Portuguese, English. We see from these words ample evidence of what may be termed *Polyglottism* among the people of India in New Indo-aryan times.

These enquiries extended to the vocabulary of Middle Indo-aryan and Old Indo-aryan, of the Prakrits and Sanskrit, will show a similar state of things. We have just a few Prakrit and Sanskrit words on hand now,

d these would demonstrate how in India of 1500 or 2000 2500 years ago, there were current not merely the Indo-ran dialects, but also non-Aryan speeches, and foreign eeches, which were very living forms of speech and which d reacted to a remarkable degree on Indo-aryan. We now y study a few of these words from Sanskrit and Prakrit ich are really *translation-compounds.*

(i) Sanskrit *kārṣā-paṇa*=Pali *kahāpana*, Pkt. *kahāvaṇa*, Bengali *kāhan*: 'a kind of weight > a coin weighing a *kārṣa*'. This word is a compound of two elements, *kārṣa* and *paṇa*, the source of the former being *kārṣa*=a weight. The word *karṣa* would appear to have come from Achæmenian Persia, the influence of which land on the material ancient culture of India is now being fully admitted and *paṇa* has been shown by Dr. Prabodh Chandra Bagchi to be a species of numeration which is Austric (Kol) in origin. In *kārṣā-paṇa* we would thus have an explanatory compound, consisting of an Old Persian and an Aryanised Austric element.

(ii) *S'āli-hotra* is another interesting word found in Sanskrit. It is 'a poetical name for a horse' (Monier-Williams), and the scholastic explanation is that a horse is so called because it receives offerings (*hotra*) of rice (*S'āli*). *S'āli-hotrin* also means 'a horse:' and the form *S'āli-hotra*, in addition, is the name of a sage who wrote a treatise on veterinary science. In this sense the word still lives in the British Indian Army, the veterinary officer in a cavalry regiment being called a *Solutri*. In Hindustani the word occurs as *S'ārotarī* or *Sālotarī*. Now, *S'āli-hotra* would appear to be another compound formation, with synonymous elements from two different speeches. Leaving apart the common Sanskrit word *S'āli* meaning 'rice', which would appear to have quite a distinct origin, the element *S'āli* in *S'āli-hotra* is unquestionably the same that we see in the name *S'āli-vāhana*, which, along with its variant *Sāta* (in *Sāta-vāhana*) has been shown

by J. Przyluski (in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1929, pp. 273 ff.) to be merely the ancient Kol (Austric) word for the 'horse' (found in Santali as *sad-om*). A further evidence of the existence in the current dialects of ancient India of a form *sāda*, *sādi* to mean the 'horse' is found in the Sanskrit word *sāda*='sitting (on horseback), riding', which occurs also in the forms *sādi*, *sādin*, *sādita*, cf. *aśva-sādi*='a rider on a horse'. This word is unquestionably to be connected with *S'ali-vāhana* and *Sāla-vāhana* and with *śāli-hotra*. *Sāli*, it is thus clear, means 'horse' and is in its origin Austric: and *hotra* would appear to mean the same thing and probably it is a word we can associate with the Dravidians. The Indo-European word for the 'horse' is preserved in Sanskrit as *aśva*. This was replaced later by the word of uncertain origin, *ghoṭa*. Except in one or two dialects in the Dardic area, *aśva* is unrepresented in India, *ghoṭa* and its derivatives and relations giving the words for 'horse' in Indian Aryan and Dravidian languages. The Skt. form *ghoṭa* would appear itself to be a Prakritic formation, its older form being **ghotra* or **ghutra*, a form to which we can at once affiliate the Dravidian equivalents--Tamil *kutirai*, Kannaḍa *kudure*, Telugu *gurra--mu*. The word **ghutra-ghoṭa-kutirai* is itself of doubtful origin, but it is a very old word, widely spread all over the Near East. An ancient Egyptian name for the horse, which doubtless came from Asia (from Asia Minor or Mesopotamia), was *ḥtr*, which would appear to be just a variant of **ghutra*. The Modern Greek name for the ass, *gadairos*, and the Turki word for the mule, *katyr*, would appear to be connected with **ghutra-ḥtr*. For the present, we may tentatively look upon the word as extra-Indian (Asianic, that is belonging to Asia Minor and the Aegean ?) non-Aryan which was probably brought in by the Dravidians: it may be that it is a genuine Dravidian word; and we should note the possibility of the Dravidians

themselves being Mediterranean (Cretan) in origin. *S'āli-hotra* would seem to preserve an old form of *ghoṭa* also, in its second element. *S'āli-hotra*='horse' =Austric+Dravidian synonyms for the horse: *as'va-sādi*—would then be an Aryan+Austric *translation-compound*.

(iii) The name of the sage *Pāla-kāpya* is found in later Sanskrit as that of an authority on the training of elephants. Some legends occur about him, which would indicate that he was a sort of *Mowgli* who lived among elephants. The name *Pāla-kāpya* is explained as being made up of the personal name *Pāla* and the *gotra* or clan name *kāpya*, which is evidently a derivative from *kapi*, usually meaning 'monkey' in Sanskrit. But it would appear that *Pāla-kāpya* is just a *translation-compound* exactly parallel to *S'āli-hotra*. *Pāla-kāpya* is just a compound of two words from two different languages meaning 'elephant' and as in the case of *S'ali-hotra* as a personal name, this compound word came to signify a *ṛṣi* who was looked upon as an authority on elephant-training and the care of elephants. These are instances of how a personality can be created out of a common name—both *S'āli-hotra* and *Pāla-kāpya*. The first element *Pāla* signifies 'elephant' and 'ivory' in Dravidian, where the word is found in different forms (this matter has been thoroughly discussed by J. Przyluski in *Notes Indiennes*, Journal Asiatique, 1925, pp. 46-57, and by Prabodh Chandra Bagchi in the Indian Historical Quarterly, 1933, pp. 258 ff). We should note in this connection that another name for the sage *Pāla-kāpya* is *Kareṇu-bhū* or 'born of a she-elephant' which indicates that the name also has something to do with elephants. The second element *Kāpya* has been discussed by Prabodh Chandra Bagchi (*loc. cit.*, p. 261), who has made it clear that the word *kapi* also signified—at least it was employed as a synonym for—an elephant. Bagchi quotes as different

synonyms for *gaja-pippalī* the words *kari-pippalī*, *ibha-kaṇa*, *kapi-valli*, *and kapillikā* where evidently *gaja*, *kari*, *ibha* and *kapi* mean the same thing. The name of a common Indian fruit, the wood apple, is *kapittha* (cf *aśvattha*=the *peepul* tree). This fruit is a favourite of the elephants, and there is a Sanskrit expression—*gajabhukta-kapitthavat*, (like a *kapittha* fruit which has been eaten by an elephant—it is supposed that when an elephant swallows a *kapittha* fruit its hard shell is preserved intact while the kernel of the fruit inside the shell is extracted within the stomach of the animal, only the empty shell being rejected). Can it be that *kapi* in *kapittha* also means 'elephant'? The likelihood of *kapi* signifying also elephant is strengthened by the occurrence of an analogous word to mean the elephant in certain Near Eastern languages, in Hebrew and in ancient Egyptian, for instance. 'Ivory' is *S'en-habbim* in Hebrew, where *S'en* means 'tooth, tusk,' and *habbim* obviously means 'elephants': the word would be *habb*. In Ancient Egyptian, the word for the same animal is *ab* or *h'b*, i. e. *hāb*. The Hebrew and Egyptian word *habb*, *hab* we would feel tempted to compare with *kapi*. **kapi*=*hab* is a word of unknown origin: it is probably of the same nature as *ghoṭa*-**ghuṭra*-*kutirai*-*hṭr*-*gadairos*-*katyr*. I think it will not be too rash and too bold a speculation to see in *Pāla-kāpya* a *translation-compound* of a Dravidian and an extra-Indian non-Aryan element.

(iv) In the Gopatha Brāhmaṇa, mention is made of a sage *Dantavāla Dhaumra*, a contemporary of Janamejaya. This name appears to be different from that of *Dantāla Dhaumya*, mentioned in the Jaiminiya Brāhmaṇa as a contemporary of Janaka Videha. (I am indebted to Dr. Hemchandra Ray Chaudhuri for drawing my attention to these names). *Dhaumra* is the patronymic, but what is the meaning of *Dantavāla*, the personal name? Is it for *Danta-pāla*?

The other name *Dantāla* would mean 'long-toothed' or 'big toothed', but *-vāla* < *-pāla* as a suffix showing possession or connexion is late, and not earlier than the Apabhraṁśa stage in the history of Indo-Aryan. I suggest that here, too, the word *Danta-vāla* is for *Danta+bāla*, and the word is an Aryan + Dravidian synonymous compound, meaning merely 'elephant'. The occurrence of the synonymous names *Danta-pura* = *Baloura* for the same city, and of *Baleokouros* (*Vilivāyakura*-and *Kolhapur*, discussed respectively by Sylvain Lévi and Prabodh Chandra Bagchi—cf. the latter scholar in the Indian Historical Quarterly for 1933, pp. 256 ff.) can be recalled.

(v) During the S'aka period of Indian history, we have the evidence of a number of S'aka (and other Iranian) names and epithets being introduced into India. One such word is *muruṇḍa*, which means 'prince' or 'king' in the S'aka language. In Indian S'aka inscriptions, a formation like *muruṇḍa-svāminī* is clearly a bilingual formation of the type noted above.

(vi) A few other words obviously of the same type can be noted, but the origin and affinity of each element has not been investigated. In the Kamauli grant of Vaidyadeva of Prāgjyotiṣa (second half of the 11th century), we find the mention of a stream called *Jaügalla*. This is a compound of *jaü* < Skt. *jatu* = 'lac', and *galla*, which is found in Bengali as *gālā*, meaning also 'lac' (*jatu-jaü* is also found in Bengali as *jau*). Probably *galla* meant 'molten lac' originally, but this juxta-position may well be looked upon as being in line with the examples cited above.

(vii) In the Mahāvastu, we have *ikṣu-gaṇḍa*='sugarcane' a compound of *ikṣu* (represented in New Indo-aryan as *īkh, ākh, āukh, ūkh, ūs* < **ukṣu*, **akṣu*, *ikṣu*) and *gaṇḍa*, which is found in New Indo-aryan (Hindustani) as *gannā* and *gaṇḍerī*. Do we have here two words for the same thing from two separate languages current in ancient India?

(viii) Similarly, the Mahāvastu word *gaccha-piṇḍa* is a curious compound meaning 'tree': *gaccha* occurs in Bengali (and allied Eastern Indian speeches) as *gāch* = 'tree, plant': originally it meant 'a progression, a movement', referring to the growth of a plant (from √ *gam-gacch*); and *piṇḍa* is 'a lump', 'a clod, an immobile mass.' The compound may, to start with, have been a descriptive one which posed a paradox *gaccha-piṇḍa* = 'a progressive lump': but why have a paradox or a riddle to mean a thing of a simple and fundamental character like a tree or plant? We should remember that *piṇḍa* gives the common Hindustani word for a tree—*peṃḍ*. What is the real source of this *peṃḍ*? In any case *gaccha-piṇḍa*, from point of view of New Indo-aryan semasiology, is nothing but 'tree-tree'.

(ix) Exactly similar to *gaccha-piṇḍa* and the rest is the Apabhraṁśa word *accha-bhalla*='bear': *accha* is Indo-European, Skt. *ṛkṣa* (which occurs in Hindustani as an old *semi-tatsama* undoubtedly, in the form *rīch*), and *bhalla* is the source of the New Indo-aryan *bhālū* (Hindustani), *bhãluk*, *bhālluk* (Bengali), meaning 'bear': *bhalla* has been explained as being from Old Indo-aryan *bhadra*: *accha-bhalla*, from this point of view, would mean 'the bear, the meek one' as an euphemistic expression. This is not impossible, as there is frequently a disinclination to take the name of a noxious animal (the utterance of the name is supposed to draw it to an inconvenient proximity): *bhalla*='the good one, the meek one' may have been euphemistically employed, and then it came to be the sole name of the animal. Just as in Russian the word for 'bear' is *medved* = 'honey-eater' (=Skt. *madhvad*). But here also enquiry should be pushed if *bhalla* has any affinities outside of Indo-aryan.

[illegible] We can compare Skt. *kañcula*, *kañculikā*='jacket, bodice' with *colikā*, meaning the same thing. These

words are also represented in the vernaculars. Th word seems to have meant originally 'cloth for th breasts': cf. *colikā-paṭṭa* = 'cloth for the middle *kañcula*, *kañculikā* would appear to be **kan+colik* where **kan* is an Austric word, found in Bengali *kāni*='rag': cf. Malay *kain* = 'cloth'; and *cola*- may b connected with *cela* = 'cloth', a word of uncertai origin.

Although the number of positive and well-attested in stances is not large, from the few words from MIA. and OI and discussed above, it would be allowable to assume, as subsidiary line of evidence, the presence of linguistic conflict an compromise in ancient India. The non-Aryan dialects wei there, and they were going very strong two thousand yea ago, and even later,-although no notice has been taken of the -officially in the Brahmanical, Jaina and Buddhist texts in Ind -aryan. Words and names from them were coming up int Aryan; and later on, when the original non-Aryan language were lost, their significance also died out, except here an there in a stray tradition. Foreign languages were also spoke by large groups—Greek, Old Persian, and various other Irania languages, and they were probably cultivated by large group Words from these also were finding a place in Indo-arya undoubtedly the number of such words was much larger i the spoken vernaculars than could now be realised from th situation in Sanskrit and the literary Prakrits. In fact, w have almost a similar situation as now, in the matter of langu ges, in ancient India; only the non-Aryan languages wei spoken much more widely than now. Probably among th masses what is now of Aryan India, non-Aryan dialec (Dravidian and Austric) were much more common tha Aryan ones. In fact, India of two thousand years ago an more was characterised by *Polyglottism* almost as much Modern India of the present-day.

Anthropology Section.

President:

RAI BAHADUR SARAT CHANDRA ROY, M. A., B. L., M. L. C.

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

3Y RAI BAHADUR SARAT CHANDRA ROY, M.A., B L., M.L.C.

(Ranchi).

ɔUR HIGHNESS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I am thankful to the Executive Committee of the All-India ·iental Conference for doing me the honour of electing me as esident of its Anthropological section once again. According orthodox practice I might adopt either of two courses in my ·esidential address. I might either give an account of the pro- ɛss of anthropological research in India or else select some spe- ıl topic of anthropological interest as the theme of my address. my Presidential address to the Anthropological section of ɛ Indian Science Congress in 1920, I gave an account of the ogress of anthropological research in India from the begin- ıg of modern research down to that year, and later, I pursued ɛ thread of the story down to the year 1930 in my Presiden- l address to the Anthropological section of this Conference at last session. As for the progress of anthropological research India since then, the story may be told in a few minutes. ıd for the rest of the hour allotted for this address I propose deal at some length with a subject which appears to have of e been attracting marked attention from scholars, administra- ·s, social reformers and the Indian public in general. That bject is the origin of Caste in India. Besides interesting chap- ·s on Caste in the different volumes of the Census of India, 1931, many as five scholarly books and several magazine articles the Indian Caste system have been published within the last ·ee years. As for the advance of anthropological research in s country during the last three years, the increasing out-put anthropological articles in our Journals,–scientific as well as pular,–is a hopeful sign of progress. As an examiner in

Social Anthropology in the Calcutta and Bombay Universities and as editor of an anthropological journal I had occasion during the last few years to come across some anthropological papers of great merit and greater promise from students and teachers of the Calcutta, Bombay, Lucknow and Benares Universities. One of these theses, it is gratifying to note, was from a lady graduate of the Bombay University who has made an extensive sociological study of the Amil Community of Hyderabad in Sindh. Another on the Chodhras of Gujarat by Mr. B. H. Mehta of the Bombay University is one of the best theses I have come across from an Indian Post-graduate student. I am glad to see him here to day as one of our fellow delegates. It may be reasonably expected that these students will manage to keep up their interest in anthropological research after they leave their Universities and enter the practical arena of life. If students like him receive proper encouragement and help, I have no doubt that the science of anthropology as well as the States or provinces where they may carry on their investigations will be immensely benefited. There is hardly any sphere of life, any vocation or occupation which does not afford opportunities for the study of man in Society. What is needed most is a lively and life-long interest in the subject.

As for important book literature on Indian Ethnology during the period in question, the year 1931 saw the publication of the further volume of *Mysore Tribes and Castes* edited by Rao Bahadur L. K. Anantha Krishna Iyer, and as many as three books on the Indian Caste system, namely, *The Caste System of Northern India* by Mr. E. A. H. Blunt, *The Origin and Growth of Caste in India* by Prof. N. K. Dutt, and *Indian Caste System: A Study* by Mr. C. Hayavadan Rao. In the year 1932, were published, besides a monograph on *Hindu Families in Gujarat* by Rao Bahadur Govindbhai Desai, two more works on the Indian Caste system, *Caste and Race in India* by Dr. G. S. Ghurye, and *Indian Caste Customs* by Mr. L. S. O'Malley.

This increasing attention to the question of Caste appears to be opportune at this moment. The Anti-Untouchability movement which is now in active progress in India has help-

in bringing the question of Caste origins prominently to the
'e, and it will not, therefore, I think, be inappropriate if
:ake up that question as the theme of the present address.

The institution of Caste has remained the foundation of the
ndu social structure for several centuries, and has given to
ndu society its most distinctive character. Social divisions
ıded on the basis of occupation, each with more or less
idarity of its own and observing more or less the principle
class endogamy have indeed existed in various countries
d communities in the past as well as in the present–
ıong, for example, the ancient Romans and ancient
;yptians, some modern European peoples and even among
me modern primitive peoples like Malagasy of
ıdagascar and the Carrier Indians and some other divisions
Western Dene of North America. But nowhere do all
:se features–common heredity, occupation, endogamy and
mmensality-appear in such connection and in such a strictly
;anized and rigid shape as they do in the Caste system of
dia. This is what makes the Indian Caste system an unique
·m of social organisation. And this is why a number of
ıolars have assiduously sought to trace the origin and
itory of Caste, and have expressed divergent views as to the
ocess by which this unique system has evolved and the
sis upon which it rests. But it cannot be said that a final
.ution of the Caste problem has yet been reached.

The different current theories regarding the origin of the
ıste system are familiar to you all. And I shall not there-
'e tire your patience by attempting any account of them.
:sides the orthodox Hindu traditional theory of the divine
igin of Caste set forth in the *Puruṣa Sūkta* of the *Ṛg-Veda*
d restated in the tenth chapter of the *Manu-Saṁhitā*, there
:, as you know, over half a dozen theories put forward by
odern scholars, mostly European. There are the occu-
tional and guild–theory of Nesfield ; Ibbetson's, theory of a
mbination of tribal origins; functional guilds and Levitical
ligion; the racial and hypergamous theory of Risley; the
nily or gentile theory of Senart, the Dravidian theory of the
gin of the priestly–class put forward by Slater; the theory

of Dr. Ketkar, who assigns in most cases a tribal and in some cases an occupational origin for the different castes; and finally the theory adumbrated by Dr. Hutton in the *Census Report of India* 1931. This latest theory is a composite one formed by combining, with his own suggestion regarding the local origin of the occupational taboo, such selected elements from previous explanations as the Proto-Australoid origin of food-taboos suggested by Oldenberg and Gait, the Dravidian origin of the priest-magician class suggested by Slater, the influence of hypergamy and kinship suggested by Risley, the functional origin of caste stressed by Ibbetson and Nesfield, and the influence of Indo-European pride of blood and social rank suggested by most previous writers.

Valuable as some of these modern explanations are, as analyses of the different features of the Caste system, they do not appear to me to take us far enough in our search for the root-causes of the institution of Caste. The genesis of any social institution is, I think, to be sought primarily in psychology and only secondarily in the history of racial migrations and the borrowing or imitative faculty of man. The ultimate explanation of a social institution like caste has to be given primarily in terms of the group-ideal or ideas and sentiments behind it and only secondarily in terms of environment, racial admixture, and cultural contact or the intercommunication and interaction of ideas between human groups. Of all the accounts of the growth of Caste given by recent writers, Dr. Ketkar's analysis, I think, goes much nearer the roots, though he does not appear to have carried his search to the ultimate bedrock on which the foundation of Caste rests. He hits the mark when he says that the chief principle on which the entire (Caste) system rests is that of purity and pollution;' but he stops there and does *not* proceed to analyse it further, and declares that "in order to accomplish equality, the doctrine of purity and pollution will have to be abandoned". "To reform Hinduism," says he, "is to transform Hinduism into Indianism". I would modify this dictum and say that [illegible] reform Hinduism is to seek to replace caste by the old [illegible] ideal of Varṇa based on the Guṇas.

True, as Dr. Ketkar says, the root-principle on which : Caste system rests is the principle of purity. But this is t merely outward "śaucam". This purity, in its ultimate alysis, is the principle of spirituality-the dominance of the ıl, of the real man or god in man over the senses. Leaving t the present loss of elasticity in Indian castes, what ıtinguishes the Caste system of the Hindus from the class visions of other communities is that the position assigned to : Brahmins and other castes in the caste hierarchy was termined not by wealth or outward considerations but the respective degrees of "inner purity" or Sattva-ṇa believed to inhere in their respective traditional func-ns, which they were required to maintain, and, as far possible, at one time endeavoured to maintain. The integration of the *Varṇa* system commenced when that deavour began to slacken and exaggerated attention to pposed ceremonial or outward purity began to overshadow, d ultimately, well-nigh smothered, the ideal of purity of : soul. However, to all this I shall revert later.

In order to be able to properly evaluate the different rent hypotheses as to the origin of Caste and to form an ınion of our own about it, we must first try to get, with : help of all available data, as clear an idea as possible of : ethnic and social history of the Indian people. From ch a study we may expect to get some idea of the contri-tions, that may have been made by any one or more of the ial components of the Indian people, to the ensemble of tures that go to make up the Indian Caste system. And this way, we may perhaps get at the core of ideas and ıtiments on which this unique system of Hindu Castes ts.

As for the main racial elements that have entered into composition of the Indian people, general authoritative nion until recently indicated four such elements, namely, Pre-Dravidian element entering India either from the th-east or from the north-west, the Dravidian element ering from the north-west, the Āryan element entering) from the north-west, and the Mongolian element entering

from the north-east. In the light of recent researches, a few more elements have to be added. The following inferences that may be provisionally drawn from the inadequate material so far available might appear to be reasonable, although by no means final. There is a tendency among many modern Indian scholars to discard the theory of the migration of Indo-Aryans from outside India and some are even inclined to think that the cultured Dravidian castes of Southern India also formed one race with those generally described as Indo-Aryans. So far as our available evidence goes, the utmost that can be said is that the northern and north-western boundaries of the country of the Indo-Aryans once probably extended considerably beyond its present limits and that the further progress of Indo-Aryan occupation to what is now known as Hindusthan was merely a movement south and south-eastern from the then northern and north-western parts of what might be called 'Greater India'.

As for the long-headed Dravidians and the broad-headed and medium-headed Gujaratis and Bengalis, as both the Mediterraneans and the Alpines are different branches of the same Caucasian race, and even the Proto-Australoids belong to an earlier branch of the same Caucasic race, it can be said that there is a fundamental racial unity in main population of both Northern and Southern India. Indeed, ancient Hindu sociologists would appear to have ignored distinctions of race as tending to separatism and regarded the whole of mankind as an organic unity presenting three or four psychological types.

(1) The earliest inhabitants of the country were in all probability a small, black, curly-haired, Negrito race allied to the Mincopis of the Andaman Islands, the Semangs of the Malay Peninsula and the Aetas of the Phillipines. Their only traces are perhaps to be found in the curly hair, dwarfish stature, snub-nose, and certain other features occasionally met with among such wild hill tribes of the extreme south of India as the Kadars and Urulas of Travancore, and in rarer instances among the hill-tribes of the Central hill belt of India. Dr. J. H. Hutton in the latest Census Report of India writes:

"In the Kadars and Urula (Urali ?) of the forests of the extreme south of India occasional individuals with frizzly hair and low stature and Negro-like features are very suggestive of survivals of the Negrito race".

As separatism, and suspicion and avoidance of strangers are essential features of Negritic Society in the Andamans, for example, similar too, we may infer, was the state of things among the earliest Negrito inhabitants of India. The present day Kadars and the Uralis of the extreme south of India are really tribes in a comparatively early stage in the process of Hinduization, and still stand outside the Caste system. So, we may safely infer that they had no contribution to make towards the formation of Caste.

(2) The next undoubted occupation of India was by a dolichocephalic long headed pre-Dravidian race, sometimes called Proto-Australoid, who might have entered India either from the north-east or as appears more probable, from the north-west, or perhaps from submerged 'Lemuria' on the south-west, and in time occupied the valleys of the rivers of Northern India and gradually spread in all directions and either absorbed or routed the original Negritic population.

Dr. Hutton thinks that the origin of the Proto-Australoids must have been in Palestine. Wherever the pre-Dravidian might have originated, the racial type of the Indian Proto-Australoid would appear to have been ultimately fixed in India under the influence of Indian climatic conditions; and he is thus the true aborigine of India. From him appear to have been descended, most of the tribes whom we style the Indian aborigines, although some branches of them would appear to have been slightly differentiated from the rest in time through cultural and perhaps, to a less extent, racial admixture with subsequent in-coming races. From northern India they in time spread to the extreme south of India and beyond, the Veddahs of Ceylon being perhaps their southern-most representatives. On the east their spoor may be traced through Burma and the Malay Peninsula to distant Australia.

The introduction of neolithic culture and handmade pottery into India has probably to be attributed to them and also the *Valaitadi* or boomerang still retained by some rude Kallan and Maravan families of Southern India. The basis of their social organisation would appear to have been totemistic and exogamous clans as at this day, though their present patrilineal structure appears to have been preceded by a matrilineal system. They were and still are an essentially democratic race. Most of the Proto-Australoid tribes of the present day observe certain taboos on food cooked by a stranger or cooked food touched by a stranger's hand, and do not generally marry outside their tribe.

The taboo on food from strangers is, however, not peculiar to the Proto-Austroloids but is almost universal in primitive society and has for its basis the fear of the unknown. The primitive man believes that cooked food is charged with some spiritual emanation, (like the *'mana'* of the Melanesians) from the person who cooks it or handles it and therefore must be avoided.

As for marriage outside his tribe, however, the taboo on tribal exogamy does not appear to have been altogether inexorable. Indeed among primitive tribes outside India, although the taboo on food from strangers is common, yet compulsory tribal endogamy is rare except among people who have among them one or more communities who ply strange arts and crafts not known to the forefathers of the tribe, or among peoples like the Polynesians, Trobirand Islanders, the Masai and the Salish who have advanced far enough to have evolved a stratification of classes by rank. This is probably the reason why it is more among the settled agricultural tribes than among the nomadic or semi-nomadic tribes that tribal endogamy is more strictly observed.

Thus strangers and particularly strangers plying strange arts and crafts or possessing an unfamiliar speech, worshipping strange gods, and having strange manners and customs, [illegible] been objects of superstitious fear and avoidance to the Proto-Australoids [illegible] to other primitive people. Such

strangers, it is believed, can ply their strange arts and crafts with the help only of spirits of evil power, and so contact with them must be avoided as much as possible. Similarly the primitive taboo on marriage or intercourse with women of strange tribes worshipping strange gods might be due partly to a fear of the evil eye or uncanny potentiality of alien women, who may have strange spirits for their families or guardian-spirit, likely to bring ill-luck to the family or the community of her husband.

Thus, among the essential features of the Hindu caste-system, the commensal taboo and, to some extent, the connubial taboo, have been always observed by the Proto-Australoid tribes as well, but from superstitious or what might be called "quasi spiritual" ideas, and certainly not from any idea of ceremonial purity as among Caste Hindus.

As for the other essential feature of the caste organisation, namely, hierarchical gradation of classes or families in a tribe and the superior position of the priests over the commonalty, it is generally repugnant to the essentially democratic basis of Proto-Australoid social organisation. They have no priestly caste, because every head of a family is its own priest. In the settled agricultural villages however, a village priest is indeed elected for each village, and in some tribes his position has become hereditary; but all the same there is no social distance whatsoever between the priest and the rest of his fellow-villagers. He is merely a *primus interpares*, a chief among equals. Democracy is a marked feature of Proto-Australoid social polity, and caste-hierarchy would presumably be inconsistent with democracy.

In some instances, however, such a hierarchical gradation of the different clans composing a tribe appears to have been made. But this has occurred only in comparatively recent times and that under Hindu influence either direct or indirect

The inference that we may draw from our imperfect knowledge of Pre-Dravidian India derived mostly from our knowledge of the surviving Pre-Dravidian tribes of India supplemented by most meagre [illegible] in ancient Sanskrit

literature, is that the Pre-Dravidians were composed of a congeries of tribes at different levels of culture and social organization, some living as primitive hunters, fishers and food-gatherers, some as primitive industrialists or artisans, a very few as pastoralists, some as shifting agriculturists, some without any effective differentiation of occupation and a few as settled agriculturists. These various tribes occupied different localities and differed from one another not only in occupation, but in their dialects, in social organization, in some of their customs and in their gods. Owing to the primitive man's fear of the unknown stranger and also to some extent owing to a consciousness of differences in their ways of life, they naturally avoided, so far as possible, intermarriage and inter-dining, and owing to conflict of economic interests or sentimental prejudices would not unoften be engaged in mutual hostilities. The extensive area and the vast distances of the country naturally aided the multiplication of tribes and sub-tribes, and mutual suspicion and prejudice.

Time instead of tending to unify and consolidate them into a few comprehensive groups helped in multiplying the number of different endogamous groups and in increasing the differences between them. It was an era not of castes or classes but of tribes; there was no central authority like the priestly class or the kingly class that might seek to co-ordinate the different tribal groups or divisions of the people. Each tribe regarded itself as good as or superior to the others. Thus the spirit of separatism that makes for caste would appear to have been rampant amongst the Proto-Australoids, but their democratic social organization prevented the growth of caste among them. Most Muṇḍā tribes still generally keep themselves haughtily aloof from other tribes and castes of their area.

(3) Next, there appears some evidence of a slight Melanesian strain in the hilly regions between Assam and [illegible], and also on the Malabar coast of India. The [illegible] type probably originated in miscegenation between [illegible]nic Negrito and the Proto-Australoid from India; and [illegible]ht Melanesian migration into India, as may have

taken place, brought back with it no additional cultu elements worth mentioning except perhaps such an artef as the shouldered neolithic celt. As regards elements th went to the formation of the Indian Caste system, no cont bution would appear to have come from this race.

(4) The elusive Mongoloid touch in the facial appe ance of some Mūṇḍā tribes may perhaps be attributed a slight strain of Paroean or Southern Mongoloid blood fr the east across the Bay of Bengal. The suspicion of Mongoloid element only attaches to the facial appearance certain Mūṇḍā tribes, and has no association whatsoever w caste or any other cultural trait.

(5) The next wave of immigration into India appe to have been that of an early branch of the Mediterrane race who probably came by way of Baluchistan and broug with them the beginnings of civilization including a rudimenta knowledge of agriculture, the practice of urn-burial, the er tion of rude stone memorials to the dead, the use of neolit implements, pottery, the art of primitive navigation and a n speech. They were, we may reasonably presume, compos of several sections or tribes. While some mixed with t Pre-Dravidian aboriginal population of Northern India, a one or more sections probably migrated ahead of the rest a mingling their blood with the Proto-Australoids in the ri valleys of northern and eastern India passed down throu Assam and Burma where, with an infiltration of Mongoli blood, they became the Indonesian or Nesiot race now su merged. A section of Nesiots at a later period probab crossed over to Southern India, for a slight Melanesian str is suspected in the Malabar, as I have already noticed.

The main body of these early Mediterranean immigran finding the Proto-Australoids then dominating in the ri valleys of Northern India, appear to have gradually mov across the chain of hills that divide Northern India fr Peninsular India and made themselves masters of what aft wards came to be known as the *Drāviḍa* country which was th more sparsely inhabited by the Pre-Dravidians and perha

some remnants of the original Negritos than Northern India. The sections of the early Mediterranean immigrants who stayed on in Northern India were in time mostly absorbed in the dominant Pre-Dravidian population of the North. Most of the new immigrants into Southern India, whom we may call the Proto-Dravidians, and their descendants, too, gradually received varying degrees of infusion of Proto-Australoid blood, and in time worked out a civilization now known as the Dravidian culture. To them perhaps India owes the first establishment of settled villages and a village organization with its village officials, village deities and sacred groves.

In course of time the Proto-Dravidians developed such arts and crafts as they had brought with them and acquired others. They had either acquired a rudimentary knowledge of metallurgy before they came to south or independently developed it in their new home. The old copper workings near Maktiala in the Kistna Dirtrict of Hyderabad may perhaps be attributed to them. Near the old mines Bruce-Foote discovered a polished earthenware vessel of unique shape, and some seven earthenware bowls and bowl-dishes of iron-age types.[1] In fact, few prehistoric copper artefacts have been discovered in Southern India, which appears to have passed direct from neolithic culture to Iron culture. To these Proto-Dravidians are probably to be attributed the dolmens, cairns, menhirs, and other megalithic structures in different parts of Southern India, the large terracotta funeral urns each with three or four legs, the coloured and glazed prehistoric pottery of various shades and sizes, bronze figurines of animals and birds, iron weapons used in hunting and warfare, agricultural implements, metal ornaments and household utensils, beads of quartz crystal and various coloured stones which archæologists have unearthed from various prehistoric sites in the South; or perhaps these were subsequent acquisitions of the Dravidians through cultural contact with the later Mediterranean immigrants of India of whom I shall presently speak and whom I would identify with the 'Asurs' of ancient sanskrit literature. It appears more certain, however, that the snake

1. Indian Prehistoric and Protohistoric Antiquities, (1916) p. 129.

ılt so wide-spread in Southern India is a contribution of the roto-Dravidians. In course of time, their descendants, the ravidians, acquired various arts and industries, and became reat builders, and long before the beginning of the Christian :a, developed a considerable civilization and consolidated emselves into powerful kingdoms.

Though it does not appear likely that caste in the full onnotation now attached to the term, was evolved in the ravidian South at any time prior to the advent of the rahmanical Aryans much less in neolithic times, it is probable ıat with the establishment of settled villages a rudimentary ivision of labour among the village population gradually ıme into existence; and it is certain that when in course of me Dravidian civilization had made a fair progress, various ccupational groups must have been formed, and the natural ndency of such groups to endogamy and hereditary function ıust have been active. With the evolution of chieftainship r kingship, a privileged nobility consisting of Chiefs and ıeir relatives and warriors must also have arisen. And this obility would naturally seek to restrict marriage within their wn class; and by their very position would occupy a higher ınk than the commonalty or the occupational groups who o might gradually come to have gradations of social position nong themselves.

Dr. Slater on the strength of certain passages from the gveda in which castles, cities and the wealth of Asurs and ıeir use of magic are referred to, is dogmatic as to the exisnce in Pre-Aryan Dravidian India of a priest magician class caste, and says[1] "it points directly to the conclusion that ıe Brahmin caste itself, and its position of dominance over ıe Kṣattriya or warrior caste is a Dravidian institution".

It does not, however, appear to me that there exists ıy substantial evidence in support of the contention that the re-Aryan Dravidians had evolved any specific hereditary riest-magician class which could be called a 'Caste'. Indeed ome South-Indian castes like the Kallans and Valains, Panans

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. Dravidian Element in Indian Culture (Ernest Benn. 1914), pp. 54-55.

and Parayans have some priest-magicians but they do not appear to form either a separate and hereditary class or caste, because any one among them who has the requisite psychic temperament may, with or without training, qualify himself for communication with the spirits and become competent to propitiate them by proper offerings or sacrifices. And generally these Dravidians, priest-magicians of the present day, hail from the lowest classes. The nearest approach to a sacred priest in the proper sense of the term among the existing primitive population of the Dravidian south is the *Palol* or dairyman-priest and his assistants the Kaltmokh[1] and the *Wursol* among the Todas of the Nilgiri hills. "His (the Palol's) position among the Todas", says Dr. Rivers,[2] "is exactly that of a priest upon whom it is incumbent to maintain a very high degree of ceremonial purity......If the *Palol* is touched by an ordinary man he loses his office and at once ceases to be a sacred personage, but the person who touches him incurs no penalty......An indication that he may at one time have been regarded as divine is to be found in the special classes of the Kindr prayer". The Toda *Palol* however, becomes an ordinary person the moment he ceases to hold office. Although a *Palol* must be selected from the Teivaliol division of the tribe, "there is not the slightest trace", says Dr. Rivers, "of the belief that their right to exert the highest priestly functions gives the Teivaliol any superiority"; nor, it seemed clear to me that the right did inspire the Teivaliol themselves with any feeling of superiority. Indeed, it was distinctly the other way. The Tartharol always boasted that they were the superior people and that the Teivaliol were their servants and the Teivaliol always seemed to me to acquiesce, though unwillingly. Whenever I asked a Tarthar man why he regarded his division as superior, he always answered, "we have the *ti* and we appoint the Teivaliol to act as our servants".[3]

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1. The *Kaltmokh* or *Kavelol* must be chosen from the Teivaliol or to the *Melgars* clan of the Tartharol. The *palol* is a far more sacred person than his assistants.
2. *Ibid.*, p. [illegible]
3. *The Todas* (Macmillan, 1906), p. 448.

Thus it will be seen, that the sacredness attaches more to
ıe buffalo-deities than to its priests, and there is no hereditary
r organised priesthood among the Todas as there is among
ıe Hindus. Nor is it known when this institution of the
airy-man priest was evolved or when the Todas came to
ıeir present habitat. In fact the racial origin of the Todas is still
ırouded in mystery. Their remarkable physical appearance—
ıeir light brown skin-colour, well-formed noses, the thick
eards of the men and luxuriant hair in both men and
'omen, their well-proportioned limbs, robust constitution and
raceful bearing,—is so different from their Dravidian
eighbours that their origin has been variously attributed
y different previous writers to the Scythians, Druids,
Romans, Jews, or Indo-Aryans. Dr. Rivers is inclined to
ıink that the Todas came from Malabar towards the
eginning of Perumal rule and might have been originally
ither Nambudiris or Nairs in origin, and thus furnish
s with an example of a people whose culture has
egenerated during a period of isolation. The other possible
lternative according to him is that the Todas are one of the
ill tribes of the Western Ghats who have developed a higher
ulture than the rest owing to the exceptionally favourable
nvironment in the Nilgiri plateau.[1]

One argument sometimes advanced in support of the
upposed pre-Aryan or non-Aryan origin of the Brahmins
ı that tradition as well as history bear witness to the formation of
ertain modern sections of Brahmins, out of non-Brahmins or
ven non-Aryans. It is true that the Brahmin class like the
ther two classes of Kṣattriya and Vaiśya appear to have in
ıe past received accretions from outside. Thus the *Sawala-
hi Brahmins*[2] of the United Provinces, and the *Udambar,
'alajia* and *Pushkarna* Brahmins of Baroda[3] retain tradi-
ons of such origin; and competent scholars regard such high
lass Brahmins as the Chitpavans and Nagar Brahmins
s having foreign blood in their veins.[4]

1. *Ibid.*, pp. 716-7.
2. See Sherring, *Hindu Castes*, p. 32.
3. *Baroda Census Report*, 1931, p. 455, See also p. 477.
4. D. R. Bhandarkar, in *The Indian Antiquary*, for January, 1911.

The Taulava Brahmins of Coorg are said to have been Dravidian fishermen in origin.[1]

According to some authorities the Nambudiri Brahmins of Malabar in their physical type differ from the ordinary Brahmins and more closely resemble the Todas, and some of their customs do not conform to Aryan practices and ideas but point to Non-Aryan origin. But even if it is proved that some sections of Brahmins are not Aryans in origin, that does not go to show that the Brahmins or even the South Indian Brahmins, as a class, are Dravidian in origin.

We have seen, however, that some of the attitudes and sentiments on which caste ultimately rests and the hierarchical series of functional groups, which is one of the prominent features of the Hindu Caste system, had been developed among the pre-Aryan Dravidians presumably in a much greater measure than among the far more backward Proto-Australoids. We may also reasonably infer that the practice of group-exogamy or tribal exogamy, and certain *taboos* on food and drink at the hands of other groups must have been observed by them partly owing to superstitious beliefs inherited from more primitive ancestors and partly through interaction with the more primitive culture of their Proto-Australoid neighbours. But inspite of all this, there appears no evidence to suppose that they had developed that strict hierarchical organisation of hereditary groups on the basis of ceremonial purity and supposed purity of blood with a sacred priestly class at the head laying down caste laws, which are the distinctive features of the Hindu Caste system. And we may, I think, be justified in holding that the pre-Aryan Dravidian social system did not pass beyond the stage of a class system, though perhaps it might have become more rigid than the class-systems of many other civilized communities. This rigidity was probably due to the pride of race which the Mediterranean immigrants who were fairer in colour and comparatively more advanced in culture than the indigenous Proto-Australoids must have developed in India.

1. See Rev. H. Macgling, Coorg Memoirs, pp. 24–27, quoted in Gustav Oppert's, "Original Inhabitants of Bhāratavarṣa," p. 165.

(6) Sometime later, it would appear a fresh wave of immigration into Northern India of a more advanced Mediterranean people took place. It is, I think, the descendants of these later Mediterranean immigrants of the north who resisted the progress of the Ṛgvedic Aryans along the river valleys of Northern India and who are frequently mentioned in the Ṛgveda as the Asuras. They appear to have brought to Northern India a knowledge of metallurgy and the manufacture and use of implements, weapons, ornaments and household utensils and ceremonial objects made of copper, an improved method of pottery-making and an improved method of agriculture by terracing and irrigating the fields. They also appear to have practised urn-burial and raised megalithic memorials over the bones and ashes of their dead. Being much better equipped in the arts of life than the Proto-Australoids who had till then been probably predominant in continental India, this Mediterranean people would appear to have in time established their supremacy in the land. There are reasons to believe that the Mediterraneans and the Proto-Australoids were both originally matrilineal peoples and in time not a little intermixture of blood between the two races must have taken place in India. The more stubborn sections among the Proto-Australoid tribes would appear to have moved on to the south of the river valleys as far as the Vindhyas and Kaimur ranges and the Mahadis Hills and the Satpura Hills. Thus the Central Mountain Belt of India still forms the main stronghold of the Proto-Australoid tribes. In the valleys of the northern rivers the Asuras would appear to have been supreme until the Indo-Aryans arrived.

Some landmarks of the progress of the Asura colonisation eastward are afforded by occasional finds of copper implements, weapons and ornaments, pottery and other artefacts, and traces of buildings and large tanks locally ascribed by tradition in Chhota Nagpur, at any rate, to the pre-historic 'Asuras'. Thus at Bithur on the Ganges in the Cawnpur District, a remarkable barbed spear-head made of copper was found in 1821; at a village on the Jumna in the Agra District a copper spear-head and two copper celts and six copper bangles were

unearthed by a cultivator when tilling his field. Three of the bangles were linked together, and Dr. T. Oldham has pointed out that they resemble in form the so-called "ring-money" of northern antiquaries. Near Fatcgarh in the Farukhabad District similarly were found thirteen copper swords and a curiously shaped copper object which looks like a human figure, presumably used as a religious symbol or image. At Buxar in Bihar, some terra-cotta figurines and other objects have been dug out which may probably be the handiwork of the same people. From the Narmada valley also similar finds have been reported by Mr. Karandikar. Near Pachamba in the Hazaribagh District of Chhota-Nagpur a cultivator found a number of half-formed copper axes of which four are now in the Indian Museum. Near village Silda in Pargana Jhatibani in the Midnapur District of Bengal, a copper battle-axe was found by some villagers who were digging a pit. Not far from the site is village *Tama-juri* which name may indicate the past existence of copper workings there. At village Gungeria in the Balaghat District of the Central Provinces, two boys tending cattle accidentally lighted upon a hoard of 424 pieces of copper instruments and 102 pieces of of silver plates or discs and ornaments. Twenty-two of these copper celts and twelve of the silver objects have been described by Mr. Coggin-Brown and are kept in the Indian Museum. [1]

A large number of copper axe-heads, copper bracelets, copper beads and ornaments of different varieties and of beautiful designs, copper and bronze dishes, cups, and copper and bronze vessels of different shapes and sizes have been unearthed by me from graves and building sites in the Ranchi and Singbhum Districts of Chhota-Nagpur locally ascribed to the prehistoric Asurs. Besides these objects, the finds from the Asur sites of Chhota-Nagpur include terracotta pottery of different shapes and sizes, some hand-made and some wheel-made, some having incised designs on them...either symbolic or ornamental, fragments of enamelled pottery, small

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[1] [illegible] Coggin-Brown, Catalogue of Prehistoric Antiquities in the Indian Museum, (1917), pp. 142-151.

ra-cotta models of birds and animal-heads, stone-bulls, y copper figure of a man driving the plough to which two llocks are yoked, bronze and copper bells, stone maces, ne corn-crushers, ring-stones, anvils, neolithic or :solithic axeheads, chisels, hammer-stones, small low ne stools and miniature copper stools presumably used for ·emonial purposes, rock-crystal beads, faience beads, beads coloured stones some of which are semi-precious such as ›is-lazuli, small terracotta cones which have the appearance phallic symbols.[1] In the ruins of one Asur building I found]uantity of charred rice. Among my finds was one small ked clay image of the mother-goddess about one foot high d a small bronze celt which is the only bronze celt uptil w reported to have been found in India.[2] In the ruins of e of the 'Asur' buildings I found a quantity of charred rice. e foundations of the reputed Asur buildings are made of ge burnt bricks, 17 inches long and 10 inches wide and 3 :hes thick. It is significant that these building sites are call· the "*Asur-garhs*" or "*Forts of the Asurs*". At the burial :s, over each grave is laid a large stone-slab (the largest e that I measured was 12'x7½'x6") lying flat and supported four small stones at the four corners. By the side of the t stone over some graves planted vertically is a tall and ›ad stone slab.

These Asur sites are generally located by the side of hill-eams on extensive elevated grounds commanding a wide w of the country around. In the vicinity of some of these ur sites may also be found large old tanks locally called sur Pokhras" or the 'tanks of the Asurs'.

Such prehistoric ruins of the "Asurs" appear to lie scat-ed all over Chhota-Nagpur; but for lack of investigation they : lying unexplored. From village Hami in the Palamau strict of Chhota-Nagpur 22 bracelets made of copper besides niniature copper stool for ceremonial use were discovered

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This and most other artefacts are now in the Patna Museum.

Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society. Vol I (1915). pp. 229-353; Vol. VI (1920), pp. 393-423. Most of these objects may be seen in the Patna Museum.

by a cultivator while ploughing his field. In the Manbhum District a number of copper axe-heads, some of them very large were found by the late Dr. Campbell. Copper axe-heads and other implements have also been known to have been accidentally unearthed by cultivators in the District of Bankura in Bengal.

In the furthest east or north-east, in Assam, there are some ancient ruins which local tradition attributes to the Asurs; but these, do not appear to have been explored. I saw one such ancient building site not far from the town of Gauhati. It contained large bricks of about the same size as those in the Asur sites of Ranchi. From Sir Edward Gait's *History of Assam*,* we learn that there are traditions in Assam of the former rule of 'Asurs' and among the former 'Asur' kings of Assam, Mahirang Danab and his successors Hatak Asur, Sambar Asur, Ratna Asur, Narak Asur are named; and there is also a hill named Narak Asur near Gauhati.

Most of these prehistoric antiquities of this period are chance finds, and it may be fairly expected that systematic exploration would bring to light a very much larger quantum of evidence regarding the culture attained by this second division of the Mediterranean colonisers of India. Terrace cultivation and the use of metals appear to have been the most important contributions of this people to the material culture of the aboriginal inhabitants of India. The Austric speech of the Munda tribes would appear to have been considerably moulded and modified by contact with the language of this Mediterranean race; and some of the important culture-elements, that distinguish the Munda or 'Kolarian' culture from the culture of the Dravidian-speaking pre-Dravidian neighbours of the Mundas such as the Oraons, the Sauria Paharias, the Khonds and the Gonds, would appear to have been developed through culture-contact with the 'Asur' race and very probably also through a certain amount of racial intermixture.

* [illegible] Edition (1926), pp. 12-13.

As the first division of Mediterranean colonisers introduced permanent villages into India, this second or 'Asura' division of the Mediterranean race might perhaps have developed something approaching towns, centring round the 'forts' or 'garhs' as they are called, of the Asur Chiefs. These 'Asur-garhs' consisted of one or two fairly large brick buildings, or at any rate structures with foundations of bricks, which were obviously occupied by the Chiefs and the rest of the population of the settlement must have dwelt in houses made of perishable materials. In the areas where the ruins of these 'garhs' or 'forts' are found, the *garhs* are found at distances of three or four to seven or eight miles from one another. The conjecture may not perhaps be unreasonable that each 'garh' or fort was the centre of civic life; and that these 'Asurs' had not developed a wider state-organisation than something like the city-state. A tradition among the Mundas of Chota-Nagpur speaks of the male-folk of the Asurs having been routed by the God of the Mundas through a trick, and the spirits of the female-folk of the Asurs having become included among the spirits whom the Mundas have to propitiate by sacrifices and offerings. If the Mediterranean Asuras might have been routed or absorbed in the hilly rigions of Chhota-Nagpur, the bulk of the Asuras would appear to have been dominant in the river-valleys of Northern India when the Aryans arrived there.

Although the cultural remains of the Mediterranean 'Asurs' in other parts of Northern India have not been properly explored, a section of them who had settled down in the valley of the Indus have been more fortunate both in respect of modern exploration of their ancient sites, and, what is more, in the tremendous advance they had made over the contemporaneous culture of other branches of the Mediterranean race in India and elsewhere, and probably over all other contemporaneous races and peoples in the then world.

Most favourably situated is the Indus Valley which, as Sir John Marshall says, was the meeting ground of Proto-Australoids from the Indian sub-continent, of Mediterraneans from along the southern shores of Asia, and of Alpines and Mongolo-Alpines whose habitat was in the mountain zones

respectively of western and eastern Asia, their civilization far outstripped in achievement and complexity than that of their 'Asura' branch who extended across Northern India from the Punjab to as far east as Assam, and who came in contact only with the ruder Proto-Australoid and perhaps Proto-Dravidian cultures and peoples.

However, that may be, although the Indus Valley civilization had its cultured classes and merchants and artisans, its nobles and commoners, and although Sir John Marshall opines that "the religion of the Indus people was the lineal progenitor of Hinduism", it has not been suggested by any authority that the special features that distinguish the Hindu Caste system from the class-system of other countries was evolved at Mohenjo-daro or Harappa. Indeed no inference of the existence of such a system can be made from the materials that have been hitherto unearthed. The Indus Valley people must have had a class of rulers and administrators, a class of merchants, and a class of artisans, but there is nothing to show that they had an organised class of priests at the head of the other classes. It is only when a people develops an elaborate and intricate religious ritual that a class of experts in ritualism evolves. But there is nothing to show that the Asurs either of Northern India or the Indus Valley had developed such a complex ritualism, or that their class divisions had crystallized into absolutely endogamous castes.

In support of my suggestion that the 'Asurs' of Chhota-Nagpur tradition belonged to the same Mediterranean race that formed the main element of the population responsible for the chalcolithic culture of the Indus valley, I may mention that an earlier stage of most of the nine features of the Indus culture which Sir John Marshall mentions as resembling the Second Pre-Dravidian culture of Elam and Mesopotamia and the proto-historic culture of Sumer, are represented, though on a humble and miniature scale, in the "Asur" culture of [illegible]olithic times in Chhota-Nagpur. Thus, the 'Asur' culture in Chhota-Nagpur, we find an earlier stage of (I) an organisation of society in cities; (2) the continued but sparing use of stones side by side with copper and bronze for the manufacture

of weapons, tools, and vessels, (3) the invention of the potter wheel and the production with its help of improved kinds (pottery; (4) the invention of wheeled vehicles (as indicated b something like a copper toy-cart recovered at Hami in th Palamau District and now placed in the Patna Museum), (5 the construction of buildings with kiln-burnt and sun-dric bricks; (6) the use of maces of stone; (7) the fashioning (ornaments out of faience and shell and stones.*

Of the features mentiond by Sir John Marshall, it principally the picture-signs for writing and artefacts of gol and silver that have not been found in the few Chhota-Nagpu 'Asur' sites that have been so far partially explored, nor di art reach the high level to which it had attained in the Valle of the Indus. As for class-divisions among the Asurs (Chhota-Nagpur, it is reasonable to infer that they had, at an rate, evolved a division of the people into at least two classe the class of chiefs and nobles and the common folk, and com mon folk included agriculturists as well as artisans. There wei also the indigenous Proto-Australoids. Although the Proto Australoid aboriginal tribes of India must have received th first impetus to civilization from this 'Asur branch of th Mediterranean race,' caste was not among the contributior that the Asurs made to India. As we have seen, the Mund or 'Kolarian' tribes are to this day strangers to the cast system.

The Indus Valley civilization, according to Marshall, wa from the beginning connected with Mesopotamia, and laste approximately five centuries, from 3,250 to 2,750 B. C.

7. The next immigration into India appears to have bee that of a broad-headed Eurasiatic Alpine race either from th Pamirs or from the Iranian plateau, towards or after the end c the Mohenjo-daro period. One branch of this race appears t have spread southwards along the west coast as far down a

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**Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, vol. I., p. 102.

(Only beads of these materials and only *cowrie*-shells have been foun in Chhota-Nagpur 'Asur' sites.)

Coorg, as being perhaps the direction of leas tresista
were the ancestors of the Marhattas, the Prabhus, t
and a number of other broad-headed communities
tern India.

Another branch of this race appears to have
ancestors of the Gujaratis on the west and the Beng
east. Whether the two branches of the Alpine imr
India came together or one after the other it is diffic
jecture. But it appears very probable that at any rate
tors of the Bengalis and the Gujaratis had lived
North-Western India for some time before they r
their present respective habitats. Dr. D. R. B
has pointed out some significant resemblance[1] be
modern Bengalis and the Gujaratis. The migra
ancestors of the Marhattas and others southward
Punjab and those of the Gujaratis south-wards to G
of the Bengalis east-wards by way of Central India
to Bengal might be due either to some internal i
of peoples or to the pressure of the incoming Indo-A

There do not appear to be any reasons to su
this Alpine race knew any rigid caste-divisions o
particular tendency towards the formation of the
caste-system as we now know it, though it is likely
were divided into two or more broad classes.

8. Before passing on to the Indo-Aryan in
into India I should not omit a passing reference to
goloid element which occurs on the northern a
frontiers where India merges into the great Mongoli
Neither the slightly Mongoloid Kanet of Lahoul ar

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1. *Indian Antiquary*, for 1911, pp. 7-37. Thus both
Brāhmins of Gujarat and the Kāyasthas of Bengal have
names as Ghose, Mitra, Datta, Nag, Pal etc.

2. Brachycephalic elements have been found throughout
plateau as far as Rewa, and again from Bihar eastward
gradual increase of a brachycephalic element reaching i
[illegible]ity in Bengal. Dr. B. S. Guha. *The Racial O*
[illegible], in the Sir P. C. Ray-Commemoration Volume.

of Nepal nor the most distinctly Mongoloid Limbu of Nepal nor the Mongoloid Rong-pa or Lepcha of Nepal and Sikkim show any predilection for caste. The slightly Mongoloid Tharu of the Tarai District of Motihari in North Bihar is still in the animistic stage with a slight veneer of Hinduism and is in course of formation into a tribal caste.

In Assam an originally long-headed Proto-Australoid, with perhaps some slight Proto-Negroid, substratum has been over-laid and submerged by aggressive broad-headed Indo--Chinese Mongolian elements—Tibeto-Burman, Tai or Shan, as well as a Nesiot or Indonesian and a Paroean or Southern Mongoloid element; and finally, an Indo-Aryan element has also contributed its share to the formation of the composite Assamese people. The Mongolian race-movement from the north which commenced early, in successive waves of immigration into Assam, does not appear to have yet ended. The Tibeto-Burman Shans who finally conquered Assam in the 13th century and in 1228 A. D. assumed the name of 'Ahom' and called the country 'Assam' after themselves. The Mongoloid Shingpho or Chingpo (Kachin of Burma) arrived from the Upper waters of the Irrawady about the year 1793. It is the Indo-Aryan immigrants who introduced the Hindu idea of caste into Assam, but it is still not as rigid as in most other provinces of India.

We read in Appendix C of the *Assam Census Report*, prepared by Prof. K.M. Gupta, Ph. D. (London), 1931: "Castes and sub-castes are still in the process of formation ....In early times between (*circa* 500 A. D. and 1100 A. D.) the distinction between the Brahmins, Vaidyas and Kāyasthas was not acute and was based more or less upon functional differences. The ranks of the Vaidyas and Kāyasthas, on account of their respectability, were swelled by accretion from the lower ranks through the adoption of certain common *Padavis* such as Dutta, Dāsa, and Sena. In earlier times, I think, the humbler ranks went by the general name of 'Dāsa', i. e., of the 'Dāsa-kula' which stood in contrast to the Deva-kulas or Devas or the twice-born formed by the above-named three castes. Most of the Varṇa-Brāhmaṇas are apparently

indigenous. There is no evidence to show that they migrated here from some other place." Thus there appears no valid reason to suppose that the Mongolian race had any contributions to make to the Hindu caste system.

(9) At last by about the second millenium before Christ, if not earlier, the Ṛgvedic Aryans appeared in the valleys of the Indus and its tributaries and, later, in the valleys of the Ganges and the Jumna They found the country teeming with a heterogeneous population composed of countless tribes and clans and classes of various degrees of racial intermixture speaking different languages and dialects, worshipping different gods, pursuing different occupations, following different customs and habits of life, and not unoften warring against one another. After various successes and reverses, the Aryans gradually succeeded in subjugating and conciliating some of the tribes, routing some, pushing forward others before them further to the east and driving some others to the south of the river valleys.

As for the then social divisions among these new immigrants we find frequent reference in the earliest Vedic literature to three classes or orders (*Varṇa*) of Indo-Aryan society which had their parallels in similar classes in ancient Iran or Persia as mentioned in the Avesta. Thus, to mention only a few out of numerous references, in the very first *Maṇḍala* of the *Ṛgveda*, we find mention of a Brahman of Soma in Chap. IV, *Sūkta* 17, of a Vipra (i. e. Brāhmaṇa) named Bharadvāja in Chap. 16, *Sūkta* 113, 112, of a Brahman in Chap.VI, *Sūkta* 24; of a *Kṣattra* in Chap. VIII, *Sūkta* 40, and again in Chap. VI, *Sūkta*, 25; and of *Viśa* (*Vaiśyas*) in Chap. 16, *Sūkta* 112. In Chap. VI, *Sūkta* 25 *Varuṇa* is said to be vested with all the glories of a *Kṣattra.*

Such references to the three *Varṇas* or classes also occur in other *Maṇḍalas* of the *Ṛgveda.*

But the Vaiśyas and Śūdras are nowhere named in the *Ṛgveda* as distinct orders of Indo-Aryan society except in [illegible]

old as the other portions of Ṛgveda though composed in the same period. It is only in this hymn that the name Śūdra occurs in the Ṛgveda.

One may very well imagine that the Indo-Aryans, the symbols of whose God were the universal phenomena of Nature, and whose outlook on the world was correspondingly broad, were shocked by the spirit of separatism that they found rampant among the pre-Aryan peoples of the land of their adoption. Accordingly, the need for co-ordinating the heterogeneous population into one organic whole must have been vaguely felt by the general mind of the Indo-Aryan community, when they had comparative respite from the incessant hostilities they had encountered in the beginning. This idea, which might have for sometime been floating vaguely in the social atmosphere of Indo-Aryan India, first took a definite shape in the mind of the gifted Ṛṣi or *seer* Nārāyaṇa by name who composed the *Puruṣa-sūkta*, breathed life into the idea and expressed it in vivid language in one of the grandest hymns of the Ṛgveda.

I do not know of any sublimer conception in literature than that of the *Puruṣasūkta* which delineates *Puruṣa*–the Lord of Creation—as sacrificing Himself to create or, in other words, to manifest Himself as the Universe, His 'head' representing the Brāhmaṇa class or the intellectual, moral and spiritual energies and the directive forces of humanity, His 'arms' representing the Kṣattriya class or the ruling, protecting and military forces of humanity, His 'thighs' representing the wealth-producing energies of man,* typified by the Vaiśya class who are the nourishers of the physical bodies of men, and His "feet" producing the Śūdra class meant to typify the spirit of service to mankind and the divinity of manual labour.

When one reads this hymn one cannot help lamenting that its sublime conception of humanity with its interrelated natural classes or Varṇas forming an organic unity in God—as interdependent parts of the body of the Divine Being Himself—could not be ultimately realised in the social organization that actually developed in Hindu India.

Whatever the interpretation of this particular verse of the *Puruṣasukta* may be, all authorities agree in holding that the three social orders of Priests, Warriors or Nobles, and the Commonalty were known when the *Ṛgveda* was composed. but the names Kṣattriya and Vaiśya had not yet been definitely fixed. It is recorded that Viśvāmitra, Ajāmiḍha and Purāmiḍha who composed portions of the *Ṛgveda* and who had been originally Kṣattriyas were admitted to Brahminical rank. Similarly, Yāska in his Nirukta has recorded that of the two brothers Śantanu and Devāpi one became a King (Kṣattriya) and the other a priest or Purohita (Brahmin).[1]

But with increasing miscegenation of the Aryans with the indigenous population and with increasing complexity of society, a consideration of purity of blood gradually came to assume some importance.

By the time of the *Yajurveda* which marks the further expansion of the Aryans and their culture from the Punjab to the *Kuru–Pāñcāla* country in the great central plains of Northern India, the priesthood and nobility appear to have become more or less hereditary. Restrictions to inter–marriage and inter–dining do not, however, appear to have been yet introduced.

In the Brāhmaṇa period (circa 800 to 600 B. C.) which followed and in which the Aryans had advanced further to the east and south-east, a tendency towards the formation of castes was first in evidence. Yet this early period of the social history of Hindu India may be called the *Varṇa* or class period, as distinguished from the later *Jāti* or hereditary caste period. Prof. Berridale Keith writes: "There came into existence a new factor, the introduction of divisions among the ordinary freemen the Vaiśyas, and the development of a large complicated system of Caste which converts the simple distinction of Vaiśya and Śūdra into an ever-increasing number of endogamous hereditary groups practising one occupation or at least restricted to a small number of occupations. This

1. *The Origin and Development of Castes*, by the Rev. K. M. Banerjea, LL. D., (1878).

result was certainly far from being reached in the period of the Brāhmaṇa, but the tendency of social and racial distinctions to harden into castes is already apparent......In the Brāhmaṇas, while we have no reason to doubt that the priesthood and nobility were hereditary, these castes seem to have been free to intermarry with the lower castes including the Śūdra, as the cases of Vatsa and Kavaṣa......indicate".[1]

But I venture to think that Prof. Keith is not quite accurate when he says that divisions were now introduced among the Vaiśyas. It would, I think, be more accurate to say that the ideal of unification of the different sections that composed the *viś* or *Vaiśya* class, could not be realised.

Besides a regard for purity of blood, differences in occupation and respective respectability attaching to different arts and crafts,—also hindered the realization of the Vedic ideal of one undivided commonalty of the *Viś* or Vaiśya *Varṇa.* With the progress of civilization and the expansion of the Aryans all over India, new arts and crafts began to multiply and new accretions were made to the Vaiśya class and so section after section of artisans, traders, industrialists and others came to be added to the Vaiśya class, and some, who though Aryans in origin, neglected the sacraments prescribed for the 'twice-born', or whose habits were too 'impure' or uncleanly to justify their inclusion in the Vaiśya class, remained as distinct sections of the Śūdra class.

In the subsequent *Sūtra* period (circa 600 B. C. to 200 B. C.) we find the Śūdras mentioned as part of the Hindu social structure, 'yet', as Prof. Hopkins points out, "the Sūdras were not Pariahs but members of the household, who took part in some of the domestic rites ".[2]

The original ideal of purity of the mind and the soul came at this period, to be supplemented and much later, to be overshadowed by the idea of external and ceremonial purity. The further elaboration of the Bramhanic religious ritual necessitated a growing attention to ceremonial purity,

1. The Cambridge History of India, Vol. I. p. 125–126.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 234.

and as a reaction against the uncleanly habits of the aboriginal people who were by then partially absorbed into the Brahmanic fold, and miscegenation with whom produced a large population of semi-aboriginals, who now form the bulk of the lower classes among the Hindus, the idea of purity in food and habits began to be abnormally developed. As Hopkins observes, " The test of *caste* is not marriage alone but defilement by eating and touching what is unclean".

"In this regard the Sūtras show only the beginning of that formal theory of defilement which results in a pure man of the upper castes being defiled by the shadow of an impure man, and in the taboo of all contact with the impure. According to Gautama (*Dharma Sūtra*; XVII, 1 f.), a Brahmin may eat food given by any of the 'reborn' who are worthy members of the caste, and if in need of food to support life he may take food and other things even from a Sūdra".[1]

As for marriage restrictions in the *Sūtra* period, the same writer tells us, that "Even in the all important matter of marriage, caste is not so important as family. The only test, when one seeks a wife, according to *S'āṅkhâvana*, is that of the family. They ask the girl in marriage, reciting the clan-names......Indeed the marriage rules permitted the marriage of a Sūdra woman, though as the last of four wives, with a member of the highest caste, whose offspring, of course, being 'mixed' or impure, is not a member of the Aryan 'reborn', but nevertheless is recognised legally".[2]

As for the occupational taboo, "Baudhāyana admits the doctrine that a priest who cannot support himself by the usual occupations of a Brāhmin may take up arms and follow the profession of a warrior."[3] "At the time of the Sūtras ", as Prof. Hopkins points out, " there were many nominal members of the priestly and royal orders, who lived as farmers and traders ".[4]

1. *Ibid.*, 234–35.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 235.
3. *Ibid.*, p. 241.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 248.

It may be noted that from the 6th century before Christ down to the beginning of the Christian era, the Hindus came into close contact with foreign people—Persians, Syrians, Bactrians, Parthians, Greeks or Yavanas who from time to time made incursions into India and, for longer or shorter terms, each succeeded in holding parts of North Western India. Although these foreign invasions did not produce any lasting effects on Indian sociey, yet some foreign elements must have in this way entered into the composition of the Hindu people of those parts. More important was the domination of India by the Kushans during the opening centuries of the Christian era. The most famous Kushan king of India, Kaniṣka, who became a Buddhist and had his capital at Puṣpapura or Peshawar extended his empire up to Benares on the east and Sind in the south. Some Scythians accepted Hinduism and others Buddhism and mingled their blood more freely with Indians. The Rajputs are by some authorities regarded as Scythians in origin. During the Maurya and Kushan periods, trade-relations were maintained by India with Greece and Egypt through Asia Minor, and Buddhist missionaries from India used to visit China and Tibet and pilgrims from those countries would come to visit India. Drāvidian India, too, was brought into closer contact with Northern India.

In the *Manusaṁhitā* (X., 43, 44) which took its present shape during this period, we are told that the Greeks (*Yavana* Scythians (*S'aka*), Persians (*Pārada*), Chinese (*Chīna*), and Cambodians (*Kāmboja*), like the Dravidians (*Drāviṛa*), Oṛiyās (*Oḍra*), etc, were Kṣattriyas in origin, but became *S'ūdras* for neglect of the sacraments and duties proper for Kṣattriyas.

The Buddhist *Jātākas* reveal that the elasticity in the matter of occupation, commensality and intermarriage between the different classes continued as before. In the Mṛcchakaṭika we find the Brahmin hero of the drama engaged in the occupation of a Vaiśya.

In the *Dharma-S'āstras*, or Law-books, as Prof. Hopkins points out,—"The people are divided into general orders representing the military, priestly and agricultural or mercantile

classes, still mingling freely with each other, intermarrying, but with due regard for the respect paid to the higher orders, and utterly devoid of the 'caste' rules later adopted in respect of food and marriage".[1]

Historic interest in the *Purāṇas* centres in Magadha (Modern South Bihār) which eventually established an empire comprising almost the whole of India. The Śiśunāga and Nanda dynasties of Magadha might, as Prof. Rapson thinks, "have been descendants of mountain-chieftains who had won the kingdom of Magadha by conquest".[2] Although this supposition may perhaps be doubted, we have it on the authority of the *Purāṇas* that the last of the Śiśunāga kings, though expressly called Kṣattriya, married a Śūdra woman; and their issue Mahāpadma Nanda and eight sons formed a Śūdra dynasty. The Maurya emperors who followed were also of Śūdra extraction. As Dr. F. W. Thomas writes, "Henceforth the spectacle of the low-born man in power was never a rarity; and soon it was the foreigner".[3] At this time, however, caste was in the making.

At the time of the Code of Manu the intermixture of the classes and the incorporation of certain foreign groups had already produced a considerable number of intermediate and mixed classes which approximated to the modern division of the population into castes. But the ideal of the four *Varṇas* comprising all humanity was the accepted social creed. It was Manu (circa 400 A. D.) who for the first time carefully defined the respective features and duties of the four original *Varṇas* or classes divinely ordained or, in other words, the four primary psychological types of men.

Manu says,

"janmanā jāyate śūdraḥ saṁskārāddvija ucyate,
śūdreṇa hi samastāvad yāvadvede na jāyate."

"Every man is born a Śūdra. Through *saṁskāra* (*lit.*, purification) he becomes a *Dvija* or twice-born. Until birth in the *Veda* (*lit.*, knowledge) everyone remains a Śūdra."

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1. *Ibid.*, p. 294. 2. *Ibid.* p. 314. 3. *Ibid.* p. 480.

As regards the duties of the four *varṇas*, Manu says,

"brāhmaṇasya tapo jñānaṁ tapaḥ kṣattrasya rakṣaṇam
vaiśyasya tu tapo vārtā tapaḥ śūdrasya sevanam."

"The *tapas* of the Brāhmaṇa is (acquisition of) knowledge; the *tapas* of the Kṣattriya is protection (of the weak); the *tapas* of the Vaiśya is the pursuit of trade and agriculture; the *tapas* of the Śūdra is service (of others)."

In some verses (e. g. IX. 335; X. 42) Manu declares that through the influence of *tapas* (persevering and austere endeavour) on the "seed" (innate nature of an individual) persons born into one caste may rise to a higher caste, and on the other hand, by selfishness and self-indulgence a man of a higher caste may degenerate into a lower caste; and that through purity in outer as well as inner life, company and service of higher castes, freedom from pride, and gentleness of speech, a Śūdra may attain to the rank of the twice-born caste with whom he lives and moves.

"tapobījaprabhāvaistu te gacchanti yuge yuge.
utkarṣaṁ cāpkarṣaṁ ca manuṣyeṣviha janmataḥ (X. 42)
śucirutkṛṣṭaśuśrūṣurmṛduvāganahaṅkṛtaḥ.
brāhmaṇādyāśrayo nityamutkṛṣṭāṁ jātimaśnute".
(IX. 335)

In the last verse we find the word *'jāti'* actually employed for *Varṇa*. A careful perusal of the *Manusaṁhitā* will convince the unprejudiced reader that its author took full account of existing conditions of race-mixtures which had been going on from the beginning of the Aryan colonisation of India.

The ancient Hindu sages, in the organization of society on an ideal basis for the furtherance of spiritual progress, took a practical view of the realities of the situation. They accepted all forms of marriage in vogue among the different communities in India as valid and arranged them in a graduated scale of merit; they recognized the food-taboos and touch-taboos of the lower culture as they found they were too deep-rooted to eradicate, and so they sought to give them a new

orientation by substituting the idea of purity and cleanliness for the notion of *mana*; they recognized the existence of the Non-Aryan's taboos, based on the fear of witchcraft and magic, of strangers, and particularly of women with regard to entry to their sacred places, and gave such taboos a new orientation by tabooing temple entry by a person with an unclean body or with habitually uncleanly habits; they recognized all forms of social groups then in existence and gave to each its proper place in the four-fold division of society graded on the basis of spiritual growth; they recognised all forms of religious worship as striving after the same goal, and only sought to improve or elevate the crude notions of the earlier inhabitants by giving them a higher spiritual orientation.

The rules laid down in the *Manusaṁhitā* to regulate mixed marriages between different castes show that, though not approved and not as frequent as before, such unions were still practised and recognised as legal marriage.

As for interdining there does not appear to have been any restrictions as between the three twice-born classes or castes in those days. In the Brahmacaryāśrama period of the Manu's scheme of life for the twice-born, students of all the three castes lived together, begged together and ate together. As for the three twice-born castes eating at the hands of the once-born *S'ūdra*, Manu in verse 253 of Chapter IV lays down the rule that "One's own ploughman, an old friend of the family, one's own cowherd, one's own servant, one's own barber, and whosoever else may come for refuge and offer service, —at the hands of such *S'ūdras* cooked food may be taken (by a twice-born person)".

"ārdhikaḥ kulamitraṁ ca gopālo dāsanāpitau.
ete śūdreṣu bhojyānnā yaścātmānaṁ nivedayet".

And in verses 224 and 225 of Chapter IV, Manu lays down as an injunction from God Himself that the gift of cooked food from a *S'ūdra* who has a pure and generous heart is itself pure and acceptable to a Brahmin versed in the Vedas, but not the gift of food even from a Brahmin, who though

versed in the Vedas is small of heart as his niggardly spirit makes the food impure.

> "śrotriyasya kadaryasya vadānyasya ca vārdhuṣeḥ.
> mīmāṁsitvobhayaṁ devāḥ samamannamakalpayan.
> tān prajāpatirāhetya mā kṛdhvaṁ viṣamaṁ samam.
> śraddhāpūtaṁ vadānyasya hatamaśraddhayetarat".

As regards the goal of a Brahmin's life, Manu again says:—

> "tapo vidyā ca viprasya niḥśreyasakaraṁ param.
> tapasā kilbiṣaṁ hanti vidyayā'mṛtamaśnute.
> tapomūlamidaṁ sarvaṁ daivamānuṣakaṁ sukham,
> tapomadhyaṁ budhaiḥ proktaṁ tapo'ntaṁ vedadarśibhiḥ".

"Self denial and knowledge are the only means to the goal (of life), for the Brāhmaṇa. Through self-denial he destroys the impurities of his (mind and body) which obstruct the higher vision. Through wisdom and knowledge he attains the immortal Brahma".

Here we see that the original Hindu idea of 'purity' and 'impurity' connected with food, drink and touch related essentially to purity of the soul; what was desirable was purity of heart, mental good-will. Physical cleanliness helped inner purity and was therefore enjoined upon. What was to be eschewed was all impurity of soul, uncleanliness and other impure associations. Outward cleanliness was regarded as conducive to a clean heart and was accordingly commended. Purity in body and soul was held in such high estimation that everything pure was regarded as of good omen and anything impure as of bad omen. Whatever was pure possessed the quality of *sattva*, and whatever was impure possessed the quality of *tamas*. Thus it follows that the idea of the *guṇas* is based on the idea of purity. And the ultimate basis of the Hindu class-hierarchy and subsequently of caste-hierarchy-both founded on the *guṇas*, is therefore purity of the soul. This is the distinguishing mark of the Hindu class-system as compared with that of the class-system of other countries of the world.

Thus the ideal of the Varṇa-system, based on the *guṇas* or spiritual tendencies, is, a graduated scheme or discipline for the perfection of human nature by the evolution of the highest aspect of man connoted by *Sattvaguṇa*. The four Varṇas of Manu corresponding to the intellectual, kingly, or administrative and military, commercial and industrial classes, and unskilled labourers are all conceived of as forming one organic whole, branches of one and the same tree of humanity. Separatist tendencies are the antithesis of such a conception. Hindu sociologists divided mankind into four psychological types in preference to the racial types of modern ethnology. In Manu's time and indeed until Muhammadan domination in India, the Varṇas or classes do not appear to have degenerated into absolutely rigid and closed groups of castes. To discard Manu's view "as an artificial systematisation composed centuries after the origin which it professes to explain" does not appear to me to be just. It is, no doubt, true, the class divisions and rules laid down by him are based on an ideal scheme, and that the ideal has not been fully realised.

But ideals have always been the real dynamic factors in human culture. The germ of a new idea floats for sometime in a nebulous state in the social atmosphere before some great mind grasps it, and gives it a form and a name and proclaims it. And the idea moulds the age.

The idea of a four-fold division of mankind, according to their respective innate spiritual tendencies, must have originated by a similar process. And it has, as we know, to a large extent moulded Hindu society. The history of *Varṇa* and of caste is the interaction between the conflicting social ideals of the Aryan and the pre-Aryan communities, the real social history of India.

Manu's laws relating to Varṇas and Varṇāśrama have always been regarded by Hindu society in the past and by orthodox Hindu society uptil now as the last word on the subject. And as Dr. Hutton himself says, "No legislator could ever enforce a Caste system for which

usage, belief and custom were not already prepared to th extent of having already developed all the necessary ingre dients".[1]

The *Manusamhitā* appears to comprise an exhaustiv set of Varṇa ordinances and principles based on the senti ments, ideas and usages prevalent at the time and presum ably recognized and approved by the general conscience o the fellow-countrymen of the author of the Code. The suprem authority of Manu's Law Code or *Dharma-S'āstra* as it i called, has always been acknowledged throughout India. An this could not have happened unless it was broad-based o the common conscience of the people.

True, as a result of various historical causes, and rea tions of racial and cultural contacts, caste-customs as depicte in Manu's Code have altered and degenerated in vario details, but the root-principle is still recognized by mo Hindus, though no longer followed in practice by many.

That principle, as I have said, is that all human being fall into one or other of the four main psychological types c *Varṇas* distinguished by the proportion of the three *guṇ* or spiritual tendencies that enter into the spiritual constit tion of each human individual; that ordinarily by virtue heredity and social environment, discipline and sacramen these spiritual tendencies become family tendencies, and son becomes, or at any rate for social expediency has to b recognised, as of the same *Varṇa* as his father; but in excep tional cases, even in his present life, a person may by me acquire a higher caste than his fathers, and in some cases person or a family may also by demerit lose their caste descend to a lower caste. What differentiates the *guṇas* essentially the degree of purity of the mind and soul whic each *guṇa* indicates. Further, in order to maintain purity soul, it is essential to have a pure body, to the formation which pure descent, pure food and pure associations a invaluable aids.

1. *Census Report of India*, 1931, Part I, p. 438 foot-note.

The Saṁskrit word Saṁskāra means purification. Tl different sacraments called 'Saṁskāras' which a Hindu h to undergo at different stages of his life are in essence rites purification or, sacralisation, or if one may say so, 'spiritualiz tion', designed to help, as the English poet Milton would sa "to turn the body to the soul's essence", or to use anoth poetical expression, "to raise the spirit from the clay" t stages. Communities of foreigners and others, who do n observe the sacraments, though they belong, by the temperament or innate tendencies, to one or other of tl four *Varṇas* or psychological types of 'Brāhmaṇa,', 'Kṣattriy Vaiśya, and 'Śūdra,' must according to main, remain outsic the pale of castes and have to be called '*Mlecchas*'.

Although Manu lays down elaborate rules as to how maintain purity of body and mind, the general rule as lai down by him is this:—

> "*adbhirgātrāṇi śuddhyanti manaḥ satyena śuddhyati.*
> *vidyātapobhyāṁ bhūtātmā buddhirjñānena śuddhyati.*

"The body is purified by water, the mind by truth, the so by knowledge and austerity, the reason by wisdom". As the rules regarding purity of food and drink the restriction he lays down, are mostly based on hygienic principles and few on sentimental considerations or supposed properties certain articles of food or drink that are believed to be hel ful or obstructive to the nourishment of certain *guṇas.*

The hierarchical gradation of castes, the rules regardin intermarriage and interdining, and the idea of pollution t touch, which are now the most prominent features of caste a primarily based on this principle of *śaucam* or purity. Tl consideration of occupation in grading castes has also for i ultimate basis this principle of purity. For, different occup tions have different associations and their respective influenc on the purity of the body and of the mind is believed to var correspondingly.

The Caste Code of Manu is not, as I have attempted show, a mere artificial schematization having no foundation i facts, nor is the Ṛgvedic idea of a four-fold divisio

of humanity a mere figment of the brain of a speculative Brahmin, as Risley fancied. The classification of the population into three, four or more classes according to occupation is based on human psychology and has been known to exist in different lands in ancient and modern times, and it is not surprising that the Vedic Indians should have recognised similar classes. And Risley's suggestion that it "bears no relation to the actual facts of life" and may be "nothing more than a borrowed and modified version of the division of society into four classes...priests, warriors, cultivators and artisans...which appears in the sacerdotal literature of ancient Persia", hardly merits any comment. More correct is the statement of Dr. Eggeling who says that the social grades of the royal or military and the priestly classes and below them the *viś* or bulk of the Aryan community, appear" to have been in existence even before the separation of the two Asiatic branches of the Indo-Germanic race, the Aryans of India and Iran". He adds, "At the time of the hymns, and even during the common Indo-Persian period the sacrificial ceremony had already become sufficiently complicated to call for the creation of a certain number of distinct priestly offices with special duties attached to them". While this shows clearly that the position and occupation of the priest were those of a profession, the fact that the terms *brāhmaṇa* and *brahmaputra* both denoting the son of a Brahmin "are used in certain hymns as synonyms of *Brahman*, seems to justify the assumption that the profession had already, to a certain degree, become hereditary when these hymns were composed".

The *Ṛgvedic* period of India was a period of guerilla hostilities between the new-comers and the older inhabitants. The Vedic ideal of one organic human society with the intellectual section guiding the other sections, and all functioning in general harmony was not affected by the separatist ideal of the congeries of Non-Aryan communities who had then their stronghold in the valleys of the Jumna and the Ganges and did not yet enter into social relations with the Aryans.

The Vedic period was a period of clash of arms and not clash of ideals and cultures. It was when the new-comers with

the multiplication of their number moved on further east and settled down on the valleys of the Madhyadeśa or the Mid-land country and established more friendly relations with the former inhabitants of the land and entered into social and, in many cases, connubial relations with them that a clash of ideals began. Again, later, there was a similar clash of ideals and cultures when some sections of the Aryans migrated across the Vindhyas to the south, and greater intermixture of races began. This is why it is in these two areas that the present caste-system which is the outcome of this interaction between two dissimilar cultures has its stronghold. Interaction between these different ideals and intermixture of different racial groups produced a modification of the Aryan ideal of purity which distinguishes the class-divisions of India from those of other countries. The original ideal of purity, primarily of the soul and mind, and secondarily, of the body as an aid to inner purity,–which determined the social precedence of the four *Varṇas*–came to be alloyed and perverted in some respects through interaction with the Pre-Aryan idea of '*mana*' or a superphysical magnetism inherent in most men and other creatures and objects. In fact, as the racial history of India is the history of the different degrees of inter-mixture of the Pre-Aryan and Aryan populations, so too the social history of India is the history of the interaction between the pre-Aryan with Aryan social ideals, and particularly the pre-Aryan social ideal of separatism and social democracy with the Aryan social ideal of one universal humanity organized in a social hierarchy graded in the order of spiritual growth.

Restrictions as to inter-marriage and inter-dining are not special features of the Caste system as it ultimately took shape in India. These have been a common feature of the social class-divisions of other communities too.

Although the great development of ritualism even in Vedic times must have made the Indo-Aryans pay special attention to purity of the body as well as to purity of the mind, the existing over-emphasis on outer purity appears to have begun between the Gupta period of Indian history which

ommenced in the fourth century, and the beginning of the
Iuhammadan period in the 11th century, A. D. It was in
is period that the Śakas or Scythians, the Hūṇas and the
āhikas were all crushed and gradually became submerged in
ie Indian population. It was during those few centuries that
ie largest amount of absorption and assimilation of increasing
iasses of the aboriginal population into the Hindu fold also
ppears to have taken place. From the Allahabad Pillar we
arn that Emperor Ṣamudragupta took into his employment
iboriginal) chiefs of the forest countries.[1]

The clash of the two divergent social traditions and ideals
fected Aryan society almost as much as it affected the Non-
ryan communities who entered the Hindu fold. Each had
adapt itself to the new conditions of social life. In the
ase of the Aryan, the adjustment, for the general body of the
eople at any rate, resulted in some lowering of the old stand-
rds and ideals, whereas in the case of the Hinduised
borigines and semi-aborigines or the mixed stocks, whose
ocial life was opened to new impressions, it meant some gra-
ual improvement in their social institutions and customs,
ioral and religious ideals and their general behaviour and
iode of living. The process of unconscious reciprocal evalua-
on, that necessarily followed, gradually resulted in the general
omination of Aryan culture over the non-Aryan. Some of
ie more powerful families amongst the new entrants into the
lindu fold got themselves recognized as Kṣattriyas and most
the rest as Śūdras.

Under the foreign Muhammadan domination which soon
llowed, the social authority hitherto exercised by Hindu
ngs almost disappeared, and the spiritual influence of the
rahmins was, to some extent, impaired. The various tribal
id other elements that had entered the Hindu fold could not
e completely integrated. The tribal spirit of separatism once
iore began to raise its head. The *Devakas* of Western Indian
istes, the *Santakas* of Oṛiyā castes, the caste-marks of many
lindu sects are, like the totem badges of our aboriginal tribes,
xpressions of the consciousness of kind in relation to their
wn narrow circle of caste or sect.

1. Imp. Gaz. I. 64.

I shall now endeavour to show in this paper that in the conflict between the Indo-Aryan ideal of one universal human family with its four different branches, graded on the basis of comparative purity of soul, or, in other words, on the degree of the *sattvaguṇa* or sprituality irrespective of race or nationality and forming one organic whole, on the one hand, and the non-Aryan spirit of tribalism and separatism on the other, there appear to have emerged by way of compromise-formations arrived at, not artificially by a man or a body of men but by a natural process of adjustment,—three forms of social grouping, one within the other. These are:—first, the four-fold Varṇa division on the basis of the innate guṇas, tendencies of the soul, (indicated by the general nature of the function that any family or higher social unit is fitted to fulfil in the social organism), and grouped variously under the four Varṇa divisions; secondly, the three thousand or more castes formed on the basis, some of tribe or race or race-mixture and also of actual vocation or occupation, and some on the basis of special religious doctrines or social usages and a few by exclusion or outcasting; and, lastly, a number of sub-castes formed on the basis either of habitat or local distribution of different branches of the main castes, or of different specialized modes of following the same occupation, or by splits through feuds, and so forth. This revised scheme of social order which took due account of all the three main factors of social progress, viz, race or heredity, environment, and cultural ideal, but laid special stress on the ancient cultural ideal of purity, was found to be the most practical means of harmonising the different ideals of the heterogeneous component elements of the new Hindu society. But care was, in ancient times, taken to see that the Varṇa standards were maintained, with a view to the progressive advancement of every individual. It is therefore incorrect to say, that the Hindu law-givers merely described "in terms of an intrusive Indo-Aryan society a social system really based on the taboos of pre-existing conditions". It is still more unjust and incorrect to say that "the whole series of matrimonial taboos which constitute the corner-stone of the Caste system were initiated by the Brahmins for their own benefit". Whatever speculations the ancient Brahmin leaders of ancient Hindu

society might have prescribed either regarding occupation or marriage were prescribed with an eye to the social and economic welfare of societies in those days.

The compromise between the ideals, institutions and beliefs of the Indo-Aryans and Pre-Aryans to which I would ascribe the Caste system as it now exists, resulted in what has been called Neo-Hinduism. The older elasticity and adaptability of *Varṇa* system, already considerably impaired, now quite disappeared, particularly when Hindu rule was supplanted by foreign rule; and the Hindu theory of *Karma* with the theory of metempsychosis or transmigration of souls, independently evolved both by the Aryan and pre-Aryan, was invoked to justify this fixity of caste. The Hindu pantheon was modified by the substitution of the present Hindu trinity and their various manifestations for their older prototypes among the Vedic Nature-Deities, and by the assimilation of some pre-Aryan spirits and their transformation from malevolent into benevolent deities. The Non-Aryan notions of food-taboos and touch-taboos based on the idea of a super-physical virtue or '*mana*' reacted on and tainted the Aryan Hindu notion of taboo based on purity or impurity in the sense of a tendency to promote or retard the *sattva guṇa* or spiritual element in man.

Now and then, some later Hindu sovereign, such as king Ballāla Sena in Bengal, sought to reinforce the ideal of inner purity in caste by introducing a graded sub-division within the caste on the basis of purity of character and conduct. This system of *Kulīnism*, as it is called, worked well for a time in Bengal, but after the downfall of the Hindu dynasty it gradually languished and finally degenerated into a monstrous abnormality.

It is a strange irony of fate that the primitive notion of a harmful mystic energy or '*mana*' from which Hindu teachers sought to wean the aboriginal converts by inculcating and substituting in its place the idea of inner purity and external hygienic cleanliness, in course of time obsessed most descendants of those very teachers. The extravagant notions of

outward purity and pollution of the orthodox Brahmins of later times are in fact akin to the primitive man's superstitious notions of the touch-taboo and food-taboo. Intimate contact with Hindus weakened the food-taboos of the aboriginal converts, but, made their Hindu teachers more rigid in their observance of various taboos. Whereas the Hinduized aborigines, or the depressed classes as they are now styled, have modified their old commensal taboo to the extent of taking cooked food from those regarded as higher than themselves in the caste hierarchy, many Brahmins now taboo cooked food at the hands of even Brahmins of sub-castes other than their own.

The old Hindu ideal of purity of the soul as the basis of caste hegemony came by degrees to be overshadowed and generally ignored in actual practice by an extravagant over-emphasis on external *śaucam* or ceromonial purity. This, aided by increasing narrowness of outlook and haughty exclusiveness of a large section of latter-day orthodox Brahmins, which is repugnant to the original high ideal of Brahminhood, ultimately led to the degrading notion of untouchability in Northern India, and untouchability and unapproachability in Southern India and the barbarous practices connected with them which now form a hideous blot on Hindu society and an insurmountable obstacle to the realisation of the ancient Hindu ideal of the *Puruṣasūkta*.

There is, however, some hope still left. There still exists a silver lining to the cloudy prospect. The original Hindu ideal of purity of soul—of life dominated by *sattvaguṇa*-is not altogether lost. It is still believed to be kept up in the lives of a few-extremely few-holy men in India. Most educated Hindus are familiar with that ideal from ancient Indian literature and from *mantrams* which they have to recite, either in their daily prayers or on ceremonial occasions. As for the uneducated or half-educated Hindu masses, the folk legends, myths, songs, *kathās*, and the stories of ideal heroes narrated in the great Hindu epics, which they hear and learn, and digest the socio-religious and other folk-ceremonies such as the *Vratas* which Hindu females observe, the ablutions and other purifactory rites which Hindus are

quired to observe on ceremonial occasions, the observances of
utward purity which they see many of the twice-born castes
aily practise, and the several striking instances of purity of soul
id exemplary outward behaviour which they still witness
nong some Brahmins and the involuntary homage all
Hindus pay to holy men-these are the channels through which
ie ancient Aryan Hindu ideal of purity of soul has continually
owed into their minds and affected their whole cultural
onstitution and out-look. The instinct of inner purity has
tered down from pious Brahmin pandits to the lowest
rata of the Hindu and Hinduized population and has affect
l, to a little extent, even the aboriginal communities outside
ie pale of Hinduism. It has settled deep down in the coun-
y's soul and dominates the sub-conscious mind of all
ctions of the Hindu and Hinduized population. This is
hat has given the affable and mild Hindu his distinctive
iaracter among the nations of the world.

Here and there we sometimes see this sub-conscious
gard for outer and inner purity coming up prominently to
e surface and revealing itself in some striking manifestation
the shape of spontaneous purity-movements. Thus, even
nong the aboriginal and semi-aboriginal communities, we have
en, in recent times, the *Sāphā-hor* (or pure-man) movement
nong the Santals of the Santal Parganas, the Birsāite move-
ent in the Muṇḍā tribe and the Ṭānā-Bhagat movement
nong the Orāons of Chhota-Nagpur. It is this
stinctive reverence for inner purity that still impels the
ople of India to render spontaneous homage to any striking
anifestation of purity of soul. This is why the genuine
dhu or holy man, however low his original caste may be, is
noured and adored by prince and peasant throughout India.
iis is why Mahatma Gandhi, who belongs to the third or
iiśya class, commands a far higher reverence throughout
indu India than an average, good, and pious Brahmin. It
as the 'Saint of Sabarmati' a man of extraordinary purity of
ul that the masses of India, many of whom, outside his own
ovince, know little of his politics and perhaps care less, pay
eir heart's homage to him.

This instinctive reverence for the pure in soul is the silver thread of unity that still unites the people of India in the recognition of the spiritual motive of life. This persistence of the spirit of ancient Hindu culture gives us hope that India will once more rise through spiritual consciousness to a common human consciousness; and Hindu's consciousness of the kind will not be confined to caste, community or race or religion but will comprise the whole of mankind, and the social order of humanity will be regulated by moral and spiritual values as the *Ṛṣi* composer of the *Puruṣasūkta* had visualized it.

[I]ILARITY OF THE CAVE-MEN'S ART IN INDIA AND AMERICA.

BY L. P. PANDEYA SHARMA.
(Raigarh, Chhattisgarh.)

'hose who have had occasions to visit the rock-shelters ramkhol,[1] famous for its ancient inscriptions in *Pre-il scripts*, Ulāpgarh[2] (Oṡā-Koṭhi), Singhanpur and Nawā-iills-all lying within the Mahā-Koṡala country (modern tisgarh Division, C. P.), must have noticed on the of the natural cavern or cave-rocks there, marks of s and hands, which, no doubt stand for some auspicious ıl like "*Svastikas*".

n some parts of Mahā-Koṡala (modern Chhattisgarh) ally in the eastern portions bordering on Orissa, there kists a religious custom of bedecking a newly built house ıple with hand-marks, showing the five fingers, which ; local dialect is called, "*Hāthā-dênā*" · lit: to give or ınd-marks.

)n the 15th day of Ṡrāvaṇa the agriculturists and ; people celebrate a Pūjā (worship) called हरियाली or हरेली. ıain item of the Pūjā consists in collecting, at home, all ricultural implements such as plough, yoke, etc. after ; them well-washed in a tank or a river and of applying -marks to each. Sweets are distributed to farm-labourers iends and collective worship of the village deity is med by the village priest.

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[1] ramkhol and Ulāpgarh Hills are close to the Belpahar Ry. Station the B. N. Ry line between *Jharsuguda* junction and the Raigarh . Station.

[2] ıghanpur and Nawāgarh are well known places in the Raigarh udatory State. In all these places, there are rock-paintings and re-drawings of pre-historic age.

All such hand-marks are put by the mistress of the house after she has performed her ablution and offered her prayers to the family deity. In case of buildings and temples, the hand-marks are applied on the opening day of the newly built structures. A mother or the elderly lady in the family generally does this sacred work on the 3rd day of the white-half of the Hindu-month "Vaiśākha" when in Chhattisgarh, the earthern jars are first used for water-pots for the summer season.

Hand-marks, are put on them after they have been carefully washed and filled up with river or well-water. A reference to such a custom in the 8th century A.D. is met with in the Sanskrit drama of the famous bard Bhavabhūti called the "*Mālatī-Mādhava*". The śloka mentioning hand-marks on earthen pots is as follows:—

जलनिबिडितवस्त्रव्यक्तनिम्नोन्नताभिः
परिगततटभूमिः स्नानमात्रोत्थिताभिः ।
रुचिरकनककुम्भश्रीमदाभोगतुङ्ग-
स्तनविनिहितहस्तस्वस्तिकाभिर्वधूभिः ॥

The females prepare a paste of rice put into water the previous night. This wet rice they take out from the water-pot, and grind it with a flat stone and pestle to make it a thick white-looking paste. The right-hand palm with open fingers is dipped into this paste and is pressed against the walls having red-earth or cowdung paint.

Marks of hands with fingers are put on walls of houses and worshipped in the name of goddess "*Maṅgalā*" Devī and is expressive of the symbol of the goddess of propitiousness and happiness. This hand-mark may be a symbol meaning the protecting and ever-helping hand of the Great Mother. I have seen myself such hand-marks both at Ulāpgarh (Osā-Koṭhi) and Vikramkhol along with pre-historic drawings and inscriptions of great antiquity. At Vikramkhol[1] such a hand-mark is quite distinct just above the long inscriptions in an un-known script on the wall of a rock-shelter. This

1. For plates showing the rock and inscriptions, a reference may be made to [illegible] Antiquary, Vol. LXII (1933), pl. 6 and 7.

inscription is said to be about 3500-4000 years old. The hand-mark on the rock-wall at Osā-Kothi is very smooth. It is on a plastered surface of the rock-shelter wall high up on the top of a hill, hundreds of feet above the plain. Cave walls at Singhanpur and Nawāgarh (Raigarh State, C. P.) also contain such hand-marks. All these are the marks of the right-hand palm with open fingers.

It is no small wonder to find similar hand and finger marks on rocks forming cliff-walls in Arizona U. S. A. To quote Mr. Albert Coles from his interesting paper "Exploring America's Yesterdays" published in the "Evangelical Tidings"- a weekly paper (St. Louis, Mo.) May 7, 1933 (Vol. XIX No. 19):—

" The adventurers of to-day are scientists who are exploring America's yesterdays. They are trekking through jungles, skimming alligator-infested streams, plowing through sands, delving in old caves, tramping across frozen wastes, risking their lives in caves and tumbling ruins; all to discover the story of the continent's past. America is a young country as far as our history books reveal.

" Columbus and possibly some hardy Vikings visited its shores and have been accorded the fame of discovering a great continent. Yet, long before any one in Europe had dreamed of there being a great land region far over the horizon-long before Queen Isabella was persuaded to pledge her jewels to outfit the ships that were to brave the unknown seas-America was inhabited.

" Slowly the scientists-explorers of to-day are deciphering the records of a people who are Americans of an earlier day; who lived in the midst of fine cities; who were civilised; who cultivated arts; who were as great in power and wealth as any of the ancient nations of Assyria, Egypt, Carthage and perhaps Greece."

On the rocks the explorers found pictures of deer, bulls, goats and the strange hieroglyphics, and signs that resembled the *Svastikas*, with letters which seemed to be like Greek Symbols.

Scientists are studying over the inscriptions. No true key has been found as yet to the writing of these ancient inhabitants of America.

Now to turn to the hand-marks found on rock-walls in America. Continues Mr. Albert Coles:—" In our great South-west region, there lived at *Mesa Verde* an ancient race. They built their homes high upon what are now deep canyon walls. There explorers have walked through their ruined houses which might well be called America's first apartments. Hundreds, yes, thousands of families lived there even as the city apartment of *New York* and *Chicago* are filled with people.

" In one room of a cliff-dwelling the smooth covering of a much plastered wall has fallen away. There in the coating beneath are the marks of fingers and hands as plain as though some one had carelessly pressed against the soft plaster of a new home before it was wholly hard. These marks of human hands tell a story of individuals who lived hundreds of years ago-young people, laughter, good times. Possibly the father of the family had just plastered the walls and his wife and children had come in to see how it looked and placed their hands on the fresh covering, saying in their own language: Is it dry yet, Dad ? "

Then, were the cliff-dwellers of North-America and the cave-men or rock-shelter inhabitants of Mahā-Kośala (Chhattisgarh. C. P.) of the same race ? Was there similarity of culture between the ancient peoples of these two distant lands ? None can say, but the existence of some hand-marks in both these countries, gives one furiously to think.

SOUTH INDIA IN THE RĀMĀYAṆA.

By V. R. R. Dikshitar, M. A.,

(*Madras*).

The history of South India in the light of the data furnished by the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki is really a description or rather a historical account of a number of tribes which had been well established in this part of the country, and of a series of attempts on the part of the northern Indian kings to conquer them and introduce their own civilisation among them. In a paper like this, as it is not possible to examine by a comparative study the different versions of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, which seem to have been more or less indebted to the original Vālmīki version, though in a different historical setting, we have confined ourselves to the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki whose antiquity cannot be easily disputed. Even here we have to use the material furnished by the epic poet with caution. A versatile poet as he is, he has introduced into the story legends and myths which mar the historical narrative, and which make it difficult for the critic to separate facts from fiction and history from legend. For example, Vālmīki speaks of Rāvaṇa with ten heads, and dubs the Vānaras with all the attributes of monkeys so much so that one gets bewildered to know whether after all Vālmīki is dealing with human beings or with creatures of his own fancy. Luckily for us, the poet indulges equally in realistic pictures as he does in idealistic, and the following pages are devoted to a study from the realistic side, ignoring for the moment, the idealistic tendencies which are deeply imprinted in the pages of the epic. Even here the study has been restricted to an examination of the tribes who made South India their home in that period and the state of their civilisation and culture. We have refrained from giving the account of Rāma's invasion, his wars with these tribes and

his conquests. On this topic much has been written, and it is no good to repeat it once again. But it is to be admitted that no serious approach has been made in the direction of critically examining the evidences, so far as they enable us to know something about the tribes that inhabited South India in respect of their origin and culture.

The *Rāmāyaṇa* envisages then a period when North India went by the name of Āryāvarta and South India by the name of Draviḍa. Hence the people of Āryāvarta were Aryans and of Draviḍa, Dravidians. Whether these were invaders from alien countries or were autochthons are still unsolved problems among scholars, but we are not concerned with that question at present. It is worthy of note, however, that the term Draviḍa does not occur specifically in the *Rāmāyaṇa* as signifying either a race or even a territory. Dakṣiṇadeśa and Dākṣiṇātya are the terms in frequent use. We have to presume, therefore, that the tribes mentioned as occupying the southern regions are almost aboriginal, and hence primitive Dravidians. It is remarkable that these semi-civilised peoples carved out kingdoms of their own and had their own culture and polity. Among these tribes figure prominently the Rākṣasās, and Vānaras. The less powerful are the Śabaras, Madhūkas, Yakṣas and the Nāgas. No doubt the names of kingdoms like those of the Andhras, Puṇḍras, Colas and Pāṇḍyas and the Keralas are found but no details are furnished about them except about the Pāṇḍyan Capital. From this the late Mr. Srinivasa Ayyangar opined, that these passages were later additions in the text and that these Tamil kingdoms were founded only in the post-Rāmāyaṇa epoch (see *History of the Tamils*, p. 52). A sober view, however, is to take that these kingdoms existed but the poet who is dealing with a particular route that led to Laṅkā had no occasion to refer to these kingdoms in detail. To cite an instance, though Vidarbha and the Haihayas of Māhiṣmatī are not alluded to in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, contemporary evidence points to their existence, and we cannot say on the authority of Vālmīki that no such kingdoms existed. If one would believe the testimony of the [illegible] of Kālidāsa, a certain Pāṇḍyan king gave away

presents pearls to Raghu, the famous ancestor of Rāma (IV. 50) and that Rāvaṇa was a contemporary of that Pāṇḍyan who secured Brahmaśiras-astra from Śiva. (VI. 68). Then there is every reason to believe that the Pāṇḍyan kingdom of the pre-historic days was more ancient than the age of Raghu in whose illustrious line Rāma was born. Hence one may conclude that the Tamil kingdoms had a far greater antiquity than we are apt to imagine, and were in frequent intercourse with the distant Ayodhyā as the nearby Ceylon. (See *The Tamilian Antiquary*, M. Raghava Aiyangar's article, Vālmīki and Tennāḍu). It is but appropriate that these kingdoms were a development on the indigenous tribes and the formation of such kingdoms marked the evolution from the tribal stage to the settled life. The physical features of the land did not permit these settlers to consolidate themselves for forming large states. Hence the states were small and self-dependent groups. Having been founded on ancient river-beds with ever-flowing waters and protected by the sea on the one hand, and mountains and thick forests on the other, these tribes continued to flourish. As civilisation promotes culture, the ancient Tamil states developed a distinct culture and one may not be wrong in one's conclusions that early Sanskrit writings betray their indebtedness in some respects to this civilisation and culture, especially in the sphere of religion and philosophy, in the same way as the ancient Tamils owed their finer elements of social life to their northern brethren.

Coming to an examination of the Rākṣasa tribe it is not possible to say at the present state of our knowledge that they were the earliest inhabitants of Southern India and Ceylon. The blending of the cultures of South India and North India has been so close and so complete that it defies all earnest students to find out the real truth before their admixture. The researches of the late Kanakasabhai have led him to conclude that the earliest tribes of South India were the Villavar (bowmen) and Mīnavar (fishermen), [*Tamils 1800 years ago*, 39]. This can be accepted for the reason that the semi-barbarous peoples of the ancient world lived either close to the sea or on the hills thick with forests. In order to eke out his

livelihood, the man of the hill and the jungle must have been a professional bowman to vanquish wild life and hunt beasts and birds of prey. In the same way men inhabiting the sea-shore lived by fishing; while the latter developed a civilised life, by contact with other peoples, the hill-men and the foresters, cut off by nature barriers continued to be the same old uncivilised men unaffected by the rolling of ages. If this theory were accepted, the Rākṣasas are to be taken as a tribe who emerged from the barbarous state to a semi-civilised condition.

Many a legend has grown as to the origin of the Rākṣasas, and the one furnished by the *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Araṇ.* ch. 48) and repeated with approval by the *Purāṇas* and allied literature in Sanskrit is that Rāvaṇa was the son of Pulastya and brother of Vaiśravaṇa, the direct descendant of Brahmā, the Creator. This is certainly what we may say to be an Aryan origin for the Rākṣasa tribe. From the South Indian standpoint the Rākṣasas were to be taken as the descendants of the aboriginal bowmen and fishermen, and they carved out a kingdom when they began to increase in numerical strength and settled down in peaceful avocations. They were perhaps the ancestors of the modern Andamaners and Australian aborigines. In no way they are to be confounded with the Asuras, the cousins of the Devas, both of whom are superhuman beings and hedged with divinity. Though the Rākṣasas are credited with superhuman powers they are not superhuman beings like the Asuras but ordinary human beings still in the infancy of civilisation. In this stage of culture this tribe seems to have flourished for thousands of years when the contact with Āryāvarta became more frequent. This led to the slow but sure penetration of the northern ideas into the southern regions. One of the results of such contact was the adoption of Brahmanism by the Rākṣasas, and this is how we have to explain the existence of Brahmarākṣasas or Rākṣasas who are Brahmins. The Sanskrit books make us understand that the Brahmins fallen from their *svadharma* and consequently banished from the Āryāvarta sought refuge and shelter in the southern regions and became commingled with the Rākṣasa inhabitants of the south. Whatever may be the case,

the truth is that a sort of caste system came to stay in the Rākṣasa dominion. It can be also said without fear of contradiction that after the advent of the Brahmarākṣasas, Sanskrit came to be learnt to perform the Vedic rituals and ceremonials. Atharvan rites were chiefly practised by them who indulged in magic and witchcraft, even in arts of war. It is said that Rāvaṇa was well versed in the Vedic literature and respected international law, that an ambassador should not be killed as was pointed out by Vibhīṣaṇa in the case of Hanumān. Notwithstanding the fusion of tribes and their cultures, still we get a glimpse of the peculiar life led by these Rākṣasas. They began as enemies of the people of Āryāvarta. While there had been for some time a tendency on the part of the Āryāvartin to penetrate into the dense jungles and bring them under his sway, the Rākṣasas, whose original home was Ceylon wanted to carry their arms and extend their sphere of influence and political domination as far as possible on the Indian continent. Rāvaṇa, the most powerful of the line, that ruled over them, swayed by imperial ideas, challenged Indra, Kubera, Śiva, and all Vedic deities and established a Rākṣasa colony at Janasthāna. But his progress was arrested by the march of Rāma, Crown prince designate of Ayodhyā. Vāli the the king of Vānaras was more than a match for Rāvaṇa who did not therefore disturb his kingdom or that of the Tamils further south. Single-handed Rāma vanquished the Rākṣasa host at Janasthāna, thereby showing the inferiority of the military prowess of the Rākṣasas as against the superior abilities of the tribe to which Rāma belonged. They indulged in Kūṭayuddha, unrighteous warfare involving the use of fire, poison and magic. They were at best excellent archers, but they could not stand against the disciplined fourfold forces of the imperial power at Ayodhyā. They lived in strongholds and had well built houses with their *Caityas* (temples) protected by the tutelary goddess Laṅkā. They had a capital rolling in riches and with excellent parks. The king was assisted by a council in his domestic and foreign policies. There was a trained army. The Queen took part in the deliberations of the State council. We see, for instance, Maṇḍodarī advising Rāvaṇa on the eve of the battle, not to risk his life. In their

social life we are led to think that marriage by capture was the usual form and gave rise to the later Rākṣasa form of marriage, one of the six accepted modes in the law-codes. A relic of this system is seen in the theme of *Makaṭ pār kāñji* explained in the earliest known treatise, the *Tolkāppiyam.* (see Mr. Srinivasa Ayyangar, *Tamil Studies,* p. 55). Their disposal of the dead was usually burial, and not cremation. That it is their custom is seen from the *Rāmāyaṇa,* (III. 4. 20), though we are told that Kabandha, the Rākṣasa, was cremated. Rāma destroyed many of them and enthroned Vibhīṣaṇa as king of Laṅkā. It is also argued that the law of primogeniture was not applicable in the matter of succession as Rāvaṇa became king through his mother's line. (See *Tamilian Antiquary* No. 1. pp. 61-64). But in the course of time they seem to have been deteriorated, and if we are to believe the evidence of the Ceylonese Buddhist books like the *Mahāvaṁśa,* another tribe Yakṣas succeeded to the Rākṣasa kingdom, a part of which came into the possession of another tribe, the Nāgas. This had happened roughly by the time of the great war of the *Mahābhārata.*

The Yakṣas were a contemporary tribe of the Rākṣasas but were insignificant from the point of view of the number and influence. There is a tradition that before the advent of the Rākṣasas, the Yakṣas were in possession of Ceylon and it was Sumāli, the General of Bali, who dispossessed them and founded the Rākṣasa kingdom. Later Sanskrit books claim semi-divinity to these tribes now extinct. This tribe is apparently an off-shoot of the Rākṣasa tribe living side by side with them in the same region and helping them in their political endeavours. With the decline and fall of the Rākṣasa kingdom, the Yakṣas built up a kingdom of their own which, according to the *Mahāvāṁśa,* existed as late as the fifth century B. C. when Vijaya is said to have landed in Ceylon and conquered it.

The Nāgas, another tribe, semi-divine in character, with their totem as serpent, spread throughout India, from Takṣaśila in the north-west to Assam in the north-east and to Ceylon and South India in the south. At one time they must have been powerful. Contemporaneous with the Yakṣas or perhaps subsequent to their fall as a political entity the Nāgas rose to

prominence in South India. Not only parts of Ceylon b
ancient Malabar were the territories occupied by the ancie
Nāgas. It is said that the fact of Hanumān crossing the s
was witnessed by the Nāgas and Yakṣas (*Sundar.* 1. 9(
Bhogavatī was their capital city (*Kiṣ.* 41. 37). According
the *Mahābhārata* this tribe had settled down in this part
the country as it is said that Arjuna in his *tīrthayātrā* fell
love with a Nāga-kanyā and married her. In the Tan
classics of the early centuries after Christ, we hear freque
references to Nāganāḍu though the Yakṣas had disappear
as a tribe. Remnants of Nāga worship are still lingering
Malabar, and the temple in Nagercoil in South Travancore
dedicated to Nāga worship even today. All that can be sa
about them is that they were a seafaring tribe. Their wome
folk were renowned for their beauty. Apparently the Nāg
have become merged with the Ceras who rose to power a
prominence at the commencement of the Christian era.

The next tribe that claims our attention is the trit
community of the Vānaras. As has been already remark
Vālmīki furnishes them with all the attributes of real monkey
so much so one is led to think that it is better to dismiss the
as mere animals than consider them human beings. But th
could not be in the face of a host of data given side by side
prove that they are as good a tribe as any tribe can claim
be. Their kingdom was in the region adjoining the fore
country of Daṇḍaka, with its capital Kiṣkindhya. If we a
to believe the tradition in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Raghu the prehisto
king of Ayodhyā was fired by imperial lust and went on l
digvijaya and brought the whole of India under his umbrel
His son Daṇḍaka, who was either a political adventurer
impelled by the economic value of forests to an Imperial St
like that of his, directed his arms to the Dakhan, and broug
the whole forest region under his control so much so th
after killing Vāli, Rāma bursts out in a śloka that all the la
in the south including the forests and mountains belonged
right (see above) to the imperial power at the capital, imp
ing thereby that the forest tribes like that of the Vānaras we
tributaries of the Ayodhyā king, though enjoying compl
independence in internal organisation. If we judge things
the results, these tribal communities of the early Draviḍa h
neither the political cohesion nor the social solidarity whi
make for a continuous existence of states, small or large. Bu

in Ceylon and Kiṣkindhya, the discontented brothers of the reigning sovereigns with their choice followers voluntarily joined the invader and helped him in carrying out his plan, and in the accomplishment of his object because it indirectly paid them. The lack of political insight was responsible for the decay of the two kingdoms, but it must be said to the credit of Rāma that he was actuated by the best of motives when he installed his allies, members of the ruling family, on the respective thrones of Ceylon and Kiṣkindhya. As Daṇḍaka was the first to claim the forest region by conquest, it became famous as Daṇḍakāraṇyam. This made it possible for the sages of Āryāvarta to find convenient retreats to pursue their religious and philosophical speculations. This is why Rāma found a number of hermitages of sages engaged in austerities until he reached Kiṣkindhya. The *Rāmāyaṇa* is clear in that the Vānaras are a forest tribe (vanecarāḥ). But they have been Aryanised much sooner than the other tribes. It is said that Hanumān was an expert Sanskrit Grammarian and spoke to Sītā (*Kiṣ.* 3. 30) in Sanskrit in the Aśokavana in Lankā. When he first met Rāma, it was in the garb of an ascetic (Ibid. 2) Vāli is said to be performing *Sandhyā* or evening-prayer prescribed for the dvijas or twice-born castes. From this it is to be inferred that after Daṇḍaka's conquest this tribal community of the Vānaras came under the direct influence of the conquering tribe and adopted their practices and beliefs which perhaps appealed to them very much. According to the Jain version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* the Aryan influence of Kiṣkindhā can be traced back to the days of King Sagara (see L. Rice, *Mysore* I. p. 277). Examined from the view-point of Śabarī, a female member of the Śabara tribe of foresters who were still in the stage of barbarity and compared with modern jungle tribes of Central India and the Dakhan plateaus who continue to live their primitive life unaffected by the recurring waves of civilisation, she became convert to the Aryan ways of living and thinking, and spent her years in penance and prayer. When Rāma met her during his stay in the forest he was mightily pleased with her and blessed her with life in heaven. These indicate that the rude [illegible] were more easily converted to the new faith

m the crude Rākṣasas. The Vānaras were a ferocious mmunity more akin to the Negritos. They were monkey-e in appearance and were not actual monkeys. One in-lible testimony that they were human beings is that they oke a tongue and knew Sanskrit. They were vegetarians ing chiefly on roots and fruits, and were addicted to liquor is seen from the Madhuvanam episode in the joy of having scovered Sītā. Being foresters their chief weapons were ıbs and stones. Vālī was killed because he expelled his other and led the impure life of enjoying his wife. The ıgdom of the Vānaras was a small state made up of many y villages and towns (*Kiṣ.* 26–9). Most of these Vānaras ed in caves. The government was conducted by such stitutions as the Council, Army, Mahāmātras or Ministers d others. (Ibid. 1). The succession was generally heredi-y. Sugrīva's coronation was an exception to the rule. As to compensate this, Aṅgada was anointed Crown Prince. bid.) The ceremonies followed closely those prescribed in nskrit treatises. Special mention may be made of the fire-es in the coronation ceremony (Ibid. 29). Hanumān was great statesman and a fitting ambassador; his advice was ught not only by his own king but by Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa. e was deeply read in the *nīti* treatises. His shrewdness and lmness in demeanour are remarkable. Attached to the ite of the Vānaras was a pleasure-garden called Madhu-nam. An official watchman was in charge of this. In ct, the Vānaras were fairly well civilised, though they were t advanced in culture. Still they could boast of a Nīla 10 had the necessary engineering skill to build a causeway tween the Indian continent and Ceylon on the sea. It was e Vānaras who built this huge edifice, which enabled eir hosts to cross the sea and carry war into the enemy's rritory. The discovery of as many as thirty settlements of e primitive peoples in Bellary district show that all their ttlements were placed on the granite hills. Twenty diffe-nt classes of tools, all of stone, have been discovered here. om the *Rāmāyaṇa* we have to infer that the Vānaras were ll living in the stone age, and the use of iron was unkown them. Perhaps some of these primitive settlements com-

prised parts of the ancient Kiṣkindhā kingdom. It is said that the wandering Lambadis numerous in Bellary district claim Vāli and Sugrīva as their primitive ancestors. (See *Bellary Dt. Gaz.* II, Appendix, page 66).

To sum up, the India south of the Vindhyas according to the picture presented in the *Rāmāyaṇa* was a geographical entity with hills and forests and little of plains, where abounded several tribal communities, mostly foresters and hillmen. These had their own states and polities. Prominence is given to the states flourishing in Janasthāna, Kiṣkindhā, Pāṇḍya and Laṅkā. Each tribe had its own ideas of social, political and religious life. If the story of Tāṭakā has any significance it shows that there were free marriages between these various tribes. Tāṭakā is a Yakṣiṇī and her husband is an Asura. Her son is a Rākṣasa (*Bāla.* chap. 25). S'ūrpaṇakhā, whose husband was dead, wanted to marry an alien like Rāma or Lakṣmaṇa pointing perhaps to the custom of remarriage of widows among them. They were responsible for the numerous pathways and roads through the thick of the jungles, which enabled the conqueror to follow the right track and hit upon the weak spots of the enemy. It is indeed remarkable that Vālmīki now and then furnishes data as to the customs of the southerners. One is that these were in the habit of decking themselves with flowers whenever they went out on an expedition, different for the different kinds of expeditions (*Ayodh.* 96., See author's 'Studies in Tamil Literature and History', for details). Another custom of the southerners was to give up one's life by fasting if one was not able to achieve one's aim. This is called *prāyopaves'am* in Sanskrit and *Vadukkiruttal* in Tamil. When Aṅgada was not able to get at Sītā after ceaseless search he actually lay down with his other camp followers to fast themselves to death. (*Kiṣ.* ch. 56; See also M. Raghava Ayyangar's article on *S'en Tamil.* Vol. VIII pp. 1-6). In the light of the tell-tale evidence left in early Sanskrit writings, like the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki, there can be no doubt that the early Dravidian peoples 'had attained a fairly high degree of civilisation and culture'.

THE HINDU THEORY OF PROPERTY.

By M. A. Buch, M. A.

(Baroda.)

A Synthesis of Individualism and Socialism.

There are two sides to private property–the individual side and the social side. Hindu theory emphasises both these aspects and tries to reconcile them in a broader synthesis in the light of Dharma. The Lockian view is right, because all property has its justification in the fact that it is a powerful instrument of self–realisation. The socialistic view almost tends to forget this fundamental truth in the institution of property. My property is essentially the expression of myself. Through property, man enjoys a certain sense of background which would endow his individual life with a certain dignity. "The stability, the power to look before and after, the assured hold on reality, the embodiment of their own wills in a material fact,"—in this lies the moral and spiritual value of property. Man's life would be the life of a dog without property.

Hence Hindu thought repeatedly urges us to acquire wealth—धनान्यर्जयध्वम् धनान्यर्जयध्वम् . "Man is the slave of wealth, not wealth of anybody. So one should always carefully labour for wealth. Through wealth, men realise their higher moral, aesthetic, and spiritual selves". अर्थ is one of the fundamental aims of life; and a life which fails to secure अर्थ remains a very poor, and incomplete thing.

But this is only one-half of the Hindu theory of property. Individualism forgets that rights are meaningless except as the converse of duties, and if all duties spring in the last resort from the duty of promoting the general good, then rights must also be shown to spring from the same principle. Property

has its justification no doubt in the fact that it is one of the most potent instruments of self-realisation; but what is the self, of which it is realisation? A pure individual is a fiction. The individual is essentially a member of a social body: he is an integral part of an organic whole. It is as a member of society that man has right of property; and therefore his right of property is governed by the good of the society, which is his own good. Any demands upon man's private property in the name of general interest are not encroachments upon his private rights, not drafts upon his charity: "they are the acts of that identical justice by which he is qualified to be an owner". Man has a right of property in so far as society allows it; its fundamental basis is social consent. This is the लौकिक-स्वत्ववाद of the Hindu Śāstras. All property, therefore, is essentially a trust held for the sake of public welfare; and the trustee must always remember that his right is valid as long as he is faithful to the conditions of trust and not a minute longer.

God–the ultimate basis.

But Dharma,–of which the eternal witness is our own heart, the still, small voice within,–does not mean the arbitrary exercise of the right of a society or a state over a group or a private individual. The conception of Dharma–of justice has no meaning unless it traces its source to something deeper than the changing whims of individuals, and this something deeper within man's consciousness, something which is superior to our private selfhood with its partial likes and dislikes, family selfhood with its narrow and exclusive attachments, tribal or national egoism with its suicidal particularism–is the fundamental love of humanity within us, the cosmic consciousness within us in virtue of which the finite man becomes the organ of the infinite, the individual soul the organ of the universal soul. Public good can, therefore, never mean the good exclusively conceived of a clan, tribe, nation, or race: it means the good of humanity conceived neither hedonistically nor anti-hedonistically, but essentially in terms of our higher self, of God. Here again the higher thoughts of the East and West coincide. "Back to God all rights run.

Back in Him, the ultimate Creator, producing and sustaining and justifying every capacity and energy that His will has set in action, all ownership stands. All claims are made by Him, through Him, to Him......Man's authority to say of anything 'That is mine,' rests finally, on his power to say 'I am God's' " (Dr. Holland).

Concrete working of the Hindu theory.

Hindu theory of property may be most appropriately called functional theory of property. Hindu thought steers clear of the extreme individualism of the Lockian type and extreme communism either of the Platonic or of the modern variety. It allows full private property and bases social and economic organisation upon it. It would not stigmatise all property as robbery or theft. It does not believe in the equalitarian dogma of the uniformly flat distribution of wealth among all–the fit and the unfit. It would certainly keep the springs of honest work alive by allowing each one to make the result of his own labour, his own. It does not consider love of money to be the root of all evil, necessarily. It does not say that it is easier for a camel to go through a needle, than for a rich man to go to heaven. Thus it does not say with the hedonist that wealth is the mere means of one's own individual self–satisfaction; with the individualist that "I can do whatever I like with my own, in whatever way I may have acquired my property"; with the socialist that the capitalist is a rentier, a fraud, a vampire, a parasite; with the political absolutist that the decrees of the State are final, that the existing sovereign can do no wrong; with the ascetic that all wealth is the snare of the devil.

Hence we find that only persons morally and intellectually qualified are considered fit for inheritance. The main principle upon which all exclusions from inheritance are based is the essentially spiritual significance of all property. यज्ञार्थं विहितं वित्तं " Wealth is made for sacrifices". Those that are incompetent to perform them are not entitled to inherit property. They are only entitled to maintenance. Wealth is for sacrifice. Therefore it should go to a proper person and virtuous, and

not to a woman, ignorant man, or an apostate. " Man is meant to give away his all for the cause of God, for the service of humanity. Hence all who are not equal to the duty of sacrifice or service are ruled out as unfit for inheritance". "Eunuchs and outcastes (because of grave sins), those born blind or deaf, the insane, idiots, and the dumb as well as those deficient in any organ of (action or sensation) receive no share. But it is just that (a man) who knows (the law) should give even to all of them food and raiment according to ability, without stint (for life); he who does not give it becomes an outcaste." Only virtuous sons inherit; he who spends unrighteously is to be disinherited.

The same theory also explains certain apparently high-handed acts of Governments. It was always considered fully justifiable to take away wealth from the unrighteous and to transfer it to the righteous. In the Ṛgveda, gods are asked to transfer the wealth of the impious to the sacrificer. A man who has fasted for three days, because of want of food, is entitled to steal a day's provision from the house of a miserly miscreant. " He, who having taken money from miscreants gives it to the virtuous verily converts it into a raft whereby he takes both its recipients and his own self across the ocean of misery. The wealth of those who regularly institute religious sacrifices is called the divine property by the wise; the wealth of a non-sacrificer is called demoniac property."

The same theory explains the enormous emphasis laid at all times in Eastern faiths upon the virtue of charity. The essential justification of wealth is that it renders a life of virtue, hospitality, and charity possible.

> " They who give steeds dwell with the sun for ever;
>
> They who give gold are blest with life eternal;
>
> They who give robes prolong their lives, O Soma."

The same theory explains the sentiments that the Brahmin is the lord of all things or that the king is the universal lord of all. The overlordship of the State in all

cases means the overlordship of the community; for the State is nothing but the embodiment of the will of the community.

Relativity of the Hindu theory of property.

The whole theory of property, as outlined above, had its origin in a peculiar type of social and cultural organisation. The institutions of caste, āśrama, joint-family, theological monarchy were a part of the Hindu social organisation; and these served to give the theory its peculiar, its differential character.

WOMEN IN JAINISM.

By Hiralal Rasikdas Kapadia, M. A.,

(Bombay.)

One cannot have a complete idea about humanity unless some attention is paid to women, who, after all, form one of its constituents. This is probably the reason why we find almost every activity of life associated with the feminine element. Since religion is directly or indirectly concerned with these activities, it examines the relations existing between males and females and their influences on each other as well. To work out this problem from the standpoint of one and all the religions is beyond the scope of this paper; for, it has its own limitations. Consequently, this paper tries to examine Jainism and notices the following facts:—

Liberation.—To begin with, let us note that the *S'vetāmbara* school of Jainism considers women as capable of realising liberation. Their physical structure is by no means a hindrance in their attaining the enviable state of being completely free for ever from birth, disease, death and degradation.

Knowledge.—According to Jainism liberation is invariably preceded by omniscience. So it naturally follows that women, too, can become omniscient. But, strange to say, during their attempt to reach this high standard of knowledge, they are not allowed by the Jaina convention to read the 12th *aṅga*, though, as a matter of fact, they are considered competent to grasp its meaning and to become completely conversant with this *aṅga* too, on their acquiring omniscience.

Ideal Character.—According to the *S'vetāmbara* conception, a woman has inherent powers to develop her

moral and spiritual sides so much so that she can become a prototype of ideal character, and thus furnish us with a living example of mercy, purity, chastity, honesty and similar other virtues.

CONSTITUTION OF A WOMAN.—A first-class constitution, which is technically known as *vajra-ṛṣabha-nārāca-saṃhanana* and which is a *sine qua non* of maintaining steadiness in holy contemplation, is within the reach of a woman.

LITERACY.—Education of women was paid due and desirable attention to, even by Lord *Ṛṣabha*, the first *Tīrthaṅkara*. So it is not surprising, if Jaina women at present are not quite backward in literacy.

STATUS OF WOMEN IN THE JAINA CHURCH.—Women and men are equal partners so far as the Jaina church is concerned. The former are not debarred from renouncing the world, and hence we have in the Jaina church not only monks but nuns also.

It may be noted that though a male newly admitted to the holy order of clergy ought to be bowed to by a nun of even longer standing, yet it does not mean that she is to be on that account disrespected or discarded by that monk or any other, who may have been initiated even earlier than the nun in question.

It may be further remarked that not only a nun but even a Jaina lady-a Śrāvikā, deserves to be duly respected by a Śrāvaka; even Sādhus and Sādhvīs are bound to do so; otherwise they have to beg her pardon and expiate their sin.

LABDHIS.—Jainism mentions 28 *labdhis*. All of these can be acquired by *bhavya*-men, but *abhavya*-men can have at best 15, *bhavya*-women 18 and *abhavya*-women 14.

THE BODY OF A WOMAN.—The *Pravacanasāroddhāra* (v. 1368 ff.) informs us about the number of bones, sinews, etc., and their locations in a human body. Furthermore, in [illegible] it is stated that a man has 700 tubular vessels in his body, a woman 670 and a eunuch 680. From the 1383rd

verse, we learn that there are eleven openings or exits for dirt (*srotra*) in the case of a woman viz. ears, eyes, nostrils, a mouth, an anus, an uterus and breasts.

DEFAMATION OF WOMEN.—A charge is occasionally laid against Jainism that it has unnecessarily denounced women in more than one place. But a closer study of the Jaina works will reveal the fact that in virtue of their desire to save males from being unduly attached to and attracted towards women, the male authors have drawn a vivid picture of the black side of women. So this is only one side of the picture of women or rather it is an outline of weaknesses common to females and males as well. This view is explicitly expressed in the *svopajña-vivaraṇa* (p. 208) of *Yogaśāstra* (ch. III, v. 120) by *Hemacandrasūri.*

THE LIMIT FOR DEGRADATION.—Women are not in a position to go to the extreme of committing sins. So, they can never be born in the seventh hell, which is solely meant for males leading the most wretched and horrible life.

CONCEPTION ABOUT MARRIAGE.—Jainism is an advocate of renunciation and not of indulgence. That is why not only does it prefer celibacy to sexual intercourse but condemns the latter as a sinful act. This will explain why there is no scope for an evil custom like *niyoga* in Jainism. Moreover, there is no religious compulsion for a male or a female to marry; hence marriage is not an act recommended by Jainism. Under these circumstances it is but natural, if it does not uphold the idea of remarriage of a widower or a widow. Polyandry and polygamy, too, are against the spirit of Jainism.

PREGNANCY.—Taking 100 years as the maximum span of human life, a woman can conceive so long as she has not completed the 55th year.

OBEDIENCE TO HUSBAND.—Jainism no doubt considers obedience as a virtue but this does not mean that any and every order, legitimate or illegitimate coming from an elderly person is to be obeyed. A woman is to obey her husband, so long as his commandments are consistent with the standard of morality prescribed in Jainism. In short, she is not a blind follower of her spiritual preceptor, much less of her husband.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS.—Abominable customs like the sutee, the purdah-system etc., have not gained ground in the Jaina community.

CONCLUSION.—In fine, this paper professes to be no more than a brief outline of women as depicted in the Jaina literature. Much that is of interest may have been left untouched and even what little is here given may appear to be a rough sketch. All the same, it shall be a matter of great pleasure to me, if the imperfections of the present attempt will act as a stimulus to those whose better and more competent efforts will supersede it, owing to their special aptitude for and absolute devotion to this branch of knowledge.

NARMADA VALLEY CIVILISATION.

By Vishnu R. Karandikar, B. A.

(*Satara*).

"The Sumerians believed that they came into the country with their civilisation already formed, bringing with them the knowledge of agriculture, of working in metal, of the art of writing......... 'since then,' said they, 'no new inventions have been made',......and if, as our excavations seem to show, there is a good deal of truth in that tradition, then it was not in the Euphrates valley that the arts were born; and though it is not likely to have been the Indus valley either, later research may well discover some site between these two extremes where the ancestors of our Sumerians developed the first real civilisation of which we have any knowledge"......*Ur of the Chaldees* by C. Leonard Wolley (1930) page 20.

Almost all scholars, excepting a very few, agree that the Sumerians possessed the most ancient civilisation, the traces of which have been brought to light up to the present time. Nobody has yet been able to prove the place of origin of the Sumerians themselves, the country from which they came fully equipped, with their civilisation complete.

It is my considered opinion that this civilisation had its origin in the valley of the Narmada in Hindusthan and that it was taken from here to Mesopotamia. The following are my reasons for concluding that Narmada valley was the cradle of this civilisation:—

(1) The Sumerians believed that all civilisation was introduced in their country by the God Oannes. My view is that this Oannes was either Pṛthu Vainya himself or his descendants.

(2) The Narmada valley, according to our tradition, contained a civilisation which can be traced back to several generations previous to the great Flood.

(3) The Narmada valley is credited by the Purāṇas to have had continuous contact with countries beyond the seas before and after the Flood.

(4) *Pātāla* or the place of Varuṇa can be identified with the land of the Sumerians.

(5) In Sir John Malcolm's '*Memoirs of Central India*' there appears a report on the Geology of Malwa by Captain F. Dangerfield, a Survey officer, in which he refers to places near Maheśvara where earthen vessels and bricks were discovered at a depth of between 30 to 40 feet. No further information about this has been available until now, but the information given by the Survey officer is a sufficient reason to conclude that there was a well-organised human society in this valley in very ancient times.

(6) There is a Babylonian seal of about 2000 B. C. in the Museum at Nagpur. The most natural way by which it could have reached the Central Provinces was through the Narmada valley.

(7) There is sufficient traditional evidence to support that Hindusthan kept up international contact in ancient times, first by means of land-routes on the north-west frontier, and second by means of over-sea routes especially from the mouth of the Narmada, as also from other places on the west coast.

The data from which I have drawn these conclusions can be [illegible] in the following manner:—

(1) Berossus, the Babylonian priest, who has given all the [illegible] information about Oannes, lived in the

3rd century B.C. He says:—"In the first year there appeared, from that part of the Erythrean Sea, which borders upon Babylonia, an animal destitute of reason (or, endowed with reason, or, according to another reading, a male animal), by name Oannes, whose whole body (according to the account of Apollodorus) was that of a fish, that under the fish's head he had another head, with feet also below, similar to those of a man, subjoined to the fish's tail. His voice too, and language, was articulate and human; and a representation of him is preserved even to this day".

"This Being was accustomed to pass the day among men; but took no food at that season; and he gave them an insight into letters and sciences, and arts of every kind. He taught them to construct cities, to found temples, to compile laws, and explained to them the principles of geometrical knowledge. He made them distinguish the seeds of the earth, and showed them how to collect the fruits; in short, he instructed them in everything which would tend to soften manners and humanise their lives. From that time, nothing material has been added by way of improvement to his instructions".

"And when the sun had set, this Being Oannes retired again into the sea, and passed the night in the deep, for he was amphibious. After this, there appeared other animals like Oannes, of which Berossus proposes to give an account when he comes to the history of the kings. Moreover Oannes wrote concerning the generation of mankind, and of their civil polity".

The description of Oannes fits Pṛthu Vainya and the two names Oannes and Vainya are phonetically similar. Vainya is described in all Purāṇas as one who wore a *Kavaca* or armour. It is not known what kind of armour he wore, but even in case iron and steel were unknown at that time, it is likely that he may have worn the skin of a crocodile with a head piece or a *S'irastrāṇa* which could be removed revealing another face underneath. As with the Norman chainmail in England the *Kavaca* would come down below the knees, so that the warrior's feet would look as though they come out of a fish's tail of scales. The whole description of Oannes would

thus naturally fit a man in an armour made either of steel or of the skin of a water-animal. It is significant that the outer shell of a tortoise was used as a protective shield. The thick hide of a crocodile would be a pliable cover as an armour for the body.

Vainya lived ten generations previous to our Flood. Oannes, according to Berossus, also lived ten generations before the Sumerian Flood. If these two Floods had taken place simultaneously, as I believe they have, then both these individuals can be taken as identical.

Vainya is stated to have established a town on the banks of the Revā or Narmada according to the Padmapurāṇa. Thus Pṛthu ruled in the Narmada valley.

The identity becomes clearer when we examine the manner in which Pṛthu is stated to have built up the whole system of social organisation in our country. It was he who started agriculture on a commercial scale and started towns and cities as economic centres of commerce. Before Pṛthu's time, says the Matsyapurāṇa, there was no respect for the science of economics. All the Purāṇas agree in saying that there were no towns, no cities, no villages, as places for carrying on commerce. The process of milking the earth in the shape of a cow is equivalent to the selection of professions. This was started presumably in order to choose things which the people were asked to bring in exchange for the agricultural produce which Pṛthu undertook to provide. Pṛthu's chase of the earth in the form of a cow was in the nature of a tour of investigation in order to find out the various means adopted by the people all over the country to secure food. The Purāṇas state that the food available previous to Pṛthu consisted only of the various types of fruits and flowers and honey, i. e. only those things that were grown naturally. "In this golden age", say the Purāṇas, "the earth yielded food without trouble". As the population increased, however, the supply was insufficient and the people appealed to Pṛthu to provide them with food. It was after a survey of the inhabited area in Northern India that Pṛthu discovered that plants

grew in plenty when the ground was even and this was stated to be the first condition laid down by the earth when she agreed to supply the demands made by Pṛthu. It was also Pṛthu who was the first Cakravarti, or a monarch who had accepted certain limitations on his sovereignty. The story of the Sūta and Māgadha refusing to praise Pṛthu on the ground that they did not know his past and the sages requesting them to imagine how he would be behaving in the future and to praise him according to that conception, is but a polite way of saying that Pṛthu was told how he was expected to behave as a king and that he accepted those conditions. Later on, however, Pṛthu returned the compliment and initiated laws governing all society, dividing the people into the four castes, entailing certain rights and responsibilities belonging to each. There is a definite tradition that there were sacrifices before his time, as it was owing to the refusal of his predecessor, Vena, to perform them that he was deprived of his life. One of the things which Pṛthu had agreed to perform was to hold that type of sacrifices. As every one knows, the preparation of the sacrificial altars can only be properly done by means of geometry and it is significant that this is one of the things that were introduced by Oannes into Sumer. Pṛthu is described as the one who provided the people with *sasya* or corn and Oannes is said to have taught the Sumerians how to distinguish the seeds of the earth and showed them how to collect the fruits.

We see in this way that the work of Oannes and Pṛthu was identical in nature and they appear to be of the same period before the World Flood. Their names also sound similar.

Berossus is also stated to have given the times when Sumer was visited by other Oannes, who were called Annedotus. This is a curious name having a great resemblance to the Sanskrit word Annadātā, or the giver of food. This is a special denotation of the work of Pṛthu Vainya, who made it possible for the human beings to secure a sufficient supply of foodstuffs. The epithet would apply to the descendants of Pṛthu Vainya as well and it seems to have been so applied by the ancient Sumerians, according to the story of Berossus.

This is a further evidence of the identity of Pṛthu Vainya with the Sumerian god Oannes. Our tradition states that after Vainya, his descendants went out westwards for being Prajāpatis or leaders of colonisers. Prācīnabarhis went to the west and married a Sāmudrī or *sea-faring maiden.* He became a Prajāpati or the leader of colonisers. His son, Pracetas, went out into the west for performing penance. Thus we get a consistent story of several generations of the *Vainyas going out of Hindusthan towards the* west in order to start settlements.

There does not appear to have been any other place where there was any civilised habitation at this remote time in history; at least there is no evidence, traditional or otherwise, to that effect and hence there is no reason to doubt that this series of visitations of the Vainya family was to ancient Sumer and to no other country.

According to Berossus, Oannes came into Sumer from the Erythrean Sea. Thus we are entitled to presume that it was from some country to the east, and not from any place in the north like the Caucasus mountains, that Oannes came. Here also tradition records no other country with a civilised society except Hindusthan; and the Narmada valley comes nearest to Sumer from the sea. The origin of this civilisation must, therefore, be attributed to the only possible country, Hindusthan, and also to that part of our country which, according to our tradition, had a civilised society at that time, i. e., the Narmada valley.

Berossus lived in the third century before the Christian era. Scholars date the Mahābhārata about the fifth or fourth century B. C. The statements of Berossus have been proved to be true as the result of recent excavations. These statements were in some respects as exaggerated as those in the Purāṇas and still their authenticity, at least so far as their sequence is concerned, has been proved to be true. Unfortunately no such attempt has been made to verify the traditions of our country and hence our Purāṇas, which record these traditions, have been neglected. We have thus lost a

great deal of valuable material, which would have thrown a great light on the history of our country, especially of those times, of which there is no other record available, except that in the Purāṇas.

2. Several important places on the river Narmada are mentioned in the Purāṇas from times even previous to the Flood as well as after. Among them the following references are chosen as most representative of the older culture in Hindusthan:—

(a) First and foremost is the town built by Pṛthu Vainya. His descendants reigned in the region of the Narmada valley. Manu is reported to have been told by the Matsya incarnation that he should collect all seeds and keep them separate and well protected "as told by the Dvijas in ancient times" (Mahābhārata, Vanaparvan, chapter 187, verse 32). This is a definite reference to previous floods and gives directions to people in authority as to the steps to be taken in order to preserve the seeds for foodstuffs to be used after the floods. That the river Narmada was not destroyed by the Flood is mentioned in several Purāṇas.

(b) The three cities or Tripuras of the demons are located on the Narmada. They were destroyed by Mahādeva after a great battle which has been given an importance then, as great as that of the Mahābhārata was in later times.

(c) The hermitage of the sage Viśravas is located on the Narmada. His son is Kubera, the lord of wealth, who is also stated to have performed penance here in order to secure this post.

(d) The Kings Māndhātā, Purukutsa etc., reigned here. The latter is very important so far as contemporary records in Sumer are concerned. The Purāṇic story of Purukutsa states that he was called to save the Nāgas in Rasātala from the ravages of the Maineya Gandharvas who had

attacked them and had taken away their je
and wealth. Purukutsa went through the
mada valley. The Nāgas thus secured immu
from the Gandharvas. The curious thin
that many centuries later we find the nam
Purukutsa in the history of Babylon. Am
the districts conquered by the Egyptians in
twelfth century B. C. one was named Puruk
situated near the upper reaches of the Euph
and the Tigris. This name is so very uncom
that the coincidence is not such as can
ignored. Considering that there are so m
common characteristics in Sumerian and Ā
traditions, this fact cannot be passed over
mere coincidence.

(e) The contact of the Narmada valley with Su
can be shown through various stories com
to both places. For example:–Varuṇa and
Ninna, Mahashani and Meṣsanipada, the s
of Etana and the Eagle with Garuḍa and
Nāgas, the search for Amṛta or nectar
Etana's search for the Tree of Life, Aga
and Ilwala and Bilwala with Elulu and Bal
kings of Ur, Hiraṇyapura with Nippur,
Aurva and Ur–Bau, sage Ṛcika with the t
Erech etc, the pre–flood town of Shurripak
Śūrpāraka, Bel with Bali, Vāli, the monkey–k
the killer of the demon in the form of a buff
with Mahish–muhi the "killer of the
ox in the foreign country", the demon Mā
with the Sumerian town of Mari–ki, Narasi
the slayer of Hiraṇyakaśipu with Naram-
the hero of Agade, the story of Nergal
that of Ghaṭotkaca, that of Enkidu, the fri
of Gilgameṣh, with that of Ṛṣyaśṛṅga an
on. In later times the stories are so com
as to convince one of the civilisation b
the same.

(f) The deities appear to be very similar. The g
of Ur was Ningirisu with Sin or the Moon
his daughter. We have Angiras the sage wi
Sinivālī, or the new moon night, when the mo
is seen, as his daughter. Later Aradda becan
the god of Ur. Ṛcīka established connecti
between the Indus valley and Pātāla and
get the name of Araṭṭa as the name of t
country on the Indus which had a different ki
of worship, mentioned in the Karṇaparvan. T
importance of this item is realised when it
understood that the attempt of Ṛcīka was to st
a new trade–route via., the Indus in rivalry w
the domination of the Narmada valley by t
Haihaya kings under Arjuna of the thousa
arms. It may also be possible to correla
Mahaṛaṭṭas with the "Great Araṭṭas" or followe
of Araḍḍa or Araṭṭa who came afterwards alo
with the Rāma of the Axe. Even Nārada may
connected with Araḍḍa or En–Aradda as t
sage is always connected with the Rākṣas
living across the seas. All these questions will
dealt with at greater length in my book on t
"Traditional History of Hindusthan", betwe
the reigns of Pṛthu Vainya and Kārttavīr
Arjuna, to be published shortly. I am referri
to them here in order to show how close seem
to be the contact between the two countries.

(g) Here I wish to deal with at some length with t
location of the pre–historic town of Māhiṣm
connected with the Haihaya rulers, w
had come into so close a touch with Sum
This city has not been located so far. B
with the evidence that has been collected
connection with my book, I think it is possib
to locate it with certainty. First of all, it seem
to me that there were two towns of that nam
one established about the fourth century aft
the Flood and another half a century before t
time of Rāmacandra of Ayodhyā.

Māhiṣmatī No. 1:—In Rāmāyaṇa Uttarakāṇḍa, we fin the description of Māhiṣmatī. Rāvaṇa had gone there i order to fight with Kārttavīrya Arjuna, but not finding hin there he went to the river Narmada and had to pass by th Vindhya. Māhiṣmatī was some distance away from th river separated by a range of the Vindhyas. In the descriptio of Māhiṣmatī, this chapter informs us, there was fire in th shape of Vasu-Retas, or fire in liquid form, in a basin wit bamboo or tall grass growing all round. The whole descrip tion tallies with that of an almost extinct volcanic crater, wit bubbling lava inside. If we desire to find any site now, wher Māhiṣmatī might have been situated, we must look for suc a mouth of an extinct volcano within about fifteen or twent miles to the north of the Narmada river. The Sahasradhār falls, some miles south of the city of Maheśvara, seem t be the place where Arjuna was stopping the waters of th river in order to erect a dam across the river. This plac must have been but a few miles from his capital, at least onl a few hours' distance from it, as it did not take long fo Rāvaṇa to reach the Narmada after finding that Arjuna wa not at his capital. This Māhiṣmatī, along with othe flourishing places of the Haihayas, was destroyed by Rāma o the Axe.

Māhiṣmatī No. 2.—The second time we come acros this name is in Harivaṁśa, Viṣṇuparvan, chapter 38, i describing the activities of Mucukunda. According to th chronology given here, Mucukunda appears to have bee reigning but two or three generations before Śrī Rāmacandra This king looked out for a suitable place for his capital an chose a site on the Narmadā. The Harivaṁśa says that h repaired the causeway and erected two cities, one to the nort and one to the south of the river. The town of Māhiṣmat was situated to the south. This should have been near th present town of Maheśvara in Indore territory.

Māhiṣmatī of the Mahābhārata:—We have thre references to this place in the Mahābhārata (1) Bhiṣm [illegible] descendants of Ikṣvāku living in the town o [illegible] Narmada river, (2) Sahadeva went out fo

conquest to prepare for the Rājasūya sacrifice, and (3) Arjuna went after the sacrificial horse in order to protect it for the Aśvamedha. On these last two occasions the city of Māhiṣmatī was visited. But it is significant that after conquering the king of Avantī or Ujjain, the Pāṇḍava heroes, instead of going south to Māhiṣmatī which was so near, turned to the east and made a detour round the Vindhya and the Satpura mountains. They went to the south and returned to visit Māhiṣmatī after conquering the Pauṇḍras and the rulers of Kiṣkindhā. So they approached Māhiṣmatī from the south. It is evident that there was no way for the passing of an army through the Vindhya range, although there was evidently a pass by which the mountain could be traversed on foot.

Later references to Māhiṣmatī :— In the Buddhistic literature we find several references to Māhiṣmatī In the Sutta Nipāta there is the story of some Brahmins passing through Māhiṣmatī from Pratiṣthāna on their way to Pātaliputra. Māhiṣmatī is located in that story as lying between Pratiṣthāna and Ujjain. Several centuries later, we find it mentioned in the story of Srī Śaṅkarācārya, who defeated Maṇḍana Miśra at that time in Māhiṣmatī. There are differences of opinion as to the location of this Māhiṣmatī connected with Śaṅkarācārya. With regard to the prehistoric town of Māhiṣmatī, which we have referred to above, there should be no difficulty in locating it from the data available in the Purāṇas, indicated above.

Mucukunda as an alien:—The Māhiṣmatī of Mucukunda should show definite traces of foreign cultures. Mucukunda is said to have been a descendant of the Yadu family, but there is no doubt that there were many steps in the lineage standing between Yadu and Mucukunda, about which we do not know any details. There seems to be some mystery about a king from the family of Ayodhyā being called a Yaduśreṣṭha, "the great one from the Yadu family", and being told that his descendants would, thenceforth, be termed Yadus. It appears, that having been sent out by his elder brother, Haryaśva the Ayodhyā prince went to his father-in-law Madhu of

Mathura and was practically adopted by the latter and given a portion of his territory situated on the west coast. The condition of changing his family was adopted by Haryaśva and therefore he came to be called in the Harivaṁśa a 'Kāmī' or pleasure-loving person. He was given the undeveloped country of Ānarta to rule. The Bhils were his subjects for the most part. Haryaśva had a son called Yadu in order to indicate the change over of the family. This young king was taken away by the serpent-king, called Dhūmravarṇa, while bathing in the sea. The capital of this serpent-king was called Sarpapura, which has some similarity with Sippar, a Babylonian ancient town. In the description of this capital we find a special mention of the Svastika, "shining with moonlike lustre brilliant like gold," as one of the sights of the town. It may be stated that the Svastika was one of the poular symbols of Babylon and other places in Mesopotamia. The serpent-king told Yadu that he would give him his five daughters born of the sister of king Yauvanāśva. This king belonged either to the 9th or 24th generation of kings from Manu. The latter one appears to be more probable, as Yauvanāśva's grandson, Purukutsa, had come into contact with the Nāga kings of Pātāla. The name of Haryaśva is common to the Ayodhyā family of rulers. There are two Haryaśvas within the first thirty generations. This explanation, however, is not sufficient to solve the mystery of this Haryaśva. Mādhava, who succeeded his father Yadu to the throne of Ānarta, falls in the seventieth generation from Manu in order to be a contemporary of Daśaratha. Mādhava's grandson Bhīma-Sātvata took possession of Mathura after the passing away of Rāmacandra. This occurs about 1500 years after the great Flood. The reign of Yauvanāśva can be placed at about the end of the fifth or the beginning of the sixth century after the Flood. There is a gap of about a thousand years between these two sets of rulers. It can only be explained by supposing that the descendants of Haryaśva or Yādavas returned after a long absence from their mother country.

We have a similar story about Revata, the king who [illegible]broad after a passage of about a thousand

years. There seems to be a method adopted by the Purāṇas of not giving any particulars of any one's activities if they took place outside Hindusthan, excepting mentioning the fact of his having gone on a penance, or on a visit, or on an expedition. For example, we find Pracetas mentioned as having gone on a penance in the sea for a period of many years. The period, the Purāṇas had to deal with, was so long that they could not do anything more than relate the most salient points about the reigns of the kings they mention and, that too, only directly connected with our own country.

With regard to Mucukunda and his brothers there seems to be no doubt that they came about the time of Daśaratha. After the destruction of Māhiṣmatī and its rulers for twenty one times by Paraśurāma there is no trace of that town, nor of its rulers for some centuries, but at about the time of Kṛṣṇa, we find the place mentioned. Some centuries must have elapsed before it could come to be counted as one of the important towns of those times. The second town of Māhiṣmatī must have been founded at about the time of Daśaratha or about five or six hundred years before the Mahābhārata war. The story of Mucukunda has another significant feature about it. He is the only king who is stated to have gone to sleep because he was tired and wanted rest. He is sleeping in a cave and he has enjoined that if anybody wakes him that person will die. This appears to be reminiscent of the method adopted by the Egyptians of preserving the remains of their dead and stating that there would be a curse on all those who disturb the rest of those so preserved. There might even have been some kind of mechanical contrivance to protect the dead from outside disturbance. Thus there seems to be a likelihood that Mucukunda may have had previous contact with Egypt sometime between 2000 to 2500 B. C. So far as our present subject is concerned the story of Mucukunda ought to be examined with greater attention. The only real evidence will be from the vestiges of the town of Māhiṣmatī, which he is stated to have founded.

Now we come to the evidence which comes from the observances made by an English survey-officer under

Sir John Malcolm, Capt. F. Dangerfield, who had submitted a report on the Geology of Malwa to his chief in the early part of the nineteenth century. This report has been published as an appendix to Sir John Malcolm's " Memoirs of Central India " published in 1823, in vol. II, pp. 320 et seq. No. II of the Appendix is " part of the report from Capt. Dangerfield, comprising his meteriological, geographical, and astronomical observations of the countries he visited," addressed to Sir John Malcolm. It contains the following passages which have an important bearing on the subject under discussion, pp. 324 et seq., :—"The banks of the Nerbudda, for a considerable distance, between Mandleysir and Chiculdah, are from 40 to 70 feet high and consist, independent of a thin upper layer of rich vegetable mould, of two distinct strata of alluvium. The upper, which is light-coloured, contains a great quantity of indurated marl, and is strongly impregnated with muriate of Soda or common salt. This stratum is usually from 30 to 40 feet thick.

"The one on which it rests and from which it is divided by a strongly marked horizontal line and a difference of colour (this latter being of a reddish hue,) contains a very large proportion of carbonate of Soda in general, but slightly contaminated by the muriate. This bed rarely exceeds ten to fifteen feet thick, and rests immediately on the basalt, forming the bed of the river.

"In some places, near the city of Mhysir, there are pointed out, in the upper bed or near the junction of the two, large earthen vessels and bricks, asserted to belong to the ancient city of that name, which, with Oojein and above eighty other large places in Malwa. and Bagur, are stated to have been, at a very remote period, overwhelmed by a shower of earth. But at present there is no appearance of volcanic matter, though some of the hills, both in the Vindhya range and in the neighbouring wild tract of Rajpeeply, are said to have hollows, sometimes filled with water, near their summits, which have been thought to resemble extinct craters......Earthquakes appear to be, to the north-west, of frequent occurrence, and......often very severe." (p. 325).

This is perhaps the most important record, which we possess at the present time, of any vestiges being found indicating remains of some ancient civilisation in this area. There is also a reference to the city of Ujjain in Sir John Malcolm's book. The author gives a list of "the principal cities and towns in Malwa" on page 10 in a footnote in vol. I in which he says:—"Of these the most ancient is Oojein, which ranks high among the sacred cities noticed in the Purāṇas of the Hindues, and is mentioned by Greek historians; but the modern Oojein stands two miles south of the former city, which is said to have been buried under a shower of earth, but which appears to me to have been overwhelmed by the Sepra river, and the new city, which stands nearly as high, has been often threatened with a similar fate."

The news of such old finds being discovered near Maheśvara by a responsible survey-officer like Captain Dangerfield so early as 1823 has not attracted as much attention among the learned people engaged in archæological work in India as it certainly deserves. It is a matter of great regret that the attention of the archæologists uptil now has not been directed to those places which have been traditionally reputed to be the centres of old history.

It must also be mentioned that in the Nagpur Museum there is a seal belonging to the first dynasty of Babylon, about 2000 B. C. It is not known where it was found, but presumably it must have been in the Central Provinces. The most natural way must have been by way of the waterways of the Narmada and Tapi rivers and so these regions need a careful archæological survey.

There has been an interrupted growth of civilisation in this area, because it has sufferred from natural and man-made causes dislocating the growth of human society. At the time of the great Flood of Vaivasvata Manu, it underwent destruction by earthquakes and volcanic disturbances. Later on, it sufferred from the revengeful ravages of Paraśurāma, who, in order to destroy all chances of commercial rivalry, laid waste all the country from time to time, obliterating all human habitation. In former days, when the human society

was very limited, the settlements were necessarily of a scattered nature. The vestiges of this civilisation will, therefore, be of unfrequent occurrence, some here and some there. A close examination of these places will have to be made before we can trace them with anything like certainty. The only possibility of tracing them is through a close examination of the stories contained in the Purāṇas. In the absence of any other record, we have to fall back upon this literature. The subject is of such primary importance that we must not allow this great repository of our ancient tradition to be forgotten.

It is possible that later investigation may change some or all of these deductions. But I am convinced that real clues will be found in these recorded traditions.

Local Traditions.

Besides these general traditions found in the Purāṇas, there is a vast amount of local tradition found practically in every place, which will have to be collected together and carefully scrutinised. These are found scattered all over the country. When a person like Captain Dangerfield records them, our attention is directed to the places; otherwise, they are neglected, and the danger is that, in the passage of time, even these local traditions may be forgotten.

Narmada civilisation older than Indus.

After a close examination of the Purāṇic stories and after comparing them with the other stories of the Floods in ancient Sumer, I have come to the conclusion that the Indus Valley civilisation must be dated at least some centuries after the great Flood, while tradition records a flourishing civilisation on the banks of the Narmada river extending back into the past for centuries together if not earlier. Ordinarily, I would have included a survey on this point in the present paper. But the main question on which I intend to lay streess is the necessity of taking up an archæological survey of the Narmada Valley. The question as to whether the Narmada valley civilisation is earlier than that discovered in the excavations at Mohenjo Daro is, from that point of view, a secondary question. But I am including a full consideration of this point in my forthcoming book on the Traditional History of Ancient Hindusthan. So, I am not dealing with it now at greater length.

DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH IN ANCIENT INDIA.

By N. G. Kalelkar, M. A.

(Baroda)

Preamble.

The economic stability of ancient India was never disturbed. On the other hand we get ample evidence to testify that she enjoyed unrivalled prosperity and consequently peace and happiness. We have got the eloquent testimony of Megasthenes who says that Hindus when they move out generally leave their houses unguarded, which pre-supposes a state of general prosperity. Greek writers on India who lived before and after him tell the same tale as also the Chinese Buddhist travellers that visited the holy land of India from time to time.

Secret of prosperity of Ancient India.

The secret of the fact is that the economists of India had solved this problem of the economic well-being of the people long ago. In India, says Dr. Barnett, there is no twilight before the dawn. This is no less true regarding the subject under consideration, but even though the beginnings of all the arts and sciences in India are indiscernible, here and there we chance upon a ray of light that illumines the pervading gloom and clears up many doubts and misgivings.

Economic stability: its causes.

Economic stability is impossible unless every man becomes free from wants. As soon as a man ceases to require anything he becomes economically happy. The minimum wants of every individual must be satisfied before any nation claims economic welfare. This is possible only if the wealth of the nation is distributed equally or at least fairly among all classes and people. The Hindu economist kept his eye on this fundamental principle and all his efforts were directed towards

establishing this doctrine of distribution of wealth. This they did not preach directly but took recourse to ways, which, without violating public feeling, made it practicable and popular.

Religion: the medium of introduction of economic theories.

These economists knew the Hindu mind's passion for everything that was religious and so they made religion the medium of introduction of this new theory. This achievement is no doubt unique; for whereas in Europe and elsewhere special treatises were composed dealing with this topic, in India no such attempt was ever made. The West may boast of having developed a science of economics but when we try to know the land where the principles of sound economics were actually practised, we must point to India. The happy blending of religious doctrines and economic principles is met with everywhere in her literature not less than that gathered from other sources.

All institutions helped economic welfare.

The various institutions that flourished in India, be they social or political or religious, had this very end of economic welfare of the people in view. Let us, therefore, examine such institutions one by one that we may establish the truth of the remark.

Sacrifice: its origin and development.

We shall first of all try to examine the institution of sacrifice, as in the case of every other science or art, we must begin from the Ṛgveda. It is almost universally accepted that the hymns contained in this collection are invocations offered to different deities that they may shower unmixed blessing upon the singer. Naturally, the most liberal of gods wins the highest praise. Gods are called Devas because they give: देवो दानाद्वा दीपनाद्वा द्योतनाद्वा द्युस्थानो वा भवति (Nirukta VII. 15). It was on account of his proverbial liberality that the bountiful Indra dispossessed Varuṇa of his Sāmrājya and became the supreme national god of India. Side by side with these hymns we have laudatory stanzas composed in order to commemorate the liberality of princes and chiefs. These are the so-called

dānastutis. The hymns were sung at sacrifices, which, though not so elaborately developed as in the period that followed, were widespread but not compulsory.

The age that followed saw the sacrificial ritual at its zenith.

Importance of sacrifice in Brāhmaṇa period.

A simple ceremony during the Ṛgveda period, it now attained profound significance. It was even deified. The mighty Indra laid down his thunderbolt, while Varuṇa forgot his serene majesty; they were content along with other gods to remain subservient to the sacrifice. A properly performed sacrifice, it was assured, threw open the portals of heaven to the Yajamāna. Everybody, therefore, aspired to perform a sacrifice and the sacrifices were so numerous and so diverse as regards duration and expenditure that from a prince to a pauper everyone was able to contribute his own quota. This created a spirit of healthy emulation among the masses in an age when religious sentiment was not affected by the scepticism of science.

Even the speculations of the Upaniṣads could not counteract ritualism.

Ritualism in the Upaniṣad Age.

We learn from the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad that the philosophical discussions carried on at the court of Janaka were arranged on the occasion of some sacrifice. In the Kaṭha-Upaniṣad we read that Vājaśravasa, father of Naciketas, performed a sacrifice wherein he gave away all his wealth.

By the time of the Upaniṣads the cult of sacrifice had become firmly rooted in the Indian

Sūtra period: sacrifice an obligation.

society. But it does not seem to have been obligatory on the people to perform a sacrifice. But, that stage was now reached in the Sūtra period. The Law-giver made it compulsory for everyone who was capable of it to perform a sacrifice. Thus Vasiṣṭha says:—

श्रद्धाशीलोऽस्पृहयालुरलमग्न्याधेयाय नानाहिताग्निः स्यात् ।
अलं च सोमाय नासोमयाजी ।

VIII, 9-10.

Manu also emphatically declares that persons capable of performing either Agnihotra or Somayāga must perform it; otherwise one may unhesitatingly rob these persons.

> योऽनाहिताग्निः शतगुरयज्वा च सहस्रगुः ।
> तयोरपि कुटुम्बाभ्यामाहरेदविचारयन् ॥
>
> XI, 14.

He condemns the wealth of the non-sacrificer as Asura wealth :—

> यद्धनं यज्ञशीलानां देवस्वं तद्विदुर्बुधाः ।
> अयज्वनां तु यद्वित्तमासुरस्वं तदुच्यते ॥
>
> XI, 20.

Manu further exhorts house-holders to perform the Pañcamahāyajñas saying :—

> ऋषियज्ञं देवयज्ञं भूतयज्ञं च सर्वदा ।
> नृयज्ञं पितृयज्ञं च यथाशक्ति न हापयेत् ॥
>
> IV. 21.

But these ceremonies were prescribed only for those who were capable of doing them. If a person, economically unfit to do these, tried to do them at the cost of his family's comfort in order to win fame, he was censured. Thus a person, whose provisions could last for three years at least, was allowed to perform the Somayāga. Thus Manu says :—

> यस्य त्रैवार्षिकं भक्तं पर्याप्तं भृत्यवृत्तये ।
> अधिकं वाऽपि विद्येत स सोमं पातुमर्हति ॥
>
> XI, 7.

But from what he further adds, it becomes clear that the performance of Somayāga was not so much a religious duty as an economic obligation.

> अतः स्वल्पीयसि द्रव्ये यः सोमं पिबति द्विजः ।
> स पीतसोमपूर्वोऽपि न तस्याप्नोति तत्फलम् ॥
> शक्तः परजने दाता स्वजने दुःखज विनि ।
> मध्वापातो विषास्वादः स. धर्मप्रतिरूपकः ॥
> भृत्यानामुपरोधेन यत्करोत्यौर्ध्वदेहिकम् ।
> तद्भवत्यसुखोदर्कं जीवतश्च मृतस्य च ॥
>
> X. 8–10,

Sacrifice still important in Post-Vedic period.

Thus the cult of sacrifice continued to be dominant for a long period. Thus Patañjali in his Mahābhāṣya refers to the Aśvamedha performed by the Śuṅga king Puṣyamitra. Kālidāsa, later on, narrated this event in his Mālavikāgnimitra. He took pride in eulogising the Ikṣvāku princes chiefly because they were devout sacrificers. They were यथाविधिहुताग्नि s. King Atithi gives wealth to Snātakas that they may be enabled to perform sacrifices.

स तावदभिषेकान्ते स्नातकेभ्यो ददौ वसु ।
यावत्तेषां समाप्येरन्यज्ञाः पर्याप्तदक्षिणाः ॥

Raghu XVII, 17.

The word पर्याप्तदक्षिणा is significant as no sacrifice was complete unless sufficient Dakṣiṇā was distributed among priests. Thus Manu also says—

धनानि तु यथाशक्ति विप्रेषु प्रतिपादयेत् ।
वेदवित्सु विविक्तेषु प्रेत्य स्वर्गं समश्नुते ॥

XI, 69.

and

प्राजापत्यमदत्वाश्वमग्न्याधेयस्य दक्षिणाम् ।
अनाहिताग्निर्भवति ब्राह्मणो विभवे सति ॥

XI, 38.

Historical evidence.

Kālidāsa might have witnessed the Aśvamedha performed by Kumāragupta I, who might have been the Imperial patron of that great poet. Only a few decades earlier, Samudragupta had proclaimed the universality of his dominions by the same means. The poet Bāṇa had very great regard for ritual ceremonies. While Śūdraka ruled, he writes in the Kādambarī shedding of tears was occasioned only through incessant ritual fire (अनवरतमखाग्निधूमेनाश्रुपातोऽभूत्).

Sacrifice benefited all classes.

Thus for a period of several centuries the cult of sacrifice was dominant in India. It may be argued that this system was principally advantageous to the sacerdotal class, that it was the Brahmins who received the Dakṣiṇā and were thus

profited thereby. But at the same time we must bea mind the rigid rules and regulations that restricted their ac ties. They could accept dāna but they had also to prac giving away their wealth to others. They could not store big treasures; for piety was considered as their true wea The performance of a sacrifice–and especially a big o benefited other classes also. Craftsmen and mercha labourers and workers and many others must assist sacrifice if it were to be a success.

Saṁskāras and S'rāddhas as means of distribution.

But the institution of sacrifice alone was not enough achieve the goal that Hindu econom had set before them. So came in institution of sacred rites or Saṁskār Dāna, feeding of Brahmins and cas people and such other acts were made compulsory. If th were not practised men were punished with excommunicati expiation, fine and such other means. The non–performar of important rites like the Upanayana led to the expulsion an Ārya from the society. In addition to these every Ārya w required to offer several S'rāddhas to his deceased ancesto This was so essential that the ancestors, it was said, of a pers who did not perform the S'rāddhas went to hell and it w this fear of going to hell that gave rise to the practice of adc tion by a sonless person. On this score, then, the Hindu h to spend some amounts annually.

Institution of Tīrthayātrā: how it helped economic well-being.

Next comes another institution which is working even this day viz-the institution of Tīrthayāt The history of sanctuaries and oth holy places in India is very old. In t Mahābhārata we read of Arjuna's p grimage to numerous places and if legendary accounts are n able to gratify the curiosity of the student of history, we m refer him to Aśoka's pilgrimage to the sacred spots of Bu dhism in the third century B.C. These Tīrthas or holy spo were places consecrated by the association of some holy sa or an avatāra. Thus Mathurā, Gokula and Dvārakā we associated with S'rī Kṛṣṇa, Ayodhyā and Pañcavaṭī wi Rāma, Gayā etc. with Buddha. It was at such places that

man underwent his expiation, it was by visiting these places, practising charity, feeding beggars that a man got rid of his sins. A very large number of Indian beggars are fed at such places. After describing the greatness of Śarīra-tīrthas Bhīṣma says :—

Literary evidence.

यथा शरीरस्योद्देशाः केचिन्मेध्यतमाः श्रुताः ।
तथा पृथिव्या उद्देशाः केचित्पुण्यतमाः श्रुताः ॥
प्रभावादद्भुताद्भूमेः सलिलस्य च तेजसा ।
परिग्रहान्मुनीनां च तीर्थानां पुण्यता स्मृता ॥
तस्माद्भौमेषु तीर्थेषु मानसेषु च नित्यशः ।
उभयेषु च यः स्नाति स याति परमां गतिम् ॥

It is further said :—

तीर्थाभिगमनं पुण्यं यज्ञैरपि विशिष्यते ।

Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa in his Tristhalīsetu quotes Vasiṣṭha, who says :—

नन्दन्ति तस्य पितरः सुवृष्टैरिव कर्षकाः ।
यद्गयास्थो ददात्यन्नं पितरस्तेन पुत्रिणः ॥

The institution of caste that we shall now examine has also an economic significance. When God created the four Varṇas He assigned to each of these the following duties :—

Caste-system : its economic significance.

अध्यापनमध्ययनं यजनं याजनं तथा ।
दानं प्रतिग्रहं चैव ब्राह्मणानामकल्पयत् ॥
प्रजानां रक्षणं दानमिज्याध्ययनमेव च ।
विषयेष्वप्रसक्तिश्च क्षत्रियस्य समासतः ॥
पशूनां रक्षणं दानमिज्याध्ययनमेव च ।
वणिक्पथं कुसीदं च वैश्यस्य कृषिमेव च ॥
एकमेव तु शूद्रस्य प्रभुः कर्म समादिशत् ।
एतेषामेव वर्णानां शुश्रूषामनसूयया ॥

Manu,-I.88-91.

Gradually as the mixed castes arose it was not possible to admit them in the Cāturvarṇya. However, they could not be placed outside the pale of Hindu society. So the following professions were assigned to them :—

Caste and Professions.

ये द्विजानामपसदा ये चापध्वंसजाः स्मृताः ।
ते निन्दितैर्वर्तयेयुर्द्विजानामेव कर्मभिः ॥
सूतानामश्वसारथ्यमम्बष्ठानां चिकित्सनम् ।
वैदेहकानां स्त्रीकार्यं मागधानां वणिक्पथः ॥
मत्स्यघातो निषादानां त्वष्टिस्त्वायोगवस्य च ।
मेदान्ध्रचुञ्चुमद्गूनामारण्यपशुहिंसनम् ॥
क्षत्त्रुग्रपुक्कसानां तु बिलौकोवधबन्धनम् ।
धिग्वणानां चर्मकार्यं वेणानां भाण्डवादनम् ॥

Manu. X, 46–9.

These regulations were rigidly enforced, none being allowed to give up one's own profession. Under exceptional circumstances, the following concessions were made :—

अजीवंस्तु यथोक्तेन ब्राह्मणः स्वेन कर्मणा ।
जीवेत्क्षत्रियधर्मेण स ह्यस्य प्रत्यनन्तरः ॥
उभाभ्यामप्यजीवंस्तु कथं स्यादिति चेद्भवेत् ।
कृषिगोरक्षमास्थाय जीवेद्वैश्यस्य जीविकाम् ॥

Manu. X.81–2.

Similar exceptions were made in the case of other castes also. The State had at times to interfere to stop the encroachment by the member of one caste upon the profession of that of another. Thus professions were hereditary and confined to particular groups, so that a boy in a particular caste had to follow the profession of that particular caste. Choice of profession depended not upon the sweet will of the individual but upon his birth. The profession being thus fixed, the only thing that remained to be done was the necessary instructions and training. This he received from his own father. Thus a carpenter's son sat by his father, watched every process very minutely and with great curiosity from

Choice of profession dependent on birth; how it helped the individual.

early childhood and so acquired the art. Education, academical or technical, was thus acquired free. Moreover, the boy had not to invest a single farthing in his business. He came in possession of his father's work-shop and the necessary machinery. Think of our own times now. The doctor's son becomes an engineer, the engineer's son a pleader and the pleader's son a professor, so that an engineer cannot make use of his father's dispensary; the pleader cannot take his father's advice in his own matters, nor can the professor expect any help from the father. Everyone has to spend much on his education without hoping to get the least help from others and even after the academical career comes to an end the prospects are hard to realise.

Present plight.

The higher castes, it may be here pointed out, were not allowed to practise the professions assigned to lower castes and thus compete with them; for being naturally intelligent they would prove formidable rivals to those people and thus amass great wealth. Thus neither a Brahmin nor a Ksattriya was allowed to practise usury :—

Higher castes forbidden to follow lower occupations.

ब्राह्मणः क्षत्रियो वाऽपि वृद्धिं नैव प्रयोजयेत् ।
कामं तु खलु धर्मार्थं दद्यात्पापीयसेऽल्पिकाम् ॥

Manu. X, 117.

In sacrifice or at Sraddha it was the learned Brahmin alone that was invited:—

Only learned Brahmins respected.

एकैकमपि विद्वांसं दैवे पित्र्ये च भोजयेत् ।
पुष्कलं फलमाप्नोति नामन्त्रज्ञान्बहूनपि ॥
दातॄन्प्रतिग्रहीतॄंश्च कुरुते फलभागिनः ।
विदुषे दक्षिणां दत्त्वा विधिवत्प्रेत्य चेह च ॥

Manu., III, 129 et 143.

Vānaprasthās'rama.

The institution of the Ās'ramas is another noteworthy factor in this connexion. When the hair turned grey and a grandson was born, the householder was required to become an ascetic:—

गृहस्थस्तु यदा पश्येद्वलीपलितमात्मन: ।
अपत्यस्यैव चापत्यं तदारण्यं समाश्रयेत् ॥

Manu., VI. 2.

He handed over all his wealth to his sons, cut down his needs considerably, and with or without his wife retired to the forest:—

सन्त्यज्य ग्राम्यमाहारं सर्वं चैव परिच्छदम् ।
पुत्रेषु भार्यां निक्षिप्य वनं गच्छेत्सहैव वा ॥

Manu., VI. 3.

Its economic significance.

Thus instead of sitting tight on his treasure till death, he retired from active life and gave free scope to the younger generation in all the fields of life. His needs were few. He was not a burden to the society. He lived on what Nature supplied him with:—

स्थलजौदकशाकानि पुष्पमूलफलानि च ।
मेध्यवृक्षोद्भवान्यद्यात्स्नेहांश्च फलसम्भवान् ॥

Manu., VI. 13.

Or, if obstinate Nature did not supply his wants:—

तापसेष्वेव विप्रेषु यात्रिकं भैक्षमाहरेत् ।
गृहमेधिषु चान्येषु द्विजेषु वनवासिषु ॥

Manu. VI. 27.

World-renunciation actually practised.

The principle of world-renunciation was widely and universally practised. Even paramount sovereigns and rich merchants retired into the solitude of forest. The Epics and the Jātakas unquestionably prove this fact*. Of the Ikṣvāku princes, Kālidāsa says "of those who in their old age followed the life of hermits" (वार्धके मुनिवृत्तीनाम्).

* For detailed information see Richard Fick: Die Sociate Glisderung im [illegible] Indien the Buddhas Zeit (Trans, S. K. Maitra) pp. 60–78.

Village communities: their joint economic responsibility.

The principle of distribution of wealth was further encouraged by the system of Village communities then prevailing throughout India. These communities were based on the principle of joint economic and civic responsibility. All persons in the village were required to pay towards every public enterprise according to their ability. The usual method of executing works of public utility was by voluntary co-operation and self-taxation. The village headman was required to look after the comforts of government officers, guests, travellers, etc. To meet such expenses there was a permanent village-fund to which every person had to contribute on certain occasions.

पञ्च पुष्पाणि देयानि विवाहे सति तज्जनैः ।
देयं तथोपनयने विवाहे यत्पुरोदितम् ।
तदर्धं चैतदर्धं च, चूडाकर्मणि तज्जनैः ॥
केनचित्कारणेनेह कर्तव्ये विप्रभोजने ।
भोजयेत्तु यथाशक्ति परिषत्परिषज्जनम् ॥

E. I. IV. pp. 61-62.

Abundant epigraphic evidence.

Not only this, even the educational expenses of college students were borne by the villagers. One gave a piece of land, another provided for the light-charges, a third one paid the hostel-expenses and so on. The numerous copper-plates and other historical records, especially those of the south, prove this fact very clearly.

Distribution: the root cause of prosperity.

A society, wherein people took more pride in distributing their wealth than in hoarding it up, was bound to make a rapid march towards general prosperity. This state of things continued even under the Mahomedans. And though, even to this day, we come across that same spirit of voluntary distribution of wealth, of a willing charity, the foreign culture with which we have to fight is not without its serious results.

Unemployment: the result of mechanical civilization.

Ever since the Industrial revolution, Europe has been in the grip of unemployment. This is no less true of the other parts of the world. The growth of capitalist class and its domination in every field of life are its inevitable consequences. And now that the evil has become too unbearable, attempts are being made to cure it. In places, this is done by depriving the capitalists of a large portion of their wealth against their own will and this leads to a class war. India did not wait to cure the evil but prevented it by adopting natural means and the consequences are well-known.

Cure: prohibition of accumulation of wealth.

East and West: the difference.

When the sweet showers of rain visit the earth and fall evenly in all quarters the result is a rich harvest. For here it is the bountiful Nature that directs the process. But a field watered by pumping out water from wells and tanks cannot bring forth such a rich harvest. The difference between these processes is exactly the difference between Indian and European methods of relieving unemployment.

SOME INTERESTING FORMS OF DIVINATION.

By Firoze Cowasji Davar M.A., LL.B.

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Divination endeavours to discover the clue to occult or future things by preternatural methods. People usually resort to philosophy, reason or science for a solution of their difficulties, but when these fail, they turn to divination. Selfish persons seek the help of divination to gain their own ends, while saintly persons do the same to know through it the will of God. Some persons have established divination on a rational basis by universalizing their garnered experiences on the subject. Dream-interpretation and astrology are the commonest forms of divination. Necromancy and witchcraft are practised by the wicked and illiterate, who cannot or will not seek the aid of religion, reason or science. Ordeals are a dangerous and doubtful form of divination, while oracles are usually obscure. All these aspects of divination are too familiar to be discussed in this paper.

Divination is either unconscious, for instance, when a person takes augury from a book carelessly left open, or conscious when a person deliberately practises divination to ascertain what he considers to be the will of God. The following are instances of unconscious divination :—

(1) Instance of St. Augustine.
(2) Instance of a highwayman named Fuzayl.
(3) Instance of Maharshi Debendranath Tagore.

Conscious divination is practised by the Jews in their "Bath-col" or "daughter of a voice," when a person aiming at practising divination hears certain words and applies them to his own circumstances. An illustration is quoted from the Talmud. Another instance quoted is that of Alexander the Great, which is partly an oracle and partly a 'Bath-col'.

Inspired or possessed persons can give out revelations, so too can children because of their extreme innocence; so also can madmen or idiots, their very mental derangement being a good qualification in this direction. Intelligent persons, by reason of their very intelligence, are of no use here. Birds by their flight or movements unconsciously reveal certain facts to human beings, while the former are of course blissfully ignorant of it. Through divination fate can perhaps be foreseen, not forestalled.

Divination is also practised from great and popular books like Virgil's 'Æneid'. Virgil dominates the mind of the Middle Ages for various reasons. He is also transformed into a magician and various miracles are attributed to him. The master-piece of such a man may be supposed to be the right work for practising divination. The following instances of 'Sortes Virgilianæ' are quoted:--

(1) Instance of the Roman Emperor Severus.

(2) Instance of the Roman Emperor Gordianus.

(3) Instance of King Charles I of England.

(4) Instance of Lord Falkland.

It is not easy to distinguish between certain forms of divination and sheer superstition as seen in two instances which are quoted.

The 'Sortes Biblicæ' is denounced in both the Old and New Testaments and yet the Bible is freely used for divination purposes. Divination is condemned by religion because it makes us unmanly and diffident, and also because any villain, through it, may get what he considers the sanction of the 'Divine will' to his nefarious act. Most religious works are used for divination purposes. An instance of the Buddhists is quoted. The Christians also practise the 'Sortes per Brevia' and 'Sortes Apostolorum.' The historical instance of Dr. Doddridge practising the 'Sortes Biblicæ' is quoted from De Quincey. Another instance of divination from the Bible is quoted from Tennyson's 'Enoch Arden'. The dangers of [illegible] divination are set forth.

The Muslim method of consulting the Quran for divination purposes is explained at length. The Muslims also divine with the help of a rosary. Another favourite method of divination in the Muslim world is by consulting the Diwan of Hafiz, the great Persian poet, unrivalled for lyrical charm and named the 'tongue of the invisible'. The following instances are quoted about the sortilege from the Diwan of Hafiz :—

(1) Instance of the people consulting the Diwan at the poet's own burial.

(2) Instance of Shah Ābbās II Safavi.

(3) Instance of Shah Tehmāsp Safavi.

(4) Instance of Kan'ān Beg of Ahmedabad.

Strange to say Hafiz too seems to be against divination. The Hindus practise divination with the help of the Rāmāyaṇa.

Another mode of divination is cycliomancy or judging the future by looking into cups. Only children or the pure-minded can get reliable answers. The best instances are the Cup of Jamshid and the Holy Grail, whose virtues are discussed with instances. There are numerous other instances fancied by romancers, for instance, the magic mirrors of Alexander the Great, of Virgil and of the Khalif Mansur. The Old Testament also refers to the Cup of Joseph. Closely connected with this is the custom of crystal-gazing but here too the help of a pure person should be taken. An instance is quoted from the ballad of 'Rose Mary' by D. G. Rossetti to show the dangers of this form of divination when attempted by an impure person. But the most famous instance of divination from precious stones is the sacred Jewish practice of consulting the Urim and Thummim. This was supposed to be infallible as a quotation of Milton would signify. This custom is explained at length.

Certain other forms of divination are rather summarily dismissed. Ophiomancy or divination from snakes is explained with the help of a work on the subject written by

the late Dr. Sir Jivanji J. Modi. Another instance in point is quoted from Cicero's work on Divination. The elephant was once believed to elevate any random man to the throne by raising him with its trunk on its head.

The bees are believed to foreshadow future events by their movements. Instances of Plato and St. Ambrose are quoted in support of the statement. The instance of the tyrant Dionysius is also quoted on the subject from Cicero's work on Divination.

Hippomancy is the judging of future events from the sound of horses. The well-known instance of Darius Hystaspes is quoted from the history of Herodotus.

The movements of birds were a favourite means of fortelling the future, especially among the Vedic Hindus and the Romans, as seen from the Gujarati word ' Śukan ' and the English word ' augury '.

The bones and especially the entrails of sacrificed animals were used for divination purposes. An instance is quoted of a Japanese custom in support of the statement. This custom was largely practised by the Greeks and Romans as seen from the following instances which are quoted:—

(1) Instance of Julius Cæsar.

(2) Instance of Pausanius at the battle of Platæ.

Some general remarks are now made on divination. In this enlightened age it is universally discredited. There is no unanimity about divination. Some of its forms are too obscure. Dreams may come true but they are often the result of indigestion also. We know the instances of divination that have succeeded but nobody has cared to record instances which have failed. The story of Hannibal from Cicero's work on Divination shows the futility of practising haruspicy. Constant practice of divination may make a person irresolute, crazy and superstitious. The following historical instances are quoted to show how gloomy omens are averted by a timely display of presence of mind:—

(1) Instance of Arab messengers at the court of the Persian King Yezdejard Shehriār.

(2) Instance of Duke William of Normandy landing on the shores of England.

Divination is an inexhaustible subject and can be as wide as the selfish, superstitious and tremulous nature of man can make it. It is fast losing its efficacy in this scientific age, but it dies hard for it is still secretly practised by persons who denounce it in public. Divination has a charm of its own as well as an academic value for scholars who are ever anxious to collect such curiosities from the nooks and corners of world-civilization.

MARRIAGE AND MARRIAGE CUSTOMS OF THE ANCIENT TAMILS AS OBTAINED IN THE TAMIL CLASSICS.

By Pandit N. Chengalvarayan.

(*Bangalore.*)

The Sangam epoch in Tamil literary history is of the greatest interest and importance to a student of the ancient history of South India. The Sangam works portray vividly accounts of a highly civilised state of society, where the arts of war and peace had attained considerable development and perfection. They give us accounts of the civil administration of the ancient Tamil country, of its social life and religious practices, its political activities and commercial enterprises. They tell us about the vast number of Ceras, Colas and Pāṇḍyas who were ruling over their different kingdoms.

I do not like to enter into that life-long controversy, viz., the date of the last Sangam. As we have no definite chronology of our own it is impossible to fix with any degree of accuracy, the age of ' Sangam ' activity, but suffice it to say that it attained its zenith of perfection and the Augustan period of Tamil literature was in the first or second century of the Christian era and the last college of poets was then held at Madura. We have certain works which as a body is known among scholars by the collective designation of ' Sangam works '. Many great works of outstanding importance have come down to us. They are:—

1. *Tholkappiyam.* (the oldest Tamil grammar).
2. *Pattup-pattu* (a collection of ten poems).
3. *Ettu-thokai* (literally, a collection of eight works)
4. *Pathinenkizhkanakku* (18 miscellaneous works).

These throw a flood of light on the social and economic life of the ancient Tamils. Now let me briefly analyse the contents of these.

Tholkappiyam:—Consists of three parts devoted to letters, words and etymology in 1276 sūtras, and it is the oldest Tamil grammar now extant. Each part has been sub-divided into nine *iyals*. The first two are purely linguistic and philological in interest. It is only the third that is of interest to us as it describes the customs and habits, the ideals and institutions of the Tamil people of the period. It speaks of the characteristics of 1. *Ahattinai*, 2. *Purattinai*, 3. *Kalaviyal*, 4. *Karpiyal* and so forth. *Aham* and *Puram* are the two main divisions on which the whole Tamil literature rests. Aham (subjective) means love, and Puram (objective) means war.

By Aham is meant "the joy and experience of a married couple born out of harmony at home." It deals with the emotion of love,—the characteristics of lovers, of messages between them, of their union, their separation, the conjugal and domestic life, and so on. In other words, these may be called as *erotic* and *heroic* respectively.

In these works are found excellent descriptions of the love-scenes, the different kinds of marriages and marriage customs as they prevailed in the earliest centuries of the Christian era.

I shall now attempt to give an account of the marriage customs of the ancient Tamils. A good deal of choice was allowed in marriage, love before marriage being the custom. Love and marriage are grouped under three heads :-1. *Kaikkilai*, 2. *Aintinai* and 3. *Peruntinai*.

The first means the form by which only one of the parties concerned shows the love and it was commonly known as 'one-sided love'. We gather that there were three divisions of this. The test of success regarding the first form is the mention of an interesting practice viz., the catching hold of an untamed bull. The second and third forms being the bending [illegible] bow and marking of an arrow as we find in the Rāmā[illegible] and the Mahābhārata.

The second form was different according to the division of the country. The country was divided into five geographical divisions called after the chief botanical products of each. They were:—1. Kurinji (Hilly tract), 2. Mullai (Pastoral 3. Pālai (Sandy), 4. Marudam (cultivable) and 5. Neyda (Maritime or Saline). Besides these there were two other also.

We hear of unequal love-matches and their dastardly results in the third group. The stern refusal of an offer of marriage by a lady leads a man to commit suicide. "Infatuated by love to a particular lady the lover causes a cart of palmyra stem and a cart of jagged edges of palmyra leaf stalks to be made, and seats himself naked on a horse, painting his whole body with ash. He has in his hand a picture of the Lady-love drawn by himself alone, with his eyes fixed on it. He adorns himself with a garland made of bones of cats and flowers of *Calotropis Gigenlea.* He thus rides through the public thoroughfare and stops there sacrificing his food and sleep, regardless of rain and sun. Either he is married or executed." Mention is made of a similar custom among the Badagas of Nilgiris by Mr. Thurston in his ethnographical notes.

Instances are not wanting to prove the utilisation of this idea in the later Tamil literature and particularly by the Vaiṣṇavites in the *Mystic poetry*-known generally as the '*Nāyaka-Nāyakī Bhāva*'. The poetess *Āṇḍāl* for instance considers "Viṣṇu as the lover and herself as the object of love. She addresses the Lord with such feelings as are natural to one separated from one's lover, and longing for spiritual union with him. The keenness of separation and her consequent difficulties are told with a wealth of detail. In one place she seems to think that the Lord has definitely promised to take her in loving embrace and has either forgotten it or did not take notice of her, a small human being." One noteworthy feature is that this practice was restricted to man alone in ancient days as women were not considered to be animated by such violent passions.

The two *real* forms of marriage that were prevalent among the ancient Tamils were: 1. The *Kalaviyal* 'secret-marriage' i. e., (pre-nuptial love) and 2. *Karpiyal* i e., 'Marriage in the open' or (post-nuptial love). The first corresponds to the Aryan form of Gāndharva marriage mentioned in the case of Duṣyanta and Śakuntalā. The mere consent of both the parties was sufficient for the celebration of the marriage. "The whole appears to be like a story. By chance the couple meet. The man is so enamoured that he considers his lady to be a goddess in disguise. He expresses his love to her and they part but again meet on the morrow. Overcome by modesty and shyness the girl is unable to express her feelings when their friends appear and they separate. Then the man describes his state to his companion, the latter offers to intercede, but on the very point of the couple meeting again, the friends of the girl appear and they part again. Ultimately the confidential maid takes control, she realises the feeling of both, but is cold at first to the man; the latter threatens to kill himself, the maid then relents and gives them opportunities of meeting. After some days, she requests the man to marry her mistress; but he appears to be indifferent. The lady pines and sickens; and her parents arrange for her marrying some other man. The real lover is told of this, and an elopement is arranged for and carried out. To cover the disgrace, the marriage is celebrated and happiness ensues. Sometime after this comes the period of misunderstanding, when the man is unfaithful to his wife, but there are mediators in plenty, comprising twelve, the maid of the mistress, mother, Brahmin, his friend, *Panan*, his wife *Panini*, messenger, guest, musician, dancer, astrologer and visitor. A thirteenth mediator the washerwoman is also added according to *Kalittokai*."

The parents arrange everything in the second form of marriage. This was an off-shoot of the first and was simple in type. The real marriage ceremonies with all their conventions came into force, when the system became complicated owing to the increase of evils and vices. In the *Kural* also mention ... de more or less of the same kind of marriage.

But in the days of the Tamil epics Silappadikaram and Manimekalai the rites of marriage were changed.

Boys were married at 16 and girls at 12 and this was considered the proper period for marriage. Marriages amongst the higher classes were solemnised with due Brahmanical rites. Young girls decked with jewels rode on elephants a few days before the marriage for inviting their friends and relations to attend the marriage function. In the *Perumpana-rruppadai*, a Sangam work, a beautiful account is given of the food served to the invitees of the marriage according to the various customs of the people. The social relations between the sexes and the mode of courtship and marriage peculiar to the Tamils are portrayed vividly and clearly in the description of love-scenes in the great Tamil classic *Kalittokai*.

"In a magnificent hall, gaily decorated, the Vedic ceremonies began, just when the Rohiṇī star was in conjunction with the Moon. The older women of the family always played an important part in the details. 'Elderly ladies then attended generally to the technique of the marriage rites. Some carried spices, others flowers. Some sang the glories of the couple, some carried sandal paste and others frankincense. Some carried scented powders and others pots of Pālikai with seeds sprouting from them. With similar auspicious objects, like petals of flowers and rice grains for benediction and blessing, women watched the proceedings with glee and love. The religious rites over, there came the turn of every damsel interested in the well-being of the couple to shower her blessings without stint. Sprinkling of holy water, throwing rice, grains, and flowers on the heads of the young bride and bride-groom, were some of the ostentatious ways in which benediction was offered.' The bride was finally advised thus: "Be loyal and devoted to your husband both in word and deed. Do not slip even by an inch from the excellent and unrivalled path of chastity and purity, both in mind and body; earn a name in the world, as Arundhatī, the illustrious wife of the sage Vasiṣṭha."

Among the ancient Tamils, it is worthy of note that women were admitted freely into society. They took part

even in public dances. They were well-dressed, in clothes of very fine texture with different-coloured borders, chiefly spun by the women themselves. Jewels of pearl and gold, sandal pastes and powders, and garlands of flowers were much in the fashion. There was also a high ideal of women's beauty. Here is a description: "The songstress had hair like the black sand on the sea shore, her fair forehead was like the crescent moon, her eyebrow bent like the bow that kills; the outer end of her cool eyes was beautiful, her sweetly speaking mouth was red like the sheath of the fruit of the silk cotton tree; her spotlessly white teeth were like rows of many pearls; her ears were like the curved handles of scissors, and their lobes were shaking with bright ear-rings shaped like a crocodile. Her neck was bent down with modesty; her shoulders were like the waving bamboo tress; her fore-arms were covered with thin hair; her fingers were like the November flower which grows on the tops of high hills. Her waist was so small that observers could not guess that it existed. And her small feet were like the tongue of a tired dog."

The foregoing is a brief account of the marriages of the ancient Tamils.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS IN THE SMṚTIS.

By Dr. R. Shama Shastri, B A. Ph. D.,
(Mysore).

It is a notorious fact that so far as the rights of Hindu women are concerned, the ancient law-givers and their interpreters have not been just to the claims of Hindu women. There are, however, a few of them who have risen above the times and espoused the cause of women at least in respect of their right to remarriage. Among the law-givers or Smṛti-writers Sātātapa went so far as to say that if a girl is given in marriage to a bridegroom of no genealogical and other merits, she should be remarried to another bridegroom of better qualifications. Parāśara enumerated five cases in which a woman could remarry. The cases are: when a husband has gone to a foreign country and is not heard of; when he is dead: when he has joined the order of ascetics; when he has become an eunuch; or when he has fallen from his caste; in these five cases the married girl should be remarried to another. But interpreters of the Smṛti-writings have not been slow to misinterpret the above Smṛtis and deprive women of even this right of remarriage. Vijñāneśvara, Mādhava and a host of commentators on the Smṛtis interpreted the verses of Śātātapa and Parāśara in question as applicable to other ages, but not to this age of Kali. But among the commentators on the Smṛtis, Kāmeśvara Vasanta Somayāji is, however, an exception. Unfortunately his life and times are not known. He has, as stated by himself, written two commentaries on the Parāśara Smṛti, entitled "Guruhitadharma", and "Laghuhitadharma". Of them the latter is discovered and is available in manuscript form in the Oriental Library in Mysore. By cogent reasoning he points out the flaws in the interpretation of Mādhava and other earlier commentators and

rightly interpreting the verse in question defends the right of women to remarry. The following is an English translation of his commentary on the verse :—

Just as Parivedana[1] and Paryādhāna[2] are permissible under special conditions, so permitting women to remarry under special conditions, the author says–" Naṣṭe mṛte etc. ". Naṣṭa means one whose whereabouts is unknown, since his departure to a foreign country ; Pravrajita means one who has joined the order of ascetics (Sannyāsins); Klība is a eunuch ; Patita is one whose company is avoided on account of his sinful deeds ; from the statement that when a husband is one of the above types, permission is given to her to marry a second husband, it is implied that no sin of remarriage is thereby committed.

But the Ādipurāṇa says that in the age of Kali one should avoid the observance of customs, such as " remarriage of a woman already married ; special share of inheritance to the eldest among brothers ; immolation of a cow ; marrying a brother's wife ; taking up asceticism, (sannyāsa)" and while commenting on the verse, " Naṣṭe mṛte etc. ", in his commentary on the Parāśara Smṛti, Mādhava says that remarriage of women laid down in the verse is a custom observed in other ages and that it is not applicable to the Kali age. In the face of these two statements how can it be said that the verse, " Naṣṭe mṛte etc. " sanctions remarriage of women in the age of Kali also ?

True : but it must, however, be noted that there are two kinds of remarriage of women : one due to the five causes enumerated in the text of Parāśara, and another due to the discovery of a well qualified bridegroom, as sanctioned by Śātātapa. He says :—

" If a bridegroom to whom a girl has been married is found to be a man devoid of genealogical and other merits, then the virgin girl should be taken away from him and given in marriage to another who is better qualified".

[1] Marriage of a younger brother before the elder brother is married.

[2] A younger brother instituting the sacred fire before the elder brother has done so.

It is this form of marriage which the Ādipurāṇa prohibits and having fulfilled its purpose by prohibiting this form of marriage, the Ādipurāṇa cannot interdict the other forms of marriage which Parāśara has sanctioned only for the Kali age. Otherwise, i. e., if it interdicts that also, remarriage of women in Kali age would be a question of option; for these two rules, i. e., Parāśara's rule in favour of remarriage of women in Kali and the Ādipurāṇa rule prohibiting remarriage of women in Kali are both applicable to Kali age and of equal strength. In such cases of injunction and prohibition at the same time, the observance of either of them is left to option which is yet held to be defective in eight ways. As to Śātātapa's rule, it applies not merely to Kali age, but also to other ages. It is true that according to Mādhava it refers to the custom of other ages and that it cannot be taken to apply to Kali age. But in saying so, Mādhava's intention is only to draw attention to the Ādipurāṇa prohibition. If the Ādipurāṇa prohibition has served its purpose by prohibiting the Śātātapa's rule of remarriage of women in Kali, then Parāśara's rule of remarriage must apply only to Kali. If, on the other hand, it has not served its purpose, then (in view of supplying a custom for prohibition by the Ādipurāṇa), Parāśara's rule must necessarily apply to other ages also (and the observance of the custom in Kali must be interdicted by the Ādipurāṇa). This is evidently the view of Mādhava in referring the verse in question to other ages. Accordingly, the statement made by him elsewhere in his commentary on the same Smṛti that "the Smṛti applies only to Kali" holds good; for even if a single rule in Parāśara were to apply to other ages, then that Smṛti would not as a whole be applicable to the age of Kali alone. Hence it is but proper to take Mādhava's statement as having been made only to invite attention to the consideration of the question on all its bearings. It is in this way that commentators are justified in making quotations with a view to invite investigation.

Hence it should be borne in mind that like the Vedas the Nibandha writings of Mādhava, Vijñāneśvara and others are made up of injunctions and prohibitions, such as, "this should

be done, and this should not be done", but not filled up with extracts from Smṛtis and quotations of rational maxims and principles of interpretation made in confusion. Accordingly it may be said that what is meant by Mādhava in saying so is that the question of remarriage of women in Kali should be considered on all its bearings.

Likewise the prohibition of remarriage of women made in the following verse of the Ādipurāna must be considered as directed against Śātātapa's rule of remarriage. The Ādipurāna rule runs as follows :—

"Consummation of remarriage of a virgin girl with another bridegroom (of better qualifications) should be discontinued in Kali."

That this is against Śātātapa's rule of remarriage is evident from the use of the word, " virgin " (akṣatayoni) both in the Śātātapa's Smṛti and the Adipurāṇa. The expression "having taken away" (samācchidya) found in the Śātātapa's verse implies that the former husband is alive, while Parāśara's rule implies the absence of the former husband. Again while Śātātapa's rule applies only to a virgin girl, Parāśara's rule applies to all women, whether they are virgins or not.

As the remarriage referred to in the verse has to come about only under the five conditions mentioned therein, it may be performed at any time after the occurrence of the conditions and before the cessation of menses.

The Brihad–Hitadharma may be consulted for more details.

The original is as follows :—

अथ परिवेदनपर्याधानयोरिव निमित्तविशेषे सति पुनर्विवाहमनुजानाति नष्टे मृते इत्यादि.

नष्टः देशान्तरसञ्चारेणापरिज्ञातवृत्तान्तः, प्रव्रजितः सन्यस्तः, क्लीबः पुंस्त्वहीनः, पतितः दोषेण वर्जनीयः–पूर्वभर्तर्येवंविधे सति पत्यन्तरं परिग्राह्यं विधीयत इत्युक्त्या पुनर्भूत्वदोषो नास्तीति गम्यते.

ननु, ऊढायाः पुनरुद्वाहं ज्येष्ठांशं गोवधं तथा । कलौ पञ्च न कुर्वीत भ्रातृजायां कमण्डलुम् ॥ इति आदिपुराणवचनेन कलौ पुनर्विवाहस्य निषेधात् युगान्तर-

विषयं ' नष्टे मृते ' इति वचनं इति माधवोक्तेश्च कथं पुनर्विवाहविधिरिति चेत्सत्यम्, द्विविधः पुनर्विवाहः नाशादिनिमित्तकः पराशरविहित एकः गुणवत्तानिमित्तकः शातातपविहितो द्वितीयः, यथा शातातपः—

> वरश्चेत्कुलशीलाभ्यां न युज्येत कथञ्चन ।
> समाच्छिद्य तु तां कन्यां बलादक्षतयोनिकाम् ।
> पुनर्गुणवते दद्यादिति शातातपोऽब्रवीत् ॥ इति ।

एवं च सति शातातपपुनर्विवाहनिषेधेन चरितार्थमादिपुराणवचनं कल्यैदंपर्यशालिपराशरवचनबाधाय नेष्टे । अष्टदोषदुष्टविकल्पापत्तेः । उभयोरपि कलिविषयत्वेन तुल्यबलत्वात् । शातातपवचनं तु न कलिमात्रविषयकम् । शातातपस्य कल्यैदम्पर्याभावात् ।

ननु पराशरस्यापि कलिमात्रविषयकत्वमसिद्धं ' नष्टे मृते ' इति वचनस्य माधवाचार्यैरकलिविषयत्वोक्तेरिति चेन्न युगान्तरविषयत्वकथनस्यादिपुराणवचनप्रदर्शनार्थत्वात् । तच्चेद्वचनमन्यथासिद्धं तदा कलिविषयत्वमेव यदनन्यथासिद्धं तदा युगान्तरविषयत्वं ध्रुवमिति तदाशयात् । अत एवैकादशे माधवोक्तिस्सङ्गच्छते ' कल्यैकविषयवं पराशरशास्त्रमि'ति । एकस्य वचनस्य अन्यविषयत्वेऽपि कल्यैकविषयत्वायोगात् । तस्माद्वाक्यं विचारकर्तव्यतापरम् । अत एव निबन्धेषु वचनानां प्रदर्शनं युज्यते । तस्माद्विमृश्य क्रियतामिह श्रुतिवदेवं कर्तव्यं न कर्तव्यमिति विधिनिषेधवाक्यमात्रात्मकमेव माधवविज्ञानेश्वरादिनिबन्धशरीरं स्यात् न तु स्मृतिवचनैर्न्यायैश्च सङ्कुलम् । दृश्यते च वचनन्यायकरम्बितम् ॥ अतो विमर्शः कर्तव्य इत्येव माधवहृदयमिति न तद्विरोधः ।

'बालिकाक्षतयोनेश्च वरेणान्येन संस्कृतिः' इति कलिवर्ज्यपरिगणनमपि शातातपविहितपुनर्विवाहनिषेधकमेव अक्षतयोनिपदप्रत्यभिज्ञानात् । 'समाच्छिद्य तु तां कन्य बलादक्षतयोनिकाम् ' इति तत्राक्षतयोनिपदसत्वात् । समाच्छिद्येति स्वारस्येन पूर्ववरसत्तायामेव शातातपोक्तो विवाहः । पराशरोक्तस्तु तदसत्वविषयकः अक्षतयोनिक्षतयोनिसाधारणश्च । निमित्तीभूतपतिनाशादिसमनन्तरकालमेव नैमित्तिकस्य पुनर्विवाहस्यानुष्ठेयत्वादार्तवोपरमावध्यनुष्ठेयोऽयं पुनर्विवाहः सिद्धः । विस्तरस्तु बृहति हितधर्मे द्रष्टव्यः ।

DIFFERENT ETHNIC TYPES AS STUDIED FROM ANCIENT INDIAN SCULPTURES, TERRACOTTA FIGURINES, ETC.

By Rai Saheb Manoranjan Ghosh, M. A.

(*Patna.*)

1. *Different ethnic types and sculptures.*

The study of reliefs from Bharhut, Bodh–Gaya and Sanchi stone railings shows clearly that in ancient India different ethnic types were clearly differentiated. At Sanchi *dvārapālas* are shown with robust and coarse features. There is a Negro-like figure depicted on the architrave of the eastern gateway riding a camel. On the north gate of Sanchi, Stupa I, the musicians with trousers are shown ; probably they are meant for people from Central Asia. On the railing of Stupa II, Sanchi, side by side with figures having crude features there are figures with fine features. I consider that the crude figures were non–aryans and the refined figures were of Aryan stock. The same fact holds good with Bharhut and Bodh–Gaya.

2. *Different ethnic types and terracottas.*

Terracottas from different sites reveal crude and developed figurines. At Pataliputra a terracotta head with thick lips has been found. It is distinctly a Negroid face. Fine terracotta male and female figurines from Pataliputra shew pure Aryan features. Crude terracotta male and female figurines from the same site show non–aryan features.

3. *Classification of different ethnic types from the above sources.*

From the study of sculptures on Sanchi gateways and terracotta figurines excavated from Pataliputra we find that in ancient India artists knew three distinct ethnic types.

One is the pure Aryan type such as depicted in the Bulandibagh smiling boy and Bulandibagh laughing girl. They knew non-aryan types such as Dravidians as are illustrated in crude figurines found in that site. They knew Negroid races with thick lips as illustrated before. Ajanta paintings show a large variety of ethnic types. Gate-keepers are shown with robust features, hunters with poor physique, attendants with better features, kings and queens with refined features of Aryans of exquisite delicacy.

4. *Other points.*

Careful study of sculptures and terracottas are sure to throw light on the ethnology of ancient India. Different drapery and ornaments found on the stone sculptures and terracotta figurines will fix such ethnic types.

SERPENT WORSHIP IN ANCIENT INDIA.

By Rai Saheb Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

(*Patna.*)

1. *Evidence of serpent worship in Ancient India.*

The literature, folk-lore and art in ancient India is full of Nāga cult. Dr. J. Ph. Vogel, Ph.D. in his 'Indian Serpent lore' (London, 1926) has studied the subject very fully; but in the present article, I shall describe peculiar varieties of the serpent-deity not noticed by him. We know that Nāga is worshipped as a water-spirit. He is illustrated in ancient sculpture as a human being with the serpent hood. In the Ṛgveda, Nāgas are mentioned as Yātudhāna "warding off the Rakṣas and Yātudhāna, the god (Savitar) stood, praised night after night". (R. V. i., 35, 10). In the Yajurveda and Atharvaveda, the serpent worship is also referred to.

In Atharvaveda vi., 56, we have—

"Let not the snake, O Gods, slay us with our offspring, with our men; what is shut together may it not unclose; what is open may it not shut together: homage to the god-people.

"Homage be to Asita, homage to Tiraściräji, homage to Svaja (and) Babhru, homage to the god-people.

"I smite thy teeth together with tooth, thy (two) jaws together with jaw, thy tongue together with tongue, thy mouth, O! snake, together with mouth." (Whitney's translation, Harvard Oriental series Vol. VII, p. 323). The four terms *asita* (black), *tiraściräji* (cross-lined), *svaja* (adder) and *babhru* (brown) which occur in verse 2, are commonly explained as denoting certain extant species of snakes.

They may also represent snake-demons associated with the four quarters of the sky.

In Buddhist literature there is a snake-charm mentioned in Cullavagga V, 6. "I love Virūpakkhas, Erāpathas I love, I love Khabyāputtas, the Kanhāgotamakas I love."

The Gṛhya sūtras contain an account of *Sarpabali* which mentions the annual rite which has the two-fold purpose of honouring and warding off the snakes. The rite is held in the rainy season and lasts for four months.

In Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra (XIV, Ch. iii) there is a mention that the skin of a snake filled with the ashes of a man bitten by a snake will cause beasts to be invisible.

It is often mentioned in the Jātakas that the Nāga can carry destruction by fiery blash of his nostrils. In the Kharaputta-Jātaka the angry Nāga king sends for Nāga youths and orders them to enter King Senaka's bedchamber and destroy him like chaff by the breath of their nostrils.

Suśruta says at the outset of his chapter on snake-poison:— "Innumerable are the famous Lords of Nāgas, headed by Vāsuki and beginning from Takṣaka, earth-bearers resembling the sacrificial fire in their splendour (*tejas*) who incessantly cause thunder, rain and heat, and by whom this earth with her oceans, mountains and continents is supported, and who in their wrath might smite the whole world by their breath and sight. Homage be to those; with them there is no need of the healing art. But of those of the poison fangs that belong to the earth and bite human beings I will enumerate the number in appropriate manner and in the proper order."[1]

The Nāga in his animal form is conceived as the hooded snake. Mucalinda shelters the Buddha against the inclemency of the weather by spreading his hood over the master's head. The Nāga in India is always represented by the hood.

The simplest form in which the Nāgas appear in Indian art is the serpent form. It is represented many-headed. At Bharhut, Bodh-Gaya and Sanchi five-hooded Nāga is represented. This primitive form of representing the serpent has been preserved upto the present day on the Nāga Kals of

1. [illegible] Kalpasthāna iv, ed. Calcutta, 1835, vol. ii. p. 252.

Southern India and in Mansa worship in Bengal. The human shaped Nāga form is also widely represented in India throughout Buddhist Art.

At Bharhut the worship of Buddha by the Nāgarāja Elaputra gives us an idea how the Nāgarāja and his queens are depicted.

At Ajanta there is a group which represents the Nāgarāja with sevenfold snake hood attended by his consort with one snake hood.

In later Indian Art, the mermaid type of Nāga is represented. The upper part is human, while the lower part from the hips downward is purely animal.

In Mahābhārata, Kadrū is mentioned as the mother of serpents.

From the above it appears that the Nāga cult has always laid stress on the male Nāga figure. There is harldy any representation where the female Nāgī is the principal deity. At Pataliputra we have come across three terracotta female figurines (Nāgīs) with serpent hood. The treatment of coil is quite different. The serpent coil is clear and prominent in the third figure.

2. *Description of serpent deities.*

(1) In terracotta female figurine bearing register No. B. 29 of 1915–16, depth 21′-5″, we find a serpent deity with shirt and apron like drapery. There is a serpent coil on the head.

(2) In terracotta female figurine bearing No. B. 15 of 1915–16, depth 15′, we find serpent hood on the head. This figure has also peculiar drapery with apron and flap at sides. There is a coiled serpent on the arm.

(3) In terracotta female figurine bearing No. 640 of 1926–27, depth 8′-4″, we find a female head with serpent coil clearly shewn.

(4) In terracotta figurine bearing register No. 7507 there is represented the face of an animal serpent put on a stand.

First three show human form with serpent coil and hood in Anthropomerfic form and the fourth the animal form.

3. *Terracotta figurines and serpent goddesses.*

It is very difficult to say whether the terracotta female figurines with serpent coils and hoods represent any particular serpent deities. In our present day mythology there is a difference between Tāntric goddess Tārā with serpent hood and serpent goddess Vaśuki or Mansa. It is quite likely that the terracotta female figurines with serpent coils are representations of Tārā and the serpent figure is really a serpent deity which resembles Mansa as worshipped in Bengal.

4. *Other points.*

A comparison of the Pataliputra terracotta figurines of serpent goddesses with serpent goddess found at Crete reveals the fact that the worship of serpent deities was widely prevalent in ancient time. Some scholars think there is a racial connexion between the people inhabiting Southern India and the people inhabiting Asia Minor and Crete. If we accept Mr. Hall's theory that Sumerians came from India then Southern India seems to have been the home of the race, who extended from Southern India to Crete.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE SYSTEM OF ĀŚRAMAS:

By Dr. P. M. Modi, M. A., Ph. D.

(*Bhavnagar.*)

There have been many efforts to trace the evolution of the system of the four castes of the Hindus. But so far as I know, there have been no such endeavour to find out the history of the development of their system of the four orders of life (*āśramas*). I wish to put forth in this note some evidence which shows that originally there were only three *āśramas* and that the *vānaprastha* and the *saṃnyāsa* orders were not distinguished at first, so that they formed only one order of life.

A passage from the Chāndogya Upaniṣad runs as follows:—

> "*trayo dharmaskandhā yajño' dhyayanaṁ dānam iti prathamas tapa eva dvitīyo brahmacāryācāryakulavāsī tṛtīyo 'tyantam ātmānam ācāryakule'vasādayan sarva ete puṇyalokā bhavanti brahmasaṁstho' mṛtatvam eti*" ||
>
> (Ch. Up. II. 23. 1).

According to this passage there are three religious orders, viz., (1) that of a house-holder, (2) that of one who performs penances, (3) and that of a perpetual or life-long student. All the three get meritorious forms of life hereafter and any of the three who is established in Brahman gets immortality. The contrast between '*puṇyalokaḥ*' and '*amṛtatva*' shows that the same three are the recipients of immortality if they realize Brahman. In this passage a Brahmacārin intending to marry is not distinguished from a householder. but only a life-long student is here differentiated from a married man. It is likely that in the same way a *vānaprastha* and a *sannyāsin* were not distinguished at the time when this passage was written. The

fact that a predecessor of Śaṅkara (the Vṛttikāra according to Ānandagiri) and Śaṅkara himself try, each in his own way, to interpret this passage so as to include in it somehow or other a reference to the *sannyāsa* order, also strengthens the explanation proposed above.

The Manusmṛti has also preserved some verses which show that at first there were only three *āśramas*:—

(a) *ta eva hi trayo lokās ta eva traya āśramāḥ* ।
ta eva hi trayo vedās ta evoktās trayo'gnayaḥ ॥
Manu. II. 230.

Just as the words *loka, veda* and *agni* can refer to the number three only, so the words '*ta eva traya āśramāḥ*' can refer to only three *āśramas*; it is likely that this and the following are older verses and record the older custom of three *āśramas*.

(b) *yasmāt trayo'pyāśramiṇo jñānenānnena cānvaham* ।
gṛhasthenaiva dhāryante tasmājjyeṣṭhāśramo gṛhī ॥
Manu. III. 78.

The force of *api* in *tasmāt trayo'pyāśramiṇaḥ* is 'all' i. e. all the three; even the *gṛhastha* or householder has to depend upon other householders.

Thus there is evidence that originally there were three *aśramas* and that the functions of the later *vānaprastha* and *gṛhastha* orders were originally combined in one single order of life.

GOTRA AND PRAVARA IN VEDIC LITERATURE.

By P. V. Kane, M.A., LL.M.

(Bombay).

A comprehensive history of *gotra* and *pravara* has yet to be written. The mass of material on this subject is so vast and bewildering that the author of the Pravaramañjari remarks (pp. 72 and 134, edited by Chensal Rao) that the opinions of the sūtrakāras appear to be incomprehensible.

Gotra entered into numerous practices of the ancient Aryans in India and it was of supreme importance in several fundamental religious matters, e. g. (1) in marriage the bride and bridegroom had to be of different gotra; vide Gobhila-gṛ. III. 4-3-5, Hiraṇyakeśi-gṛ. I. 19-2, Āp. Dh. S. II. 5-11-15; (2) in the *lāja-homa* in marriage Jāmadagnyas had to make three offerings, while others made two; (3) men of the same gotra with the deceased (*sagotra*) were heirs to his wealth, vide Gautama Dh. S. 28-19; (4) in Śrāddha the brāhmaṇa to be invited was not to be of the same gotra, if possible; vide Āp. Dh. S. II. 7-17-4, Gautama Dh. S. 15-20, Baudhāyana Dh. S. II. 8-6.; (5) in Śrāddhas *piṇḍa* was to be offered to the ancestor after repeating his gotra, vide Viṣṇu Dh. S. 21-3 and 73-14; (6) in the *pārvaṇa sthālīpāka* and other *pākayajñas* the *pañcāvattins* (the Jāmadagnyas and others) were to cut off the oblations from the middle, the fore-part and the hind-part of the *havis*, while others were to cut off only from the middle and the fore-part; vide Āś. gṛ. S. I. 10. 18-19 and compare Mānavaśrauta I. 3. 2-5; (7) in offering water to a *preta* (person recently dead) his *gotra* and name were to be recited; vide Āś. gṛ. S. IV. 4-10 and Vaikhānasa-smārtasū. V. 6; (8) in the *caula* of a boy tufts of hair were to be left on the head in accordance with the practice of particular *gotras* and families; vide Khādira-gṛ. II. 3-30 and Sabara on Jaimini I. 3-2. where he says 'gotracinham śikhākarma'.

The above examples show that the gotra system was closely intertwined with numerous rites in the family and so must have been the outcome of ages. The general conception about *gotra* is that it comprises ascendants and descendants in an unbroken male line from a common ancestor. The Baudhāyana Śrauta (pravarādhyāya, B. I. edi vol. III p. 467) says that the issue of eight sages, viz. Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Bharadvāja, Gautama, Atri, Vasiṣṭha, Kaśyapa and Agastya, constitute *gotra* and that there are thousands and millions of *gotras*, but the *pravaras* are only 49, vide Patañjali (Mahābhāṣya on IV. I. 79, vol. II. p. 253 Kielhorn) and Āp. Dh. S. II. 9. 23. 3-4 (two verses from a purāṇa) for the statement that there were 88000 sages who were the offspring of the primeval eight sages enumerated above. Pāṇini (IV. I. 162) defines gotra as 'apatyam pautra-prabhṛti' for grammatical purposes in the *apatyādhikāra*, but elsewhere in his work uses the word in its general sense (vide Kāśikā on Pāṇini IV. 2-39 and IV. 3-80). The Śānti-parva (chap. 297 śl. 17-18, Bombay ed.) says that there were originally only four gotras, Aṅgiras, Kaśyapa, Vasiṣṭha and Bhṛgu. This seems to be merely a guess. The Purāṇas contain conflicting accounts. It is necessary to go beyond the Sūtras and Purāṇas in order to trace the origin and development of *gotra*.

In the Ṛgveda *gotra* occurs several times, but in most cases in a totally different sense. In some verses it means 'cowstall' or 'herd of cows' e.g. Ṛg. I. 51-3, II. 17-1, III. 30-21, III. 39-4, III. 43-7, IX. 86-23. X. 48-2, X. 120-8. In all these cases it has the same sense as *goṣṭha* or *vraja* both of which occur in Ṛg; vide VI. 28-1 and X. 97-8 (for goṣṭha) and Ṛg. IV. 20-8, VI. 73-3, VII. 27-1 (for vraja). By a natural metaphor gotra came to mean a cloud (in which waters are pent as cows in a cowpen) or cloud-demon and also a mountain-peak (or range), vide Ṛg. II. 23-3, IV. 16-8, VI.17-2, X. 103. 6-7. In some of these last it is possible to take gotra in the sense of 'fort'. In some coses gotra seems to mean assemblage (samūha) e.g. Ṛg. II. 23-18, VI. 65-5. From this last sense of assemblage the transition to the meaning 'group of persons' is easy and quick. There are words like 'yuga' (yoke

and long period of time) which are used in the Ṛgveda in two senses. Therefore, it cannot be said with certainty that gotra had not come to mean in the Ṛgvedic age 'a group of persons'.

The Atharvaveda (V. 21.3) has the word 'Viśvagotryaḥ' (belonging to or connected with all the families). The Kauśika-sūtra (IV. 2) quotes a *mantra* in which *gotra* appears to mean 'a group of persons'. In Taittirīya Saṁhitā I. 8. 18. 1 it is said that the hotṛ priest is a Bhārgava (in the Rājasūya) and in Tai. S. III. 5. 2. 1 it is said that in the Jyotiṣṭoma the Brahmā priest must be a Vāsiṣṭha. Tai. S. VII. 1.9.1. shows that even then Jamadagni was regarded as an ancient sage, that several generations of Jamadagni's descendants had passed away by that time, that they were all known as Jamadagnis and that no two Jāmadagnyas were found to be poor (or grey-haired) in succession.

Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā (III.8.9.) appears to say that each *gotra* had its own special rites and formulæ.

Ṛg. X. 66.14 says 'the Vasiṣṭhas have raised their voices like their father' and shows that the descendants of Vasiṣṭha were styled Vasiṣṭhas and Ṛg. VI. 36. 4–5 show that Bharadvājas are referred to as Āṅgirasas (acc. to Āśvalāyana–śrauta Bharadvājas fall under Aṅgirogaṇa).

The Brāhmaṇa literature indicates that the priestly families had by that time been grouped into several groups named after their (real or supposed) founders and that they differed in matters of worship according to the group they belonged to. The Tai. Br. I. 1.4.8 prescribes different *mantras* for the consecration (ādhāna) of the sacred fires for Bhṛgus and Aṅgirases and for other brāhmaṇas. The Tai. Br. II. 2.3 7 refers to the Āṅgirasī prajāḥ. The Tāṇḍya Br. (18.2.12) prescribes that a cup (*camasa*) of *udumbara* was to be given to a *sagotra* as dakṣiṇā. The Śāṅkhāyana–br. (25.15) lays down that one who has performed the Viśvajit should stay with a brāhmaṇa having the same gotra as his, vide Jaiminīya Upaniṣad–br. III 3.4. The Aitareya–brāhmaṇa contains many interesting passages about gotra. The Ait. Br. (Haug's ed. IV.

26 and Anandāśrama 19.4) explains why over the *prājāpatya* *paśu* the Āprī verses ascribed to Jamadagni (Ṛg. X. 110.1–11) are to be recited, while over other *paśus* the respective Āprī verses ascribed to the several sages are to be recited for the descendants of those sages. In the story of Aitaśa and his son (Ait. Br. VI. 33=30.7) we find at the end that the Aitaśāyanas Abhyagnis are the most sinful of the Aurvas (vide Kauṣītaki Br. 30.5 where it is said that the Aitaśāyanas are the most sinful among Bhṛgus. We find that when Śunaḥśepa was accepted as a son by Viśvāmitra he came to be called Devarāta and Ait. Br. says that the Kāpileyas Bābhravas were affiliated to Devarāta (Ait. Br. VI. 17=33.5). According to Āpastamba and Satyāṣāḍha Devarāta and Babhru are subdivisions of Viśvāmitra gotra. The Ait. Br. quotes a *gāthā* (in the story of Śunaḥśepa) according to which gotra relationship was by birth and gives Madhucchandas, Ṛṣabha, Reṇu and Aṣṭaka as some of the younger sons of Viśvāmitra. These (except Ṛṣabha) are either subdivisions of Viśvāmitra gotra or *pravaras* of some of the sub-divisions of Viśvāmitra gotra. In the story of Rāma Mārgaveya, we are told that Asitamṛgas are a section of the Kaśyapas. Hariścandra had Viśvāmitra, Jamadagni, Vasiṣṭha and Ayāsya respectively as his hotṛ, adhvaryu, brahmā and udgātṛ (Ait. Br. VII. 16). The Tai. Ā. (II. 6) refers to *gotra*.

In the famous story of Satyakāma the Chāndogya (IV. 4) says that his teacher, before accepting him as a pupil, asked him what his gotra was and as he could not state it, he was called Jābāla after his mother. One strange inference drawn from this story is that a teacher could give a fanciful name to his pupil (Hastings' Encyclopædia vol. V. p. 354). Satyakāma Jābāla is mentioned as a very ancient sage even in the Ait. Br. (VIII. 7=37. 2). This is rather an attempt at the etymology of the name Jābāla. Further when a boy saluted his teacher's feet, the ācārya was to ask him his name which was derived from a *nakṣatra* or *devatā* or from his gotra and [illegible], vide Gobhilagṛ. II.10.22–25. In the Praśna (I), Chāndogya (V.14.1 and V.16. 1) and Bṛhadāraṇyaka (II. 2.4) several gotras are mentioned by name.

The above discussion shows that the gotra system had become quite developed by the time of the Brāhmaṇas and entered into many religious practices. Whether it then entered into the marriage relations also it is not possible to say with confidence.

The conception of *pravara* is closely interwoven with that of gotra from ancient times. According to gṛhya and dharma sūtras it entered into several domestic ceremonies e. g. (1) a sapravara girl was not to be married, vide Mānava gṛhya 1. 7–8, Gautama Dh. S. IV. 2, Vārāhā-gṛ. 9 : (2) the *mekhalā* in upanayana was to have one, three, or five knots according to *pravaras*, vide Śāṅkhāyana-gṛ. II. 2, Kāṭhaka-gṛ. 41. 13 and Manu II. 43; (3) in *Caula* the number of tufts left on the head depended on *pravara* Ap. gṛ. VI. 16.6.

Pravara literally means 'choice, invocation'. Agni was invoked to carry offerings of a sacrificer to the gods by taking the names of his illustrious ancestors who in former times invoked Agni; so the word *pravara* came to denote one or more illustrious ancestors of a sacrificer. A synonym of pravara is ārṣeya. It was laid down that the *pravara* of a gotra may be constituted by one, two, three or five sages but not by four. This is an ancient rule stated in the śrautasūtras. The vast majority of gotras have three pravaras. The word Ārṣeya occurs in the Ṛgveda, though *pravara* does not, vide Ṛg. IX. 97.51. In Ṛg. VIII. 102.4 we read 'I invoke Agni just as Aurva, Bhṛgu and Apnavāna did'. According to Baudhāyana these are three out of the five pravaras of Vatsa-Bhṛgus, vide Ṛg. 1. 45.3 and X. 150. 5, where Agni is invoked in the same way as several ancient sages did; and those sages are named (the sages named are all pravara names, though not of the same gotra). In Ṛg. VII. 18.21 Parāśara, Śatayātu and Vasiṣṭha are mentioned (while Parāśara, Sakti and Vasiṣṭha are the pravaras of the Parāśaras, a subdivision of Vasiṣṭha-gotra according to Baudhāyana.) In the Atharvaveda the word *ārṣeya* is used in the sense of 'connected with or sprung from ṛṣis', vide XI. I. 16, XI. 1. 25–26 and 32–33, 35, XII 4.2 and 12. In Vājasaneyasaṁ. VII. 46, XXI, 61 we have *ārṣeya* used in a similar sense. In Tai. S. VI. 6. 104 the words 'ṛṣim' and 'ārṣeyam' used in Tai S. I. 4. 43 are explained. In Tai. S. both pravara and ārṣeya are employed. In Tai. S. II. 5. 8. 7 the

word 'ārṣeyam' is used in the sense of 'one or more ancestc of the sacrificer' and reference, is made to one of the tı modes of repeating the *pravara-ṛṣis*. In one mode the remot ancestor is named first in a *taddhita* form, then his descendȧ and so on (e. g. the *pravara* of Bhṛgu in this form is 'Bh gava-cyāvanā-pnavānaurva-Jāmadagnyeti'). This is adopt by the *hotṛ* priest when he invokes fire with the *pravara-mı tıa* 'agne mahān-asi' &c. (Tai. S. II. 5. 11.9 and Śatapatha. 1.4.2). In the other mode the affix 'vat' is used after each and the remotest one is mentioned last (Jamadagniv Ūrvavat, Apnavānavat, etc). When the *adhvaryu* pri chooses the hotṛ the former employs this method. Tai. S. II. 11.9 appears to refer to this second method. The Kauṣītȧ Br. (III. 2) has a similar reference to the *ārṣeya* of ı sacrificer ; vide Tāṇḍya Br. XX. 15. 9–11 also for *ārṣeya* a Tai. Br. 1. 1. 6. and III. 8. 2 and Gopatha-br. (pūrvārdha 5 and 8 and uttarabhāga III.18). In the Ait. Br. (VII. 25=34 about the announcement of the *dīkṣā* of a kṣattriya, it is said tl it is to be 'a brāhmaṇa has been initiated, but only with ı *pravara* of the purohita'. This is the origin of the rule in ı Āśvalāyanaśrauta (Uttaraṣaṭka VI. 15. 4–5) and Baud. Ś. (pravarapraśna 54) that the kṣattriyas and vaiśyas have *pravaras* of their own, but take those of their *purohita*. Ait. Br. VII. 31 (=35.5) also there is a similar reference; v Ait. Br. VIII. 3 (=36.3) for *ārṣeya* and VI. 14 (=28.6) wh *pravara* seems to be used in the sense of 'reference or addre The Śatapatha Br. (I. 4.2.3–4) says that in invoking Agni c should begin from the farthest end (of the sacrificer's ancest line) downwards and clearly indicates that the three or f ancestors, in whose name Agni was invoked, were related blood as father and son and not by apostolic succession.

The above discussion shows that from earliest times ı pravara system was employed in invoking Agni, and that was dovetailed into the gotra system. When the requirem as to difference of *pravāra* in marriage came into vogue, i difficult to say. But if a guess may be hazarded, it appe that the refinement as to pravara was a later requirement th that about gotra.

SOCIAL LIFE OF THE CHODHRAS OF GUJARAT.

By B. H. Mehta, M. A.

(Bombay).

The Chodhras, one of the tribes belonging to the Bhill community, inhabit the south-east portion of Gujarat where the Sātpuras meet the Western Ghats. The total population of the tribe is about 45,000 souls. They are mostly agriculturists, and the majority cultivate the lands belonging to the Banias. They do not live in compact villages. Their huts are scattered over the fields they cultivate; or they are found living in small groups of huts which form pretty hamlets. Most of the villages are small, some of them having a population of only a hundred souls.

The Chodhras maintain that they are the original inhabitants of Pāvāghad Hill, and the main caste of Chokhapuris was formerly known by that name. We may denote the Chodhras as a tribe, because they are a collection of families or groups of families bearing a common name which does not denote any specific occupation, they occupy a more or less definite territory, they speak a common dialect, they are endogamous, and are held together by the obligations of blood-feud.

The tribe is divided into four subdivisions : The Chokhapuris or Chokhas, the Chautalias or Motas, the Valavias and the Bondas. These subdivisions are not clans, but they may be included in that class which Sir W. Hunter regards as tribal castes. (Hunter : Imp. Gazetteer of India, Ind. Emp. Vol. I, Page 314). The oldest subdivision of the tribe appears to be the Chokhapuris, who were originally known as Pāvāghadias. The Chautalias, more known as the Motas, once belonged to the same subdivision; but a partition divided them

on account of religious differences. The Motas refused to accept certain reforms which were introduced into the tribe. They form the aristocracy or the conservative element in the tribe with the usual marks of landed aristocracy–a big estate, a huge debt, and a good capacity for drink. Inter–dining between the two subdivisions is allowed at the present day, and even inter–marriages are permitted, though these were prohibited a decade ago. The rigid isolation of the subdivisions was broken down by the devastating famine of 1901. The poor Chodhras, who have no lands and who are mere agricultural labourers, are called the Valavias, and the reformed section amongst them is called the Bondas.

In theory, inter–dining and inter–marriage are prohibited. Minor differences in dress and ornaments, variations in the amount of bride-price and a local patriotism in their own caste are the only differences we find at the present day in the various subdivisions.

Two important causes have contributed towards the subdivision of the tribe. The first is the social position accruing from occupation and the second is a change in the religious beliefs of the people. In the period following the end of the prevalence of shifting cultivation when individuals came to own land, the land–owners must have hired labour to cultivate the fields and hence the origin of persons of an inferior social order. A change in the religious faith of the people was responsible for the origin of the Chokhas, the Motas and the Bondas.

A similar subdivision on a much larger scale seems to be originating under the influence of the Ghandhy school of thought. In almost all the tribes of Southern Gujarat we come across groups of people who are known as the Varjelas and the Sarjelas. The followers of Mr. Ghandhy are known as the Varjelas, the orthodox section as the Sarjelas. The former [illegible] supposed to have renounced the evil habits of life, [illegible] latter are regarded as destined to continue to live [illegible] ent miserable existence. The origin of the present [illegible] olution may be traced to the well known Devi

ival of 1922. The Revival, based on the psychic pheno-
a of 'possession' shook the whole aboriginal population
ujarat causing far-reaching reforms in the social, religious,
economic life of the people.

The subdivisions of the tribe are no longer rigid social
s, but they are being gradually broken up into scattered
ıps which are no longer able to enforce the law of endo-
y. This process of scattering may be said to have begun
the recognisation of private ownership of land when large
ıbers of persons were forced to migrate in search of labour.
most important cause, however, of the breaking up of
ıl solidarity, was the disastrous famine of 1901 which killed
ost one-eighth of the population of Gujarat. Thousands
to migrate and thus inter-married in their new homes.

Though the tribe is divided into many subdivisions, these
radically different from the so-called castes in the
paraj. Some of the rigidities of the caste system we find
he aboriginal tribes; but there is a complete absence of the
ihness and indignities that are the lot of the lower castes
ıe hands of the Ujliparaj. Less important causes may
de the tribe, but the primitive conception of the homo-
eity of the tribe remains even today as firm as ever.

All members of the tribe are bound together by the com-
ı bond of kinship. The classifactory system of relation-
seems to have prevailed in the past, but now they have
pted the descriptive system of relationship from their
paraj neighbours.

Human relationships arise out of marriage. Amongst the
dhras marriage is a union regulated by tribal conventions.
a free and often transient union, but generally regarded
ı sentiments of reverence which last to the end of life.

Marriages in the tribe are more frequent than in civilised
ımunities, and this is mostly due to the ephemeral nature
ıe marriage-tie and also because of the want of crystalli-
on of the emotions of affection and devotion.

Widow remarriages are most frequent in the tribe. In
ıy cases widowers and widows couple together for their

future happiness. Widowers are found to remarry more than widows because when a widow remarries, she has to renounce her children; the hardships of married life are never welcome, and hence the widow remarries only out of economic necessity; she can earn her living as a farm-labourer; she has to repay half the bride-price to the family of her first husband when she remarries; widowers find unmarried girls to marry them, but unmarried men are not willing to marry widows.

The frequency of marriage is universally low amongst women. This is due to the fact that from very young age the girl is taught to look upon marriage as a duty and a hardship. The actual treatment of women after marriage encourages the prejudices. Her disinclination to marry is denoted by the custom of crying, shrieking and hiding herself before the marriage ceremony, so that she has to be carried to the house of her husband on the marriage day.

The frequency of marriage is influenced by the age at which boys and girls marry. Amongst the Chodhras the usual marriage age is about twenty one for boys and sixteen to eighteen for girls. A decade ago marriages never took place till the boy was twenty five years of age.

Formally the right of the boy and girl to select his and her partner is recognised; but in practice important economic considerations play a part in the selection of the marriage-partner.

A girl of marriageable age is called 'Vecvānī'-to be sold. It is a custom in the tribe that the father-in-law should pay a bride-price to the bride's father. This is called the 'dej'. The bride-price consists of money, ornaments and a suit of new clothes. The amount in all the subdivisions varies between 40¼ and 150¼. The customary bride-price is Rs. 64¼. A widow, when she remarries, has to repay half the bride-price she has already received, and she receieves Rs. [illegible] if she has no children from the new husband. If she has children by the first husband then she receives only Rs. [illegible]

When a prospective husband is very poor, or is an orphan, and if he is not able to secure an 'ehnaru'-marriage (where the bride-price is not paid) then he agrees to the 'khandharia' form of marriage. This form of marriage by servitude imposes upon the husband the duty to labour for the family of the bride. These marriages are not exceptions but are frequently practised as the economic condition of the people worsens day by day.

Though marriages are mostly contracted for economic reasons, one need not suppose that there is a complete absence of courtship and such other preliminaries before marriage is actually contracted. The pasture, the market place and the festivals and especially the dancing arena present full opportunities for the play of the sex-drama. Besides dress, ornaments, looks, gestures and various other devices in the manner of parting the hair, the wearing of bright colours, and love-charms are used by both boys and girls to attract the partners of their choice. Somehow indiscretions are never frequent; only in some cases romances lead to marriage; otherwise the dreams of youth are forgotten with the dawn of the cruel economic realities of life.

The marriage takes place in the marriage season-May and June. The ceremony is marked by elaborate magical rites which are performed by the unmarried sisters or cousins of the couple. Four 'olavas' or witnesses are present at the wedding and the husband has to show that he will be able to provide for his wife and children. The bride is accompanied by a 'harvan' or bride-in-waiting who stays with the bride for five days after the marriage.

Amongst all human beings there is a strong feeling that certain sex-relations are legitimate, whilst others are improper and undesirable. Custom regulates the moral behaviour of individuals according to which divorce, polygamy, adultery, sexual laxity and the treatment of illegitimate children are dealt with.

Adultery amongst the Chodhras is a punishable offence; the parties guilty may be punished with a fine and in some

cases physical chastisement is meted out. The complaining party may also obtain a 'fārgati' or divorce, though such an extreme measure is never contemplated.

Though marriage is regarded as a pledge towards a permanent union, it is very often terminated at the wish of any one of the partners. 'Fārgati' is most commonly practised in the tribe. When a man desires a divorce, he has merely to pay his wife Rs. 5 and order her to return to her parents. The woman has to return her children to the husband and also half the amount of bride-price she received at the time of marriage. The most important causes of divorce are illtreatment of the wife, incapacity or disinclination on the part of the woman to perform her domestic duties, quarrels in the family, adultery and sterility or impotence.

Till only twenty years ago polygamy prevailed in the tribe. Only rare cases are traceable to-day, and it is condemned by public opinion. The following causes prohibit the growth of polygamy: access of males over females, easy conditions to obtain divorce, disinclination on the part of the woman to marry, influence of the monogamous Ujliparaj castes, the development of the idea of individual ownership of property, the custom of the payment of bride-price, public opinion and the economic condition of the people. As the peasants are becoming landless labourers, there is less demand of workers in the family.

We shall now consider the routine administration of the tribe. Authority, custom and chance are three sources of law. The relations between human beings are not yet regulated by contract. Tradition is the most powerful link which binds men together. All customs and traditions are enforced by the village assembly or 'panch' which consists of all the elders of the village irrespective of social position or economic conditions. Each family is represented by one male elder. The assembly elects a 'kārbhāri' who becomes the executive head of the panch. The panch perfoms the following functions: the performance of rites, arrangement for pilgrimages to hill-gods, mediation in family squabbles, deciding cases of divorce, investigating cases of abduction, adultery, theft and violence, [illegible] of grave breach of tribal traditions like inter-marriage,

The only form of punishment meted out is a small fine, and only in rare cases the guilty person is excommunicated. The fine is paid to the aggrieved person, or a village general fund. So much men do to punish the culprit; the rest is left to the gods. The ghost of a chronic sinner is eaten away by the 'dākinī'! For small sins man forfeits his right to be born a human being, and he is supposed to be reborn as a frog, snake, goat, rat or chicken. Divine wrath seems to be ruthless and pitiless, but man is tolerant, broad-minded and full of understanding for the small lapses of his brother.

At the present day the tribe has lost its authority, and customs have lost that rigid inflexibility, which they possessed in the early tribal days. The influence of the so called civilised communities, their partial, vague and complex ideas of sin, crime and punishment and the constant interference of an alien Government which according to them has failed to regulate affairs according to the custom and ideas of the people, have contributed to diminish the unique and single authority of the tribal elders. To a people accustomed to simplicity, honesty, and a grim sense of realism, the modern complex, doubtful, theoretical and ideological methods and codes are mere enigmas which completely fail to serve any purpose, when put to the test of service in order to safeguard the interest and happiness of the people they are meant to protect. On the other hand the unwritten law has lost its influence due to the strong public opinion in favour of reforms in order to adjust life to new social and economic conditions. Old traditions are violated with impunity, without involving any strong protest from the elders. The orthodox section is in a hopeless minority.

The willingness of the tribe to accept reforms is due to important reasons. Religious beliefs are flexible, emotions dominate over reason in all activities, the community is not divided into sharp conflicting interests, there are hardly any vested interests and the economic conditions have reached the verge of grinding poverty, where any relief or hope of relief is welcome, and women who are always favourable to new conditions are able to influence the elders.

The tribe is patriarchal, and the father is the undisputed head of the family. Woman occupies a subordinate position both in the family and the tribe. She is a taboo in religion. She has no right in the selection of her mate, though the right is formally recognised. Woman gives her share in the economic life of the family, and she works in the fields with her son and brother. Though the domination of the male is complete, she is formally recognised his equal. She can influence, though not command. The superiority of the male is recognised as natural and the woman does not suffer under an inferiority complex.

The status of the eldest son is the same as that of any other child until he marries, when in many cases he is handed over the control of the household.

In the tribe, the joint-family is present only in some of its forms. The father is the head of the family and sole owner of all properties. There is no inchoate right of sons as soon as born ; and there is no disability (in theory at least) on the part of the father to dispose off his properties as he likes. At present, the property is divided between all the sons according to the wish of the father, or the decision of the elders. The following is the line of succession: sons, grandson, wife of eldest son, wife of other sons according to seniority of the sons, daughter, son of daughter, mother, elder brother, other brothers, sister, sister's son, wife's brother, and child of wife's brother. The properties of the father are inherited together with his liabilities. In most cases, the mother remains trustee of the property till the eldest son marries.

All brothers stay together, but often they separate after marriage. Property is divided between the brothers when they separate. In this matter they often resort to arbitration. The sister receives a part as gift from the brothers.

The solidarity of the tribe crumbled as soon as property-right in land was recognised. The Hindu law of inheritance now came to be applied, and land had to be divided between the sons. Separation led to indebtedness, and land began to pass into the hands of the money-lenders.

The breaking of the family means the destruction of the the solidarity of the tribe. Without land the elders lose their social position. With the loss of land, emigration begins. Thus is completed the dissolution of the tribe. The scattered members of the tribe will be most likely asssimilated into the Hindu castes.

VIRGIN BIRTH AND NATIVITY.

By HIRALAL AMRITLAL SHAH.

(*Bombay*).

The problem of the proper month for Nativity is taken up first. From reference to various authors, it is shown that the current date and month (25th December) has *no solid basis.* Sir Issac Newton says that the "times of birth and passion of Christ were little regarded by the Christians of the first age. They who first began to celebrate them placed them in the cardinal points of the year.........the birth of Christ in the winter solstice, December 25th. So also at the entrance of the Sun into all the signs of the Julian calendar, they placed the days of the saints......all which shews that these days were first fixed in the Christian churches by mathematicians *at pleasure, without any ground in tradition.*" Hospian a learned German antiquary is of opinion that " the Christians at Rome did not celebrate the 25th of December as thinking Christ was then born, but to make amends for the heathen Saturnalia." Scaliger says that "to determine the true day of Christ's birth belongs to God alone, not man." He mentions various conjectured dates for the event, which dates include "the Vernal Equinox when the passover was celebrated, as also the Autumal Equinox "when the feast of tabernacle was celebrated." Extensive quotations are made from 'A New Analysis of Chronology and Geography......', Vol. I pp. 92/3, of Rev. William Hales, of which the above ones are in brief.

The writer proposes to rely in this paper on the *harmony* of topographic and seasonal conditions of Palestine with the narrations of the events in the Gospels. For the former, extensive quotations are made from "The Dictionary of Christ and Gospels" (in two volumes) by J. Hastings, from its

sections on 'Winter', 'Summer', 'Agriculture', 'Water supply of the country' etc. For the latter, Luke II, 1,20 and Matthew I, 18,25; II, 1–23 are relied upon. This *internal evidence* is sought *to ascertain the proper time of Nativity.*

The seasonal conditions show that in Palestine,

A. Winter is the time of *cold, rains and storms.* Rains last roughly from October to April inclusive. This is the season in which the rain supply of the year falls.

B. Ploughing begins after the 'early' rain towards the end of September or the beginning of October and goes on right through the winter. The intervening period of October and March-April is marked by *the heavy rains of winter*, the wettest month being January.

C. The rainfall is 20 to 40 inches average, the uplands getting the highest. In the highest lying parts, as Lebanon, there is a considerable *fall of snow.*

D. On the highest land the *cold is intense* (in winter), snow lying at times to a depth of some inches.

E. "It is a land where the science of road-making is practically unknown". (Note: H. A. S.—In such conditions, roads are usually below level and they remain flooded or drenched for days together with the slightest shower). "The *paths go swiftly to mud* so that *travel in winter* is always toilsome and not seldom perilous."

F. The harvest in Palestine begins in the end of May "the threshing and winnowing that follow and the *gathering of fruits in August and September*, until the *clouds* herald the coming of rains and cold".

It is remarkable that nowhere the gospels dwell upon the inclemency of the weather or the severity of the season which the authors would never forget to heighten the effect of their narrative. The *movements*, that the narratives refer to, are *impossible in winter especially in the end of December.*

It is pointed out that no ruler would fix up the months of rain, cold, snow and storm for the purposes of census, asking people to shift to their respective towns on muddy roads. He would select any other part of the year, rather than frustrate the census. That Joseph took to travel just *before and after* the birth of Christ in the delicate condition of the mother *in the severe climate of the winter* is inconceivable. Much more that he should leave the lower plains for upper mountainous parts.

It is impossible that the shepherds tended their flocks in the rainy season and that they kept themselves in the open, under severe cold when paths were muddy, when the fields were drenched, with every possibility of storm and snow-fall or that they resorted to mountains (or heights) leaving plains and valleys.

It is an unwarranted assumption that the sky was clear and the paths were clear to permit the Wise Men from East to observe the star, to follow it and to take the shepherds along with them. The continuous visibility of the star is an impossibility in the month of December in this land, over and above travels to and fro.

Hence in every way, December is the wrong month for the nativity and travels. The proper one seems to be the *season of harvest* particularly when *gathering of the fruit in August-September* takes place. It is shown that Matthew III, 11, 12 refer to "and he will gather his wheat into the garner" In IX, 38 Christ is referred to as the "Lord of the Harvest". Hence the nativity about or before the Autumnal equinox in the month of September would be justified. This leads to the problem of the Virgin birth. In the months of August, September, *sun is in sign Virgo* and in old times, *the heliacal rise of the Canopus* (*A-Argo Navis*) is completed. The star of the Gospels seems to be the heliacal appearance of *Canopus in the harvest season.* The connection of the sign Virgo seems to have given rise to the imagery of the Virgin birth. The star is in the stern of the constellation of the ship Argo. Its being in the 'ship' seems to be responsible for another

imagery of Christ preaching to the multitude on the shore *in the evening* (cf. Matthew XIII, 1-3; XIV, 13-14; XIV, 22ff.). The consideration of this star with the life history of Christ would explain many of the passages of the gospels-the writer urges it confidently.

The researches of the writer about the conception of Vedic Gods point that the goddess Uṣas (the Dawn) is associated with the Vernal and the Autumnal equinox when she is said to arrive with a bright child. This refers to the Sun and to the star Canopus (Agastya). The idea is a close parallel to the idea of the Mother Virgin with the Child in her arm.

Another parallel is pointed out. Both Luke (I, 26 ff.) and Matthew (I, 18,25) refer to the angel who is announcing the Holy Ghost, but with a slight difference. The former does not refer to the husband; the latter does not talk to the mother; and Joseph 'knew her not,' *"till she had brought fouth a son."* In the Śākuntala of Kālidāsa (Act V) the hero knew her not, although she was with the child. The union follows when the child is already there. In his other drama Vikramorvaśiya the poet brings in a similar situation. The heroine is separated and the hero is unaware of the course of pregnancy. When the child appears (in harvest after rains) he is known and the hero is reconciled to the situation by his friend suggesting him not to put human standards to these superhuman beings. The explanation seems to be just the same as to the Virgin birth-they are all stories on an identical plane. We have to take it all as symbolical of the events not entirely human but *symbolical of the arrival of the star Canopus when Sun is in the sign Virgo* and when the 'stones' are turned into bread, that is, when agriculural process on earth developes into a fruitful gathering of the harvest in August-September, the proper season and month for the nativity and for the rejoicings, for the Gospel.

THE RAṄKINĪ CULT AT CHHOTA NAGPUR.

BY DR. PRIYARANJAN SEN, M. A., PH. D.
(*Calcutta.*)

The Raṅkinī cult or the worship of Raṅkinī seems to have been once widely prevalent in the area now known as Chhota Nagpur, or, to be more precise, in the eastern portion of the tract, in the Dhalbhoom Pargana of Singbhum District, in West Bengal as well as in Orissa. In Bengali literature we come across numerous references to the cult.

In the Dharmamaṅgal, canto XVII, where the poet treats of the marriage of Kānaḍā, the lady in distress calls upon Caṇḍī to succour her and a response comes from the goddess who assures her some *raṅga* or fun, and the name of the goddess is given as Raṅginī who comes to the fight fully armed. In some of the citations given below, the name of the goddess is Raṅginī, and this is, I believe, merely a variant of the word Raṅkinī, which latter word comes from *Raṅka,* still current in Oriya and signifying *mad.* A correspondent from Baharagora informs me that in colloquial Oriya as spoken in his area, the word means a she-monster, a Rākṣasī; both these are instances of the decay in meaning.

raṅginī āilā raṇe rudhira-locanā (verses 190 ff)

"Raṅginī came to the fight with blood-shot eyes".

It may be noted in passing that she is there equated to Bāsali as well.

Again in the same book, Jāgaraṇ-pālā, verse 408, we get

tār rakte pūjiba Raṅkinī Bhadrakālī

"In his blood shall I worship Raṅkinī Bhadrakālī".

In the same pālā, in the Chautisha addressed by Kānaḍā to Caṇḍī, we find:—

> *rakkha rakkha raṅginī raṅginī raṇamājhe*
> *raṇa raṇa rabe üri rākha daśabhuje*

"Save, save, Raṅginī, delightful in fight; come with a flourish and war-cry, O ten-armed goddess"

In the Dhekur pālā, of the same poem, verse 72, we come to know that the strong warrior, Ichhai Ghosh, was a servant of the goddess.

In the Caṇḍīmaṅgal by Mukundaram Kavikankan, we get from Kālaketu's Chautisha poem :—

> *rājār sane haila raṇ rakkhā nāhi ār*
> *raṅginī karaha rakkhā labe se uddhār*

"The fight is with the king, there is no way to save oneself. Raṅginī, come to the rescue, then only is there safety".

For the reference in the Bengali literature, to show that the cult was quite well known in western Bengal, we may also mention here :—

> *maulāy Raṅkinī bandō joṛ kari pāni*
> *bhāṇḍārhāṭe bandi lāo sāvitrī gosāni*

"With folded hands do I salute Raṅkinī at Maulā and goddess Sāvitrī at Bhāndārhāt."

(Kālikāmaṅgal, p. 8; Sahitya Parishad Edn.)

In a foot-note to the text, we learn that Maulā, Ghātsilā, Pāñcrā and Bheruā are associated with the name Raṅkinī in the different manuscripts.

In the same book, p. 12, we are referred to the Harivaṁśa :—

> *raṅkinī śūlinī nṛmuṇḍamālinī*
> *tomāre gāe harivaṁśe,*

Says Vidyā, daughter of the king :—"In the Harivaṁśa you are extolled as Raṅkinī with a *śūla* and with a garland of human skulls".

Again,

Sakhīgan bale bāni *ai aila Mālinī*
bale vidyā nṛpatinandinī
hoila uchur belā *mor kāryye kara helā*
kabe āmi pūjiba Rankinī (ibid, p. 58)

"The girls her attendants say, there comes Mālinī; the day is far advanced, you neglect my work; when shall I worship Rankinī?"

There is a temple at Ghātsilā, Singbhum District, Chhota Nagpur, sacred to the worship of the goddess Rankinī. It is situated at about 3 furlongs from the railway station and just between the police station and the market place. The image of the goddess has eight arms and stands on the pedestal on the image of a dead body; the upper two arms hold aloft an elephant and the whole image is made of stone. From the priest Ram Chandra Panda who hails from Orissa (he gave me Nilgiri, Panchakroshi, Puri, as his home) but has been resident here for the last four generations. I received a garbled version of the rituals etc. From him I learnt the mantra of her dhyāna in corrupt Sanskrit:

haste dyau karicarmadhrikpātram kripāna dadhau
dantam pīḍite pāṇi mekarekaḍamarau cānyakare śobhite
śūlam daṇḍavirājite karayuge muṇḍābjamālā gale
raktāngīm śavavāhanām sadanujām dhyāyet sadā rankinīm.

I was referred to *Kālikāpurāṇa* and the *Vārāhītantra* for the text of the śloka.

The goddess was worshipped on all the *Aṣṭamis* of the Kṛṣṇa pakṣa, and on the Janmāṣṭamī and Sitāṣṭamī the worship continued for two nights; buffaloes were sacrificed on the occasion of Jitāṣṭamī. She is held in great reverence in the locality as the family goddess of the Dhalbhum Raj to whom this area belongs, and the invitation letters issued by the Raj begin with the invocation:

S'rī S'rī Rāmacandra-Rankinī caraṇe śaraṇam.

The founder of the Raj had, so the legend goes, given timely refuge to the goddess Kālī, when as Rankinī she fled

from a demon of Panchet. The temple was formerly situated on a rock near Mohuliā, where human sacrifices used to be offered to her, the belief being that the goddess herself killed the victims [Singbhum District Gazetteer. (L. S. S. O'Malley, 1910)].

The locality is dark with rumours of a system of human sacrifice. Near about Mohuliā, in the Hindoljodi Maujā there were a number of Ugrakṣattriyas settled for the purpose and they used to procure human beings whom they would entice or otherwise prevail upon to follow for the necessary sacrifice. This used to be more or less a secret affair. But the Bhuyan chief of Chandra Rākhā, who was a big Sardar having for his jurisdiction an area of 12 yojans or 48 koś, betrayed the Dhalbhum Raj in 1275 B. S., since when the human sacrifice has stopped. The custom at Ghātsilā is still remembered in practice, as a human effigy is sacrificed after *mantras* are uttered invoking life (Prāṇa-pratiṣṭhā).

There are two local traditions: the goddess, it is said, was once a Rākṣasī, and when pursued by some superior being, she took refuge with a Dhobi washing clothes on the Subarnarekha at Kapargadi Ghat. The Rākṣasī by way of reward gave him a kingship and the lowly origin is still betrayed in the title *Dhabaldev* which the reigning dynasty still bears, though the original line has been expelled by the present, tracing its descent from a Rajput family.

Another tradition makes the goddess the family deity of a Rajput clan; she followed her *protege* to Dhalbhum but when the chief looked back in the face of a prohibitory order (a trait in common with the Orpheus and Euridice story) she stopped on the Subarnarekha where her stone image still stands, worshipped by the local people.

The places sacred to the goddess in this neighbourhood are Narasinghagarh, Parihati, Kokpara, Haldipukur, all old and important villages. The Thakore Saheb of Kera P. O., Dt. Singbhum, 7 or 8 miles off Chakradharpur station B.N.R. [illegible] the Raakinī for his family goddess. At Haldipukur, a stone block without any image being engraved on it, is

worshipped under the name Rankini. Such worship of a formless goddess does not occasion any trouble to the devotee. The tradition of the locality has it that "the goddess" had been installed there, in Haldipukur, by the chief of Ghātsilā and the priest is an Oriya Brahmin with 'Kar' as his surname. Tradition invests the goddess here also with the story of human sacrifices, said to have been current even about 80 years ago. The goddess still commands wide popularity, and promises of sumptuous offerings are made by devotees on their aims and desires being realised. In Baharagora and elsewhere in Dhalbhum, every village has a seat of the goddess under some big tree where she is sometimes called by the name of Rakminī. Here she does not receive daily worship but has to be satisfied with occasional offerings in the form of living goats and as such goats require money, earthen horses and elephants, besmeared with vermilion, are often offered instead to the village goddess. I saw myself one such Rankinī in Harindhukri village, about a mile distant from Ghātsilā, and under a huge banyan tree. The whole area is full of gods and goddesses who are strange to the Hindu pantheon. A brief mention of some of them is made below:—

(1) There is a Harinā Mauja in the Haldipukur circle, and there is a *S'iva* there called *Bangal Bihar S'iva.*

On the last day of the month Āṣāḍha, there is a great festivity at Keonjhar and Dhalbhum, and the Gājan festival is also held then; the other Śivas in the surrounding area are as follows:

(I) Citreśvara, three kōś off Baharagarh.

(II) Kāmeśvara, in Kāmārālā Mauja.

(III) Kapileśvara, in Kokpārā.

(IV) Ghaṇṭeśvara, in Ghātsilā.

(V) Bhairava, worshipped on 1st Pauṣa, in Dampara, Dhalbhum pargana.

(2) The goddess *Pâuri* is also a favourite object for worship in the neighbourhood; her priests come from the Bhuyan tribe, not from the Brahmins. She is worshipped at Harinā.

(3) The goddess *Lāmā*. This seems to be a corruption of Lāmbā in Kālikāpurāṇa.

(4) The goddess *Nunia*, off Gidni, Midnapur Dt., Bengal a station on the B. N. Railway, is worshipped by the *Deonis*, not the Brahmins.

An information is available, that at Anadapur, Keonjhargarh, Rânkâni is worshipped during an outbreak of cholera. On the previous day, the Dehuri or worshipper of the Grāmadevatā takes over the charge of supplying 4 or 5 Kâlîsis before the goddess in the appointed time. The part of Kâlîsîs is taken by a few of the villages who are instructed in advance by the Dehuri to keep fasting and these Kâlīsis appear before the Grāmadevatā in the appointed time. With the beginning of the pūjā, bhoga (offerings) in the form of *panâ* in earthen pots is kept in front of the Grāmadevatā; there must be at least thirteen such pots, and of them one is meant for Grāmadevatā and the remaining twelve for Rânkinī, which latter are carried by 24 villages, sanctified under the priest's instruction, and stepping forward to the village end at the crossing of roads. Among the Kâlîsîs, a few take the place of the Grāmadevatā, a few of Māngâlā, a few of Tāriṇī, and the rest they call Rânkāni. The Kâlîsîs taking the part of Rankâni are driven by those taking the part of Mangalâ and Grāmadevatā. The procession is followed by kīrtana, beating of Dhols by Hâdis and a Jhunâ, receptacle producing profuse smoke. They all reach the crossing of the road at the end of the village and there sit down, pūjā being performed there. At the end of the pūjā, the people taking the part of Kâlîsîs, and posing to speak like the goddesses affect to become senseless, and the other people bring them to their senses by pouring water on their faces and mouths. The Kâlîsîs then become ordinary men, and the whole party return home, never looking behind until they reach there. There is a

strong belief current that the process of Rânkâni pūjā effectively checks cholera in a locality. I am indebted to Sj. Bhabagrahi Mahanti of the Education Department, Keonjhar State for this information.

It would be interesting to know if the Orissa goddess travelled to Bengal through Chhota Nagpur and Rânkâni of Keonjhar passed through Ghātsilā *en route* to western Bengal, from a stony block devoid of any image engraved on it to a niche in the Hindu pantheon.

EAST AND WEST.

By Mrs. Vinodini Devi S. Gaikwar.

(Kolhapur).

It was during my stay in last March at the American Presbyterian Mission Hospital at Miraj that I came across a valuable little book on the Mayan civilisation by Messrs. Gann and Thomson which was lent to my husband by Mrs. Dorothy Scudder, the talented wife of my deft-handed and kind surgeon Dr. John Scudder of Ranipettai near Madras.

Kind-hearted readers will, I hope, pardon me if I presume and venture to lay a few rough and raw ideas which a casual perusal of the above-mentioned book has suggested to my mind. Some interested and intelligent readers at least will, I have no doubt, come forward to work out these crude ideas to their ultimate and legitimate conclusions.

At the very outset, the first thing that strikes even a superficial reader of the above-referred book is that the place-names occurring here and there in it strongly suggest a South Indian origin of those names. The names of towns and cities like Chakanputun or Champotun and Ichpautun leave no doubt of this fact. At least it appears so to my mind. Paṭṭan or Paṭṭanam is quite a common word for city in the South Indian or Dravidian languages. South India offers a number of instances of this, like the cities and towns of Srirangapaṭṭanam, Nagapaṭṭanam, Masulipaṭṭanam, Vimalipaṭṭanam, Visakhapaṭṭanam, Kalingapaṭṭanam, Bhupalpaṭṭanam. Why? Madras itself is Channapaṭṭan! This name of Madras bears a striking or, as one might safely hazard, an unmistakable similarity to Champotun in Campeche in Central America.

Advocates of Aryan civilisation might suggest that places like Anahilpaṭṭan and Pakpaṭṭan occur so far north as Gujarat and the Punjab and that the word pattana finds a regular place in the Sanskrit vocabulary. But I have reason to think that that word has been borrowed into Sanskrit from the Dravidians. In the Aryan languages we always speak of the richest merchant or banker in a city as a Nagar-Sheth and not as a Pattan-Chetti as in the Dravidian languages. A Dravidian invariably refers to a city as paṭṭan. For instance a Tamilian would always unfailingly say "Nān nālaikku-p-paṭṭanam pokiren" when he has to convey 'I am leaving to-morrow for town'. Not so in the Aryan languages. The occurrence of Pakpaṭṭan and Anahilpaṭṭan in northern India only indicates the route which the Dravidians might have pursued when coming from the north west. Not only is it that 'pattan' occurs as a suffix in town-names in Central America but there is also a district by name 'Peten' in Guatemala.

Now as to Guatemala. The suffix 'mala' or 'mal' in this and other place-names such as Chetemal, Cozumal, Izamal, Uxmal is another indication of the connection of the Dravidian with the Mayan civilisation. This suffix, in my opinion, is the same as the prefix in Malyal, Malbar, Malnāḍ and the same as the suffix in Ānaimalai and Nallamalai and possibly also the same as in Poonamale, Trinomale and Trincomale. This prefix or suffix as is well-known in Southern India, means nothing else than a mountain or hill. There is a Mayan city by name Copan. This may possibly be the same as the suffix in Bannikoppa, Hoskoppa, Trimalkoppa and even the same as in Manikuppam. Another Mayan city is Tikal which is famous for wood-carving. Possibly this has something to do with the Dravidian word Teku or Tegu which means teak. We have got a village Tegur between Belgaum and Dharwar in the North Karnatak on the Poona-Bangalore road. And, as a matter of fact, there are teak trees in its vicinity. Another Mayan city is Tuluum. And the Dravidian dialect of South Canara round about Mangalore is Tuluvu or Tuluvum. And who can say the city of Tuluum may not

have been founded by some emigrants from the district of Tuluvunāḍ round about Mangalore? The three ruling races the Xius, the Itzas and the Cocoms formed themselves into a league at the Mayan town of Mayapan. This name Mayapan seems to me to have been derived from the Dravidian name Mayapaṭṭaṇ by simply slurring over the syllable 'att'. Thus the town of Mayavaram in the Tanjore district seems exactly to be a predecessor of the Mayan town of Mayapan in Yucatan.

Now as to the word Maya. We have the episode of Candrasenai in our glorious epic Rāmāyaṇa. We read therein that the mighty warrior Māruti Mukhyaprāṇa or Hanumān Añjaneyalu had been to the nether-world or Pātāla-Loka in order to destroy the demons-*Ahi* and *Mahi*. This may possibly be an allusion to the Mayan civilisation of our antipodes in Central America. The word Ahi can be thus explained when we take into consideration that 'Ah' or 'Ahau' was the term which the Mayans used to denote God, Lord or Ruler. Thus 'Kinich Ahau' means the Sun-God; 'Ah Puch' or 'Hun Ahau' means the Ruler of the under-world; 'Ah Noh Ich' signifying 'Lord Big Eye' stands for the Morning Star; and 'Ah Kin Mai' means the chief priest. Thus it appears that the word Mai, which in my opinion is the same as Maya, must have originally stood for the priest among them, and then it must have come to be applied to the people at large. In Dravidian India we find *Mai* and *Maiyan* used as suffixes in the names of some princes or warriors. Thus Pulumayi, if I am not mistaken, was the name and title of an Andhrabhṛtya king; similarly Alagamaiyan, if I remember right, is the name and title by which a Vanarāja or Bana king is mentioned in an inscription of Pārthivendravarman from Tirumalpuram. The word Ahi, which in India means a serpent, must have, in Central America, been first applied to serpent god and then as Ah or Ahau might have come to be applied to all gods or holy beings generally. The prevalence of serpent worship in Southern India is a matter of general knowledge. Perhaps Mai, the Central American priestly class, must have originally been Magi or magicians. Perhaps Maya or Mai is connected with the Tamil word 'Mayil' which

means a peafowl. Well might the name of this bird be used in reference to a class which claimed to control the serpents or cure their bites. Thus coming to serpent worship we arrive at the *Kukulcan cult* of the Mayas. Kukulcan was the feathered serpent god. He was supposed to be originally a man who attained god-head in that form after surviving upto midday in the well-known well at Chichen-Itza where he was thrown to propitiate the rain-god. The second syllable 'kul' in the word Kukulcan seems to me to be the same as or similar to the syllable 'kul' in the Tamil word Tirukulkunhram. The 'kul' in this latter word, according to my information, means a bird which is in consonance with the fact of Kukulcan being feathered. Almost every visitor to Madras sees without fail the hill-top temple at Tirukulkunhram or Pakṣitīrtham which is visited daily after midday by two ancient birds.

To turn to some more important evidence about words: 'Metnal' is the Mayan word for hell. The second syllable 'nal' in this seems to be the same as the Dravidian word 'nāḍ' which means land, district or country. 'Pishan' is the word used by the Mayas for the souls of the dead. And who can say that this word Pishan is not the same as or similar to our Indian word Piśāca which means the restless unsatisfied departed soul? The word *Xtabai* among the Mayas meant female enticing beings able to assume human forms. Now, again, who can say this is not a perverted reference by the dreading Dravidian mind to the ideal Aryan wife Sītambai or Sītābai or Sītā, the faithful spouse of the ever-victorious and righteous hero Rāma who brought condign punishment and ruin upon the unrighteous Rāvaṇa who may, as is generally supposed, have been a power-proud Dravidian despot? The Mayan city Labantum may probably be 'Rāvaṇapaṭṭanam' the 'p' and 'n' being slurred over and the 'r' and 'v' being changed into 'l' and 'b' respectively. Whether '[illegible]' is the same as Suvela of the Rāmāyaṇa, it is for the learned to determine. That the above ideas are not mere figments of imagination may perhaps be positively proved if Dravidian savants collaborate with American researchers in

this field in the service of truth. Will the Governments of India, Madras and Ceylon and the Andhra, Ceylon, Chidambaram and Madras universities rise equal to the occasion and do their bit by instituting substantial research scholarships in this field of knowledge and thus materially help to knit together East and West in the silken band of mutual love and good will and in this manner pave the way to world solidarity, which in its turn will assure the much-desired world peace and prosperity ? In the meanwhile Dravidian scholars will do well to carefully go through the "Popol Vuh" and also through the 'Chilam Balaam' of Chumayel which gives the history of the Itzas and the 'Chilam Balaams' of Mani and Tizimin which give the account of the Xius, the other royal family of Yucatan. Philanthrophically-inclined millionaires like the Hon. Raja Sir S. R. M. Annamalai Chettiar, of well-known magnanimity can very easily do a great deal in this field, if publicists and patriots like the veteran Hon. Rao Bahadur G. A. Natesan, the Hon. Sir R. K. Shanmukham Chettiar, the Rt. Hon. Dr. V. S. Shrinivasa Shastriar, and Sir Kurma Venkata Reddi Nayudu Garu will take the least trouble to persuade them to divert a small portion of their fortune in this hitherto utterly neglected but culturally useful channel. Will it be unwise or improper for me to expect that the world-renowned multi-millionaire munificent families of the Carnegies, the Rothschildes and the Rockefellers will not let pass this opportunity of helping to bring about the much-to-be-cherished *Orient-Occident entente cordiale* broad-based on this ancient cultural unity ? May that golden day come, and come verily and very soon !

I might now pass on to some customs and practices of the Mayas that are likely to interest all Indian and Indological readers. The Mayas' arrangement of their fire-places, their sitting on small wooden boards for eating, their washing hands before and after meals, their use of red pepper and salt at meal-times are all similar to the customs in vogue in India. Among the Mayas, the ears of the child were pierced at an early age and small circular 'jade' ornaments were introduced. Is this not very like the 'karṇavedha' ceremony of the

Hindus? Mayan images of gods in stone and pottery breathe a veritable Hindu spirit. Among the Mayas, marriage between persons of the same name was forbidden. Is this not almost tantamount to the eschewal of Sagotra or consanguinous marriages among the Hindus? Among the Mayas the young married couple took up residence with the wife's parents, the husband paying for the wife by working for her father for the next five or six years. My information goes that the same custom is followed among some of the agricultural classes in southern India. But it is said that it is fast falling into desuetude. Among the Mayans, persons of rank were often buried in or at the foot of pyramids. Among the Hindus the Sannyāsins and Gosvāmins are invariably buried and Samādhis or sepulchres are erected over them. Among the Mayans, in some parts, nobles were cremated and temples were built over urns containing their ashes. Cremation is universal among the upper-class Hindus and the practice of constructing cenotaphs or temples called Chhatris is prevalent especially in the royal families here. The Mayans had a custom of burying the dead man's dog with him. They believed that the dog guided him in his journey to the next world. One is here naturally reminded of the story in our immortal epic Mahābhārata about the great Yudhiṣṭhira's dog accompanying him in his last journey. A Dravidian origin is perhaps indicated by Draupadī's polyandrous marriage. The institution of Vestal Virgins among the Mayans also presents a similarity to the Tevaḍiyāl or Devadāsī custom of South India. Among the Mayans men and women mix very little, and the woman is almost in the position of a servant notwithstanding her superior mentality. In India too, the mighty dictum of the Manusmṛti to the effect that a woman deserves no freedom (na strī svātantryam arhati) is generally held in high regard by the orthodox or so-called Sanātana section of the Hindus. Among the Mayans men used to cut parts of their body and pass straws through them. This custom is exactly similar to the vows to some deities (such as the goddess Māriamma) fulfilled by the South Indian devotee swinging himself from a pole, a hook suspended from it passing through the flesh of his back. I hear this method of

self-torture in South India is known as Chidi-maṛi. Among the Mayans was prevalent a practice of self-immolation in case of anæmia or enlarged spleen. This reminds us of the Jalasamādhi or self-drowning by (I do not exactly remember whether) a Cālukyan prince or by one of the Rāyārs or kings of the never-to-be-forgotten Vijayanagara empire of Hampe on the banks of the river Tungabhadra in southern India. These and similar customs and practices, therefore, present various and very many interesting and noteworthy grounds of contact between the Mayan and Dravidian civilisations.

Some of my learned compatriots may, from the very above similarities, come forward to argue that the Dravidians themselves may have been the borrowers in this instance. But, here, with all due deference, I humbly beg to differ from these would-be-doughty doubters. And here, Messrs. Gann and Thomson's useful book (thanks to them) serves me to enforce my case, though it be a tentative one for the present. On or about the 68th page of that book (I have not got it by me now) it is stated that Chols and Chortis may have been the original Mayas. But perhaps from want of sufficient knowledge of ancient Indian history, these eminent authors have not been able to conjecture who these *Chols and Chortis* could have been. I, for myself, however, am, from all the above-given data, almost forced to the conclusion (I hope I am not too hastily jumping up to it) that the Chols referred to above could not have been other than the Colas of the ancient and illustrious historical South Indian dynasty who shared the empire of southern India with the Ceras and the Pāṇḍyas of equal renown. I am not, however, so sure about the Chortis referred to in the same breath with the Chols by the learned authors. My first and best idea about these Chortis is that they must have been the Vaiśyas or traders who went over to this distant western land under the banner of the brave and bold Cola warriors or Kṣattriyas. So 'Chortis' in my opinion is evidently an out-and-out mispronouncement by the ignorant westerners for the correct word 'Chettis' which is the appellation by which the adventurous and ubiquitous South Indian

merchant-princes are known everywhere. My next best idea about the Chortis is that they may possibly be from the Cera dynasty of Kerala or Malabar coast. Or, possibly, they may be from the Kallar tribe of southern India whose name is likely to be wrongly sanskritised as Cora. The name 'Kalacuri' of the Central Indian Kṣattriya dynasty is perhaps indicative of this sanskritisation thus showing that the terms Kallar, Cora and Kalacuri were perhaps interchangeable. If my information is correct, there are even now in southern India some Rajas and Zamindars who belong to this Kallar caste of Kṣattriya extraction. Was Merida in Yucatan founded by the Maravar tribe to which, as I learn, His Highness Śrī Bṛhadambādās Raja Tondaiman Bahadur of Pudukōttah has the honour to belong? Was Palenque in Chiapas in Central America founded by some emigrants from the Palni hills? These and others will be the questions which interested Indians may happen to ask themselves if they are so minded. It will be futile and premature for me to try to answer them here. 'Palenque' perhaps means Old Laṅkā or Milky Laṅkā. The daughter of Xibalban princess by Hunhunahpu was named 'Xbalenque' which is perhaps equal to *S'iva-Laṅkā* if my conjecture is right. The name 'Usamacintla' of a river in Tabasco in Central America sounds very like some Telugu word and may be said to be allied to 'Chintalnar' which is the name of a village in the Telugu tract of the Central provinces of India. But it will be for time and toil alone to definitely solve these problems.

Messrs. Gann and Thomson appear to postulate that the Mayas must have gone to Central America, via., Alaska after crossing the Bering Straights from what is now eastern Siberia in Asiatic Russia. But, in view of the above discussion, it is up to our Indian researchers to investigate and find out whether the Chols and Chortis took that route or whether they set sail from some port or ports of the Malabar or Coromandal coast to ultimately conquer or colonise Central America. The latter view cannot be altogether impossible or groundless when we find that there is ample and trustworthy testimony to prove that ancient Indians were consummate

mariners and that numbers of those intrepid and spirited heroic hearts of undaunted and indomitable ancient India had successfully stemmed the stormy waves of the perilous ocean and had triumphantly conquered or colonised Ceylon, Burma, Indo-China, Java and Sumatra and spread their noble religion and glorious civilisation in those distant lands.*

It is not for me to dabble in or dogmatise over a subject on which I have read (and that too very perfunctorily) only one small book which, I hope and fear, will be the last as it has been the first. Having hastily finished off that interesting book, I thought I owed it to my country to write, according to my light, a few faulty lines on this enthralling theme. I could not but write them. And here they are.

Will it be too much to expect that a number of my learned compatriots will take up the thread and come forth with consistently thought-out thesis on this enchanting topic? My mind tells me that their efforts in this direction will be crowned with immense success which would no doubt redound to untold glory and greatness of our dearly beloved common motherland India, the brightest jewel in the diadem of our noble Emperor. May she soon take up her appropriate place among the self-respecting nations of the world by attaining to her legitimate position as the senior-most partner in the best and greatest Empire of the world.

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* I have just learnt that 'Xieng Mai' is the name of a town in Siam. It will have to be seen how far the 'Mai' in this name is related to 'Mai', the priest of Mayan America.

SOME ASPECT OF INDIAN BELIEF.

By Dr. Hem Chandra Ray, M. A., Ph. D. (London).

(*Calcutta.*)

It is not usual for Anthropologists to utilise epigraphic evidence for the study of their subject. It is therefore with considerable misgivings that I venture to place before scholars an aspect of Indian belief which I came accross during the course of my studies in connection with my Dynastic History of Northern India.

In the land of *Teja-Bhukti* now known as Bundelkhand, there once ruled a king named Gāṅgeyadeva Vikramāditya. His only inscription, that of Piavan which mentions the name of *Maheśvara* seems to have been a Saiva record. But what appears to be conclusive evidence on the point is the statement of his son's Benares grant, that the latter meditated on the feet of *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka-Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara-S'rī-Vāmadeva.*[1] From A. D. 1042, the date of this record, onwards, several successors of Karṇa also refer to themselves in their records as meditating on the feet of Vāmadeva. The custom was later on adopted from the Kaḷacuris by some of the later Candellas of Jejākabhukti. As the name of Vāmadeva does not occur in the genealogical lists[2] of either the Kalacuris or the Candellas, the question of the identification of Vāmadeva appeared to present an insoluble problem. Vāmadeva is of course a well-known name of Siva; but, as he[3] is given the epithets Pb.-M.-P. and in some even designated *Parama-māheśvara*, it is unlikely that Siva

1. *EI*, Vol. II, p. 309, lines 33-34.
2. *IA*, Vol. XVII, p. 232, lines 4-5; Here Vāmadeva is also given the additional title of *Parama-māhes'vara.*
3. *EI*, Vol. II, pp. 298-99.

was meant by this name. From the epithets used, there is no doubt that in every case the predecessor of the reigning prince is meant by the name of Vāmadeva. The solution of the difficulty may perhaps be found in the suggestion that these princes who are called Vāmadeva, were perhaps so noted for their devotion to that god that in the reign of their successors they were considered to have become a part of that god himself. The only instance of such deification of kings hitherto recorded in Indian history is provided by an inscription from Kurgod, a village in the Bellary district of the Madras Presidency. In this record the Sinda *Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara* Răcamalla I, the grandfather of Răcamalla II, a feudatory of the Cālukya Someśvara IV of Kalyāṇi (c. 1183–89 A. D) is said to have reappered after his death in the form of a *liṅga*: The inscription states that:

" Even after attaining a place in the world of Śiva he formed a *liṅga* for the earth by union therewith.

"So having come and stood at the western side of (the temple of) the god Svayambhū of the town of Kurugōḍu, and arisen in the form of a *liṅga* so as to delight the whole world, he became very famous under the title of ' the god *Udbhava-Rācamalleśvara.*"

Philosophy and Religion Section.

President:

PRINCIPAL A. B. DHRUVA, M.A., LL. B.

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THE PLACE OF ŚAṄKARA IN HINDUISM.

By G. Ramakantacharya., B. A.

(Guntur).

It is, I believe, generally conceded that the highest spiritual wisdom is locked up in the eternal Upaniṣads of the Hindu race and it is also a matter of common knowledge and recognition in that section of the Hindu community who believe in the infallibility of the Vedas, that the Brahma-sūtras of Vedāvyāsa and the Bhagavadgītā of Lord Kṛṣṇa, which are in the nature of commentaries upon the scripture, constitute the infallible guide in their interpretation. Lord Kṛṣṇa is, according to Hindu Śāstras, the most glorified avatāra of God and Vyāsa is a sage of extraordinary power of intellect and wisdom directly under the inspiration of the Lord. At the end of the Dvāpara age when the cultural atmosphere in the Āryāvarta was surcharged with the electric currents of free-thinking, giving rise to the non-theistic schools of thought such as Sāṅkhya and Vaiśeṣika etc., the advent of Lord Kṛṣṇa and Vyāsa was hailed with joy by all who believed in God,—for, while it was generally believed by all right-minded men that the Upaniṣads inculcated the existence of God, the Sāṅkhya and other non-theistic schools of thought, referred to above, exploited the Upaniṣad texts to support their own conclusions with impunity. There were, of course, great Ṛṣis at the time who put forth energetic efforts to stem the rising tide of this free-thought movement and kept the torch of the true religion of the Vedas burning bright but all their united efforts proved unequal to the task. The reason for this should be sought in the fact that the Upaniṣadic texts, owing to the complex and archaic language employed, lent themselves to interpretations of varying

degrees of clarity and coherence, making it difficult for seers of limited vision to discover the unity of the inner current of philosophical thought, which was being handed down from generation to generation of Ṛṣis as a sacred tradition or what is known as 'Sampradāya'. It was reserved for Lord Kṛṣṇa and Vyāsa to make this discovery and embody it in the Gītā and Sūtras respectively to help the struggling humanity in the interpretation of the eternal Upaniṣads.

Vyāsa is the reputed founder of the Vedāntic school of thought, but, according to Gītā, Lord Kṛṣṇa claims to be the source of Vedānta Sampradāya and the author of the system known as Vedānta, a claim which, of course, will readily be conceded on all hands. If the authorship of the Vedānta Darśana is generally ascribed to Vyāsa rather than to Śrī Kṛṣṇa, it is apparently due to the reluctance of the seers and sages to bracket Him with system-builders, however great, as such a course would be derogatory to His character as Lord. He is on the other hand, acclaimed in one voice as the Ācārya or the head of the entire spiritual heirarchy in the Āryāvarta.

Commissioned by Vyāsa, his great disciple Bodhāyana wrote a commentary known as 'Vṛtti' on the Brahmasūtras, which being pithy, are apt to be obscure and required a gloss. The Vedānta Sampradāya founded by Lord Kṛṣṇa and systematized by Vyāsa flowed down to historic times through a succession of Ācāryas–Guhadeva, Brahmanandi, Dramiḍācārya, Taṅkācārya, Ācārya Kapardi, Ācārya Bhāruchi who made their own contributions for the propagation of the Vedāntic thought until the fifth century B. C., when the rise of Buddhism engulfed and kept it under complete check. Buddhism had its full sway for about a thousand years and not until the birth of Śaṅkara in the seventh century A. D. did the Hinduism lift up its head again. The love-religion of Lord Buddha had by that time spent its moral force and lost its hold on the Hindu mind.

In trying to revive the Hindu religion, Śaṅkara took his stand upon the eternal Upaniṣads and accepted the

Bhagavadgita of the Lord and the Brahmasūtras of Vyāsa as helpful guides in the interpretation of the Upaniṣads. In fact, these three works constituted, what is generally known as, the 'Prasthānatraya' and he wrote elaborate commentaries on all of them–known as '*bhāṣyams*'– to establish his school of thought known as 'Advaita'–'absolute monism' or 'non–dualism.' He was followed later by Bhāṣyakāras Rāmānuja and Madhva who, on the basis of the same Prasthānatraya established their own schools of thought known as Viśiṣṭādvaita and Dvaita.

Now according to the school of Śaṅkara, Parambrahma (God) is Nirguṇic (attributeless) while He is Saguṇic (or full of attributes) according to the other two schools of philosophy. Again, according to the latter two schools, 'Mukti' means the 'Abode of Viṣṇu' while it connotes, according to Śaṅkara, the merging of the emancipated individual soul into the Universal Soul beyond all possibility of its recognition as a separate entity, just as in the case of river–waters emptying themselves into the ocean.

Here we have two fundamentally different conceptions of 'Parambrahma' and 'Mukti' and it is a matter of great moment for those who belive in the Veda to ascertain, so far as it is possible, which of these two conceptions is in consonance with the letter and spirit of the Upaniṣads. This is a complicated and stupendous task but I shall make an endeavour in this little paper to give some broad hints to show in what way lies the truth.

Let us take up first the conception of God:—

In the second Sūtra of the Brahmasūtras, God is described as one from whom the origination, preservation and absorption of this vast universe are brought about. This picture corresponds to the description of Saguṇa Brahma, who in the scheme of Śaṅkara's Advaita system, occupies a lower place as compared with Nirguṇa Brahma who, according to him, is the ultimate reality. A little reflection will show that it is highly improbable that the Vedānta Darśana will open with such an inferior principle as Saguṇa Brahma.

in its endeavour to satisfy the deepest craving of an honest seeker of God, which is embodied in Sūtra 1. The conclusion is thus irresistibly forced upon the mind that Brahman described in Sūtra 2 is the highest ultimate reality and that this reality is Sagunic in essence and character as declared in the Viśiṣṭādvaita and Dvaita schools of thought and not at all Nirgunic as portrayed in the Advaita system. The first four Sūtras in the Vedānta Darśana are known as *'Chatussūtri'* and according to the Vedānta Sampradāya of all schools, it is believed that they embody all that can be said about Brahman. In the first Sūtra, a desire for the knowledge of God is expressed: the second Sūtra gives a picture of God: in the third Sūtra it is given out that He can be apprehended only on the authority of the Vedas: and the fourth Sūtra declares that all the Vedas agree in this proposition. That this is what the Sūtras are intended to convey is clear not only from the language, the context and the spirit of the Sūtras but also from the Vedic texts quoted by all the Bhāṣyakāras including Śaṅkara as the basis of the Sūtras.

It is well known that within the range of the ten authoritative Upaniṣads, which formed the basis of the entire body of the Brahmasūtras, there are two groups of Vedic texts–one lending itself to the interpretation that the Parambrahma (Ultimate Reality) is Sagunic and the other to the interpretation that He is Nirgunic. It is in cases of this kind that a great thinker capable of systematizing is required; and so far as the Upaniṣads are concerned we had such a thinker in Vyāsa. The framing of Sūtra 11 (Gatisāmānyāt) and 23 (Ākāśastalliṅgāt) are instances to show the superb way in which the great intellect of Vyāsa was trying to discover a process of systematizing the apparently conflicting theories lying obscure in the mass of the Upaniṣadic literature and it cannot be believed for a moment that when he composed Sūtra 2 he had not before his mind's eye, the two groups of apparently conflicting Vedic texts referred to above. If after having read one group in the light of the other, he came to the definite conclusion that Parambrahma is essentially Sagunic in character as described in Sūtra 2., it should, of

course, be accepted as the true interpretation of the Vedic texts bearing on the topic. That this is the correct interpretation is also clear from Sūtra 5 in which Vyāsa declared that God's Will is the cause of creation.

The commentary of Kullūkabhaṭṭa on cosmology in the opening pages of Manudharmaśāstra which, in the point of spiritual authority, is admitted to rank only next to Veda, is extremely revealing. Here the commentator exclaims that this doctrine of creation inculcated by Manu is in accordance with Rāmānuja's theory viz. that God is the cause of creation and significantly adds that this is supported also by the Vedānta Sūtras and Chāndogya Vedic texts. Even as regards the doctrine of 'Mukti'. Śaṅkara is not inclined to accept the lead of Vyāsa; Pādas III and IV of Adhyāya IV are devoted to this topic. Here there are two lines of thought, one represented by Jaimini and the other by Ouḍulomi and Bādari. Both sides admit the existence of two paths—'*arcirmārga*' the 'luminous path' and '*dhūmamārga*' the 'dark path' and that the spiritual escorts lead the emancipated souls along the luminous path to what is referred to as 'Brahma' in the Chāndogya. The point of difference is whether the word Brahma referred to in the Vedic text is the Parambrahma (Absolute) or the Relative Brahma (Hiraṇyagarbha). Jaimini holds that this word Brahma should be understood in its primary sense and hence refers to Parambrahma while the other view (the view of Bādari) is that it refers to Hiraṇyagarbha. Vyāsa effects a reconciliation by laying down that those, who worship God through symbols, first go to the world of Hiraṇyagarbha and thence to the Supreme Brahma at the general dissolution while those who meditate on the Supreme Brahma directly, have the privilege of being conducted directly to Him.

As to whether the emancipated soul becomes possessed of the properties of Parambrahma and assumes body for enjoying heavenly bliss or remains pure consciousness without any such body, there is a similar difference of opinion between the two schools and Vyāsa effects a compromise to the effect that the released soul is not

only pure consciousness but is also possessed of divine properties and that he assumes a body when he wishes to have one and will have none when he has no such wish. Vyāsa expresses further the view that the released soul acquires all the power of Parambrahma, that this implied equality is limited to matters of enjoyment but does not extend to matters of creation, preservation and destruction of the Universe, and that he will no longer be subject to mutation by birth, death and decay. As regards the destruction of the released souls, Bādari holds that as 'Gati or Gamanam' in the Chāndogya text '*Sa enam brahma gamayati*' refers to a place and no place can, according to him, be spoken of the Absolute Brahma, the destination referred to in the Śruti is Hiraṇyagarbha's world.

Śaṅkara admits the existence of a Vedic text (vide Sūtra 12 Pāda III Adhyāya IV) which says that 'Gati' leads to 'Mokṣa' but he prefers to stick on to Bādari's view throughout. In Sūtra 10 Pāda III Adhyāya V it is found stated that at the general dissolution the souls that reach the Hiraṇyagarbha's world will, along with him, go to ('Param'). It is significant that Śaṅkara in order to elucidate this word 'Param' quotes the original Kaṭhavallī text which runs as follows:—'*Tadviṣṇoḥ paramaṁ padaṁ sadā paśyanti sūrayaḥ*' 'Released souls enjoy eternal bliss in the blessed abode of Viṣṇu'. 'It is apparent that the 'Param' of Sūtrakāra is grounded on (Param) in the phrase 'Paramaṁ padam' of the Vedic text. Whenever Lord Kṛṣṇa refers to 'Mokṣa' in His Gītā, He invariably uses words such as 'Gati', 'Padam' 'Sthāna' and 'Dhāma' with the prefix 'Param' or 'Divyam' to distinguish it from "Prakṛti" which is perishable and Śaṅkara invariably interprets them to mean the eternal world of Viṣṇu. Ṛṣis Manu, Yājñavalkya and Hārita etc. also refer to the beatitude in similar, if not, in the same terms. 'Param padam' is the word generally used by them all. In the Viṣṇusahasranāma which is accepted by Śaṅkara to be as equal an authority as the Prasthānatraya, Lord Viṣṇu is referred to by the 'Ṛṣis' of old as 'Muktānāṁ paramā gatiḥ', the highest goal of released souls.

There is apparently a confusion of thought with regard to 'Gati' and the eternal world. A little reflection will show that the destination of the released souls will not, for its eternality, depend upon the nature or character of the path which they should pursue but upon the attributes of eternality and stability with which the Vedic texts endow it in virtue of the laws which are in force therein according to the will and pleasure of the Lord of all existence. If to fix up a locality for the destination of the released souls looks absurd in view of the fact that the Parabrahman is by his essential nature all pervasive, will not the position taken up by Bādari lead to the greater absurdity that the locality is not permeated by the pervasive presence of the Parambrahma? The śloka of the the Gītā "All worlds upto and below Hiraṇyagarbha's involve return of souls to earth" evidently carries the implication that a world exists from which there is no return to earth. It is this latter world that is found glorified in the Upaniṣads as the eternal Abode of Parambrahma (Brahmapuram) or Viṣṇu's (Paramapada). Mantrapuṣpa the 'Flower of Veda' declares that Lord Nārāyaṇa pervades the entire existence inside, outside, as well as through and through, so that there is no question of locality existing where He is not. The episodes of Prahlāda and Gajendra must serve as an eye-opener to whosoever doubting the extraordinary attribute of the all-pervasiveness of the Lord. In commenting upon the above text, Śaṅkara himself points out in the Upaniṣad-bhāṣya that all-pervasiveness is the characteristic of Parambrahma. Śaṅkara finds himself in a dilemma when Vyāsa concludes the whole topic by postulating an eternal world etc., because nothing is found stated in any of the Sūtras as to what becomes of the released souls who meditate upon, what according to Śaṅkara's conception, must be termed Nirguṇa or Absolute Brahma. He says that, as return to earth of meditators on Hiraṇyagarbha is denied by Vyāsa, there is stronger reason to infer that meditators on the Nirguṇa Brahma will not at all return to earth. The fact of the matter is that the Brahma in this topic who is intended by Vyāsa to be the highest or absolute Brahma is *taken, rather mistaken,* by Śaṅkara for Hiraṇyagarbha; hence the need for the inference referred to above.

According to Śaṅkara's Advaita system, there is only one entity viz. Parabrahma, and nothing else exists as reality except He. He is the eternal truth 'Satyam'. Other entities Jīva and Prakṛti *seem* to exist, as he says, like mirage, owing to Adhyāsa on the part of Brahma. According to his theory, these seemingly existing things also must inhere in and exist only as part and parcel of the eternal Parambrahma, just as waves and foam are part of the ocean and share in its being. If so they must be as real as Parambrahma Himself. To try to conceive their reality as something different from or inferior to the reality of Parambrahma will offend the very definition of Parambrahman as given by Śaṅkara viz :—'*Sajātīyavijātīyasvagatabhedaśūnyam nityaśuddhabuddhamuktasvabhāvam niṣkriyam niṣkalam śāntam niravadyam nirviśeṣacinmātram Brahma*'. According to Śaṅkara, the individual soul and Parambrahma are identical and Parambrahma under the influence of some indefinable thing called 'Māyā' mistakes himself to be Jīva. When riddance of this 'Bhrānti' (mistake) takes place, Jīvahood passes away and Brahman once more comes to His own. Saṁsāra is the vale of tears as admitted by all philosophers including Śaṅkara and in view of Śaṅkara's definition of Parambrahma, referred to above, it is impossible to believe that He, the Parambrahma, would voluntarily commit what amounts to spiritual suicide, by allowing Himself to be influenced by Māyā or anything of the kind. Adhyāsa, Māyā, or Bhrānti-call it by whatever name you please—which must exist only within or as part of Parambrahma, can, under no circumstances, be said to have power to plunge Him into Saṁsāra which is said to be characterstic of a Jīva. If for the sake of argument (in order to accommodate the Advaita theory) you admit the existence of Māyā etc., and its power to reduce Parambrahma to the position of Jīva, then why not call Māyā Parambrahma so that its victim (Parambrahma) may be shown His real place viz. Jīva, which must follow logically? In fact, this is a position repudiated by Rāmānuja and other [illegible] who recognize both the entities Parambrahma and [illegible]—the one as Supreme and the other as subordinate, [illegible] to His jurisdiction.

Without further pursuing this line of criticism, I shall content myself by pointing out that a critical study of Śaṅkara's commentary on the Brahmasūtras gives the impression that, for some reason or other, he has no mind to follow the lead of Vyāsa, the founder of the Vedānta Darśanam. Before the advent of Lord Kṛṣṇa and Vyāsa, there were two classes of interpreters of Upaniṣads, one class interpreting in the light of the writings of Maharṣis such as Smṛtis, Purāṇas, Itihāsas and Āgamas and the other interpreting independently. In Sūtra 1 of Pāda 1 of Adhyāya II of the Sūtras (Smṛtyadhikaraṇa) Śaṅkara makes no secret that he belongs to the latter class and makes it a grievance that the other class does not follow his lead on account of their high regard for the Maharṣis. When it is remembered that it is in order to rescue the eternal Upaniṣads from the clutches of free-thinkers such as Sāṅkhyas etc , who exploited the same in order to support their non-theistic conclusions, that the Vedanta Sūtras of Vyāsa and the Bhagavadgītā of Lord Kṛṣṇa came to be written, Śaṅkara, I submit, cannot for a moment be accepted as a reliable guide in spiritual matters by those who believe in the infallibility of the Veda revelation. That Śaṅkara did not accept the lead of Ṛṣis is not a new discovery. Only it is not known in the interested quarters as widely as it ought to be. In the interpretation of the Vedānta Sūtras he accepted Bodhāyana's Vṛtti where it suited him and rejected it where it did not suit him though, traditionally speaking, Bodhāyana was a direct disciple of Vyāsa and wrote the Vṛtti under his direction. Now we find that he has not only discarded Vṛttikāra but also Sūtrakāra Vyāsa.

Sureśvarācārya, in a hymn of praise to Śaṅkara openly declared, of course as a point of merit in him, that he (Śaṅkara) gave us a correct interpretation of the Upaniṣads where Vyāsa had failed. It will be interesting to note here that Dr. Thibaut who translated Śaṅkara's Sūtrabhāṣya into English held the view, as a result of his study of the Sūtras, that the Sūtras did not advocate the distinction of higher (Nirguṇa) and Lower (Saguṇa) Brahma

and that they did not support the theories of the falsity of the world, nor the identity of God and the soul as understood and preached by Sankara in the name of the eternal Upaniṣads. Nearer home in the district of Guntur a profound Sanskrit scholar of the traditional Advaita school,: one Advaitānanda Tīrtha by name held the same views and wrote a commentary on the Vedanta Sūtras embodying them. Some of the modern scholars who are confronted by this anamolous position of Śaṅkara are now trying to set it right by means, which cannot be said to be fair. They put the axe at the root of the authority of the Vedānta Sūtras and the Bhagavadgīta which gave rise to the anamoly by denying their reputed authorship in order to accommodate and uphold the Advaita system, though even Śaṅkara, who would probably have welcomed it, did not dare say it on account of the deep reverence which they commanded in the world of spiritual tradition, which assigned their authorship in the appropriate quarter. Such a great and worthy Orientalist as the late lamented Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Haraprasada Shastry was tempted in this attempt to go to the length of declaring that Dr. Thibaut had probably been under the influence of a Vaiṣṇava scholar, when he translated Śaṅkara's Sūtra Bhāṣya, though from the nature of circumstances, it should be the last thing that could have happend; for, Thibaut belongs to Calcutta and not to Madras and the probability will be he would come under the influence of Advaita scholars of Bengal rather than under an orthodox Vaiṣṇava scholar of southern India.

Why Śaṅkara should play the double role of first accepting Bhagavadgītā and Vedānta Sūtras as his guide in the interpretation of the Upaniṣads and then try to evade their real and plain import wherever he found it inconvenient to follow them is a highly interesting question and has got to be faced. I submit that during the historic times there have been three great intellectual upheavals in Āryāvarta, one following on the heels of the other. The Mahābhārata or the Epic age was the first, next came the Buddhistic age and last, but not the least, the modern age. Dethronement of God from

His rightful place in the scheme of philosophy is the common characteristic of all the three ages. The philosophical enquiries in these three ages have been directed towards the two concepts of "spirit" and "matter"—leaving God in the hands of theologians for whom they generally entertain a good-natured contempt. During the Mahābhārata age, Sāṅkhya, Vaiśeṣika, and their kindred schools of thought were really formidable and it required the combined efforts of a galaxy of intellectual giants and seers like Vyāsa, Parāśara, Bhīṣma and Jaimini, led by Lord Kṛṣṇa to successfully controvert their theories, whose one tendency was to undermine the integrity of the existence of God as glorified in the eternal Upaniṣads.

With the passing away of the Dvāpara age, the age of the Ṛṣis also passed away and when Śaṅkara was born, he found, in the cultural atmosphere dominated by the Buddhistic and other schools of free thinking, a repetition of the conditions during which Vyāsa etc. had founded their Vedānta Darśana. Naturally enough, he sought the lead of Kṛṣṇa and Vyāsa in dealing with the Buddhists, and other schools of thought, which were the replicas of Sāṅkhya etc. of the former age, but he could not summon up the requisite intellectual resources to subdue them to the point of vanquishment in the same way as did the founders of Vedānta Darśana. When he was not equal to the task only two courses were left open, either abject surrender or a sort of compromise which will ensure some advantage according to the exigencies of the situation. He accordingly entered into a sort of compromise with the Buddhists etc. and developed a system of philosophy, which was intended to placate the intellectual Buddhists on the one hand and the Vedāntins who believed in God on the other. The attributeless God (Nirguṇic Brahma) of Śaṅkara is no better than the No-God of Buddha, declared Manmatha Nath Dutt in his 'Prophets of India.' Such a God (Nirguṇic Brahma) must easily be acceptable to Buddhists. As regards the belief in Vedānta, those who were intellectually fit to be assimilated to the Nirguṇic Brahmahood, had no need to believe in the entire Veda; they could discard the whole of it

except the four texts which teach the essence of Nirguṇic Brahma. They need not cast even a glance at the rituals prescribed in the Veda for all governed by rules of caste and Aśrama.

For the Buddhist to be admitted into the fold of Vedāntins, there was however one obstacle in the way. Śāstras prohibited Sannyāsa during the Kali and it was quite in the fitness of things that the Buddhists had taken it up as their symbol of holiness. Śaṅkara overruled the Śāstra and threw open the gates of Hinduism to Buddhists who, with their clean-shaven heads and ascetic robes were admitted without having the least necessity to undergo any change either in their outward equipment or in their mental outlook. In fact, there is a tradition which says that Śaṅkara's guru, was himself a Buddhist and that as owing to the prohibition of Śāstras there had been no sannyāsins in the world of Vedic sampradāya, he had to resort to a Buddhistic guru to take his Sannyāsin's robes. The Vedāntins were assured that the God in whom they believed had been allowed a place in the system and that as it is a permanent place they need not bother themselves with the Nirguṇa Brahma prescribed for the intellectuals since it was provided that the worship of Saguṇā Brahma will eventually lead to the highest goal reserved for the intellectual Buddhists. The tragedy of the situation lies in the fact that between the attributeless God who, even according to Śaṅkara, cannot be the object of worship and Hiraṇyagarbha whom none has ever been in the habit of worshipping, disappeared the Parabrahma, whom the Upaniṣads glorified as full of attributes and as the one object of adoration for achieving salvation. Four centuries later came Rāmānuja who revived the Vedānta of Vyāsa by writing his bhāṣya according to the strict letter of Bodhāyanavṛtti: Madhva, Vallabha, Caitanya etc. followed Rāmānuja.

As regards the tendencies of the modern age, there is no need to dilate upon it. It is essentially materialistic in its temperament and outlook. Intellectual activity leading to scientific achievement adds new fields to the ever widening [illegible] of knowledge and fills the human mind with petty

pride which blinds him to the vision of God. Spirit and Matter are the two factors in the situation. Sāṅkhyas and Buddhists believed in them with slight variation. In the Advaita system, the concept of Matter has undergone some change for worse or better, probably for the worse, but it is still there. As regards the Spirit also it is there–call it Puruṣa with Sāṅkhyas, call it 'Self' with Buddhists, call it 'Soul' or 'God' (as it suits you best) with the Advaitins; the entity is only one as in the case of Sāṅkhya and Buddhistic systems. That is the point to be noted. As Sāṅkhya and Buddhistic systems made strong appeal to intellectuals in the preceding two ages, so does the Advaita system in the modern age and for the same reasons. In modern philosophical world the depth of metaphysical insight is measured in proportion as the enquirer moves farther and farther away from God. It is the humble and wise that can have a vision of God–not the intellectually proud.

HINDU SYSTEM OF MORALITY OR PHILOSOPHY OF THE THREE GUṆAS, SATTVA, RAJAS, AND TAMAS.

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General nature of the system.

1. The Hindu system of morality is based on the psychological fact that human beings are generally influenced and governed by affections and passions either virtuous or vicious. They are therefore called springs of actions. The Hindu philosophers have therefore divided all affections and passions into three groups, technically called Sattvaguṇa, Rajoguṇa and Tamoguṇa, and pointed out that if a person wants happiness, he must cultivate Sattvaguṇa, because the other two Guṇas (or qualities) generally cause more misery than pleasure in the long run. The Hindu moralists, therefore, insist upon the necessity of increasing Sattvaguṇa and repressing Rajoguṇa and Tamoguṇa which lead to a balance of misery.

Definitions of the three Guṇas.

2. Although the three Guṇas or groups of qualities are the basis of the Hindu system of morality, no definitions of the three Guṇas have been given by the ancient Hindu Aryans. The reason probably is that a definition of the three Guṇas has been given by Iśvarakṛṣṇa a learned comentator on the Sāṅkhya school of philosophy. He defines the three Guṇas in his Kārikā as follows:—

सत्वं लघु प्रकाशकमिष्टमुपष्टम्भकं चलं च रजः ।
गुरु वरणमेव तमः प्रदीपवच्चार्थतो वृत्तिः ॥

That definition of the three Guṇas is admirably fitted to describe how the three Guṇas play a part in the evolution of

the whole universe from the original world-substance called "Prakṛti". But it is hardly fit to mark the complicated distinctions between virtuous and vicious actions. The ancient Hindu Aryans have given a number of instances of each of the three Guṇas as applied to morality in the Aśvamedhaparvan of the Mahābhārata, Manusmṛti, Pañcadaśī of Vidyāraṇya and Dāsabodha of Rāmadāsa Svāmi. In the Bhagavadgītā (in chapter 14 verses 5-13 and in chapters 17 and 18) descriptions of the three Guṇas are given but they cannot be called exhaustive and serve the purpose of definitions. I have therefore attempted to define the three Guṇas accurately so far as it is possible to do so.

Definition of Sattvaguṇa.

3. Sattvaguṇa may be divided into two sub-groups of feelings or springs of actions:-viz. affections and passions which are suitable to the interests of all living beings and those which are suitable to the interests of one's own private life. (1) Sattvaguṇa included in the first sub-group may be defined as natural affections and passions such as generosity, forgiveness etc., which may lead to the good of all living beings, provided they are within certain limits. (2) Sattvaguṇa included in the second group of feelings may be defined to be self-regarding affections which may lead to the good of an individual or a class of individuals, if they are neither too strong nor too weak.

Definition of Rajoguṇa.

4. Self-regarding affections or passions which are too strong, so as to cause harm to other persons such as greediness, deceitfulness etc. are called Rajoguṇa. Rajoguṇa therefore is called unreasonable self-love. Reasonable self-love is, as mentioned above, included in Sattvaguṇa.

Definition of Tamoguṇa.

5. Tamoguṇa may be defined to be feelings such as anger, jealousy, etc. which lead neither to public good nor to one's own good. It also includes feelings which lead to public good, but which are not within proper limits, and feelings which lead to private good but are too weak. An

instance of a Tamoguṇa leading to public good which is not within proper limits may be given of a disposition to give charities without discrimination so as to prevent succour or relief when rightly required. An instance of a too weak self-love may be given of a man who is unnecessarily self-neglectful and insensible to danger. The conduct of a man in such instances leading neither to public good nor to private good must be classified in Tamoguṇa.

System of morality similar to Hindu system.

6. The only system of morality, among the systems propounded by western moralists, which is somewhat similar to the Hindu system is that propounded by the Third Earl of Shaftsbury (1671-1713) in his "Inquiry concerning Virtue or Merit". The Hindu system of morality appears to be faultless and comparatively easier for application in concrete cases of moral situations than the methods of ethics pointed out by Henry Sidgwick. The second group of feelings included in Sattvaguṇa, is a novel feature of my definition of Sattvaguṇa, but it is supported by the latest development of Hindu religion. (See Bhagavadgītā, ch. 7 v. 11), where it is said that happiness that can be obtained through the senses, if not prohibited by religious books, is also a form of God, that is to say, such worldly happiness is a desirable thing and therefore it may be included in Sattvaguṇa. The same conclusion is arrived at in ch. 15 of the Pañcadaśī of Vidyāraṇya.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ: A TRIAD OF THE THREE DYADS.

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Argument.

In this paper I propose to consider several passages of the Bhagavadgītā dealing with metaphysical principles as distinguished from the religious or ethical ones. Elsewhere[1] I have discussed in detail the passages, mentioning *akṣara* and *puruṣa* the impersonal and the personal conceptions of the Supreme Being, from the earlier metrical Upaniṣads and the Gītā, and I have come to the conclusion that these works nowhere identify the two conceptions, that both of them are goals to be independently reached by the liberated, that *puruṣa* is 'higher' than *akṣara* in the sense that *akṣara* is the origin of *prakṛti*, the lower material Nature of *puruṣa* and itself serves as his conscious Nature in the act of creating the world. I shall here restrict myself to those passages from the Gītā about these Higher and Lower Natures of the Lord, which have been touched only partly or not at all in my thesis, and which further strengthen the conclusions arrived at by me therein.

Synonyms of akṣara (1) para avyatka.

Since the Gītā passages containing the term *akṣara* directly have been discussed by me in my thesis, I will here take up only the synonyms of *akṣara* in the Gītā. In Bh. Gī. VIII. 20–21 *akṣara* is said to be *para avyakta* which is *sanātana* 'eternal.' This *para avyakta* is not identical with the *puruṣa* who is explained as different from *akṣara* and above it (VIII. 22). A comparison of Bh. Gī. VIII. 21-22 with Śvetāśvatara Up. I. 7 and Kaṭha Up. III. 10-11 will bear

1. Akṣara; a forgotten chapter, by P. M. Modi, published in 1932.

out the same view. This *sanātana* or *para avyakta* is so called because it is distinguished from the lower *avyakta* (VIII. 18) which should mean the *pradhāna* or *mahān ātmā* or *mahat* (Cf. Śve. Up. I. 8–11 and Kaṭha Up. III. 10–11). Because the higher *avyakta* is expressly said to be *sanātana* 'eternal', the lower *avyakta* is to be interpreted as not eternal. It may be noted here that this lower *avyakta* from which the elements appear at the break of each day of Brahmā or Prajāpati (Cf. the term' '*bhūtāni*' in Bh. Gī. VIII. 19, and in Bh. Gī. XVIII. 6), is also the *avyakta* of Bh. Gī. XIII.

(2) kṣetra.

Because the *avyakta* of Bh. Gī XIII. 5 cannot be different from the lower *avyakta* of Bh. Gī. VIII. 18–20 and because the *kṣetra* includes not only this *avyakta* but many other principles and ideas also, it seems to me that *keṣtra* here stands for the higher *avyakta* or *akṣara* of Bh. Gī. VIII. 20–21. Another reason for this interpretation of *kṣetra* as *akṣara* is that *cetanā*–consciousness and *dhṛti*–sustenance of the world (Cf. *dhṛti* in *akṣaram ambarāntadhṛteḥ*–Br. Sū. I. 3. 10 and in *dhṛteśca mahimno 'syāsminnupalabdheḥ*–Br. Sū. I. 3. 16) are included in this *kṣetra.* That *kṣetra* is consciousness or life–principle can be proved by several passages from the Mokṣadharma-parvan of MBh. XII. (a) In MBh. XII. 253·11 we read *karmānumānād vijñeyaḥ sa jīvaḥ kṣetrasaṁjñakaḥ* which states that activity is to be traced to 'the *jīva* (life–principle) which is given the name *kṣetra*', i. e. to *akṣara* (Cf. Bh. Gī. III. 15). (b) MBh. XII. 213. 12c–d, 13a–b read as follows:— *jñānādhiṣṭhānaṁ avyaktaṁ buddhyahaṅkāralakṣaṇam* (12c–d), *tad bījaṁ dehinām āhus tad bījaṁ jīvasaṁjñitam* (13 a–b). This verse mentions an *avyakta* which is said to be the *adhiṣṭhāna* or source of *jñāna* and also of *buddhi* and *ahaṅkāra.* In MBh. XII. 306.40 *jñāna* is itself said to be *avyakta* and in MBh. XII. 204.10–11 *jñāna* which is said to be higher than *buddhi* is stated to have evolved from *avyakta* (*buddheḥ parataraṁ jñānam...avyaktāt prasṛtaṁ jñānam...*); also in MBh. XII. 318.40 we read *jñānaṁ tu prakṛtiṁ prāhuḥ*; so the *avyakta* which is the *adhiṣṭhāna* of *jñāna* which in its turn is explained as *prakṛti* or *avyakta* is the higher *avyakta*

or *akṣara* ; and this *avyakta* is here said to be the germ of the individual souls and is therefore called *jīva* i. e. 'life-principle'. When we construe *avyakta* in MBh. XII. 213.12, then only can we compromise its further description as *bījaṁ dehinām* and *bījaṁ jīvasaṁjñitam*. (c) In MBh. XII. 242. 19–20 the *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas* are said to be *jīvaguṇātmakam* "of the form of the *guṇa* of the *jīva*, the life-principle"; and this *jīva* is said to be the *guṇa* of the individual souls and also the soul of the Supreme Lord " *tamo rajaś ca sattvaṁ ca viddhi jīvaguṇātmakaṁ* । *jīvam ātmaguṇaṁ vidyād ātmānaṁ paramātmanaḥ*). Thus this passage speaks of a *jīva* which functions in three ways, viz., (1) as the *guṇa* (cause?) of the Lower Nature consisting of *sattva*, *rajas* and *tamas*, (2) as the *guṇa* (germ?) of the individual souls, and lastly (3) as the soul (*ātman*) of the Supreme Lord. And we read further that *sacetanaṁ jīvaguṇaṁ vadanti sa ceṣṭate jīvayate ca sarvam* । *tataḥ paraṁ kṣetravido vadanti prākalpayad yo bhuvanāni sapta* (MBH. XII. 242. 20). "Whatever is possessed of consciousness is spoken of as *jīvaguṇa* i. e. 'having the *guṇa* of the *jīva* or the life-principle'; this *jīva* itself acts and is the cause of life in all. Beyond this *jīva* is he of whom the *kṣetra*-knowers speak and who has created the seven worlds." '*Jīva*' has here to be interpreted as *akṣara* because if we take the alternative interpretation of *jīva* as the individual soul, it cannot explain away the three-fold function attributed to it above (MBH. XII. 242. 19). And the one who is "beyond" this *jīva* is the *kṣetrajña* or *puruṣa*. (d) In MBh. XII. 307. 14 it is said that *kṣetra* is the *adhiṣṭhāna* or the abode of the *puruṣa* and that it is the Twentyfifth (*adhiṣṭhānāt kṣetram āhur etat tat pañcaviṁśakam*). Since *kṣetra* is here called *pañcaviṁśaka*, it must mean *akṣara*. (e) In MBh. XII. 318. 111. we read *tasmād upāsasva paraṁ mahad śuci śivaṁ vimokṣaṁ vimalaṁ pavitram* । *kṣetraṁ jñātvā pārthiva jñānayajñam upāsya vai tattvaṁ ṛṣir bhaviṣyasi*. In this verse the king is advised to know and even to meditate upon *kṣetra* which is *param*, *mahad*, *śuci*, *śiva* etc. and this knowledge is identified with *jñānayajña* and thus the king will become a *ṛṣi*. Now, this is possible only when *kṣetra* means *akṣara*.

From these few passages of the Mahābhārata I am of the opinion that the original sense of *kṣetra* is *akṣara* or Brahman and that it should be so interpreted in the Gītā.

akṣara called jīva-ghana in Pr. Up. V. 5.

During the above consideration of *kṣetra* we have already seen that *kṣetra* is *cetanā*-consciousness and *dhṛti*-sustenance of the world; we have also noticed that several passages of the Mahābhārata describe this *kṣetra* as *jīva* or life-principle. (*Sa jīvaḥ kṣetrasaṁjñakaḥ*-MBh. XII. 253. 11; *avyakta* or *akṣara* is *dehināṁ bījaṁ jīvasaṁjñitam*-MBh. XII. 213. 12-13; this *jīva* is the source of the three *guṇas* or *prakṛti*, and it is so called because *sa ceṣṭate jīvayate ca sarvam*-MBh. XII. 240. 19-20.) That this consciousness or life-principle is *akṣara* can be proved also by a passage from the earlier metrical Upaniṣads. In the Praśna Upaniṣad one who meditates on the syllable 'Om' as *consisting of three parts* is said to attain Brahma-loka or *akṣara* which is called *jīvaghana* while one who meditates on it as *one complete whole* is said to attain *parāt paraṁ puriśayaṁ puruṣam* (Pr. Up. V. 5).

(3) parā prakṛti.

Further evidence that the designation *jīva* is applied to *kṣetra* or *akṣara* or the higher *avyakta* is supplied by Bh. Gī. VII. 5. The *jīvabhūtā parā prakṛti* or the Higher Nature which is the life-principle is nothing else but *kṣetra* or *akṣara*. "dhāryate" in *yayedaṁ dhāryate jagat* reminds us of "*vidhṛtau*" in *etasya vā akṣarasya praśāsane gārgi sūryacandramasau vidhṛtau tiṣṭhataḥ* (Bṛ. Up. III. 8.9) and of "*dhṛti*" in *saṅghātaś cetanā dhṛtiḥ*-(Bh. Gī. XIII. 6) and in *akṣaram ambarāntadhṛteḥ* (Br. Sū. I. 3. 10.) This *parā prakṛti* is here described as *yoni* of all beings (Bh. Gī. VII. 6) just as *akṣara* is said to be *bhūtayoni* in Mu. Up. I. 1. 6 *yattad adreśyam... ..tad bhūtayonim paripaśyanti dhīrāḥ*. The author of the Brahmasūtras also argues that *akṣara* Brahman is the *prakṛti* because it "is described in verse as *yoni*" i. e. the source of beings (*prakṛtiś ca pratijñādṛṣṭāntānuparodhāt*-Br. Sū. I. 4. 23 and *yoniś ca hi gīyate*-Br. Sū. I. 4. 27). The *jīvabhūtā parā prakṛti* cannot be the individual soul because this latter cannot be the upholder of the universe or the source of all beings. The above points together with

the fact that *kṣetra* which is *akṣara* is consciousness or life-principle (*cetanā* and *jīva*) justify the conclusion that *parā prakṛti* is *akṣara*.

The word *yoni* in the above passages reminds us of *mama yonir mahad brahma tasmin garbhaṁ dadhāmy aham* । *sambhavaḥ sarvabhūtānāṁ tato bhavati Bhārata* । *sarvayoniṣu Kaunteya mūrtayaḥ sambhavanti yāḥ* । *tāsāṁ brahma mahad yonir ahaṁ bījapradaḥ pitā* (Bh. Gī. XIV. 3-4), and *yadā paśyaḥ paśyate rukmavarṇaṁ kartāram īśaṁ puruṣaṁ brahmayonim* (Mu. Up. III. 1. 3).

(4) mahad brahman.

The latter passage says that *puruṣa* has Brahman for the matrix; in the Gītā passage Kṛṣṇa who stands for *puruṣa* is said to have *mahad brahman* for the *yoni* in which he puts his seed. In Bh. Gī. VII. 6 we are told that the *parā prakṛti* is the source or *yoni* of all beings; in Bh. Gī. XIV. 3-4 *mahad brahman* is said to be the source (*sambhava* in verse 3 and yoni in verse 4) of all beings. Thus, the Brahman of the Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad is the same as *mahad brahman* of the Gītā which in its turn is identical with *parā prakṛti* of Bh. Gī. VII. 5. In both the passages of the Gītā (VII. 5-6 and XIV. 3-4) Kṛṣṇa is the *puruṣa* to whom the Higher Nature (*parā prakṛti* or *mahad brahman*) belongs and who is the seed-depositor (Cf. *ahaṁ kṛtsnasya jagataḥ prabhavaḥ pralayas tathā* in Bh. Gī. VII. 6 with *tasmin garbhaṁ dadhāmy aham* and *ahaṁ bījapradaḥ pitā* in Bh. Gī. XIV. 3-4). Thus, this *mahad brahman* is to be identified with *akṣara*.

(5) prakṛti.

In Bh. Gī. IX. 10 Kṛṣṇa who is to be understood as *puruṣa* asserts himself as the *adhyakṣa* the Principal and the *prakṛti* as his co-progenitor. This passage as well as three more passages (Bh. Gī. VII. 6 and 10, XIII. 26, and XIV. 3-4) describe in different ways the begetting of the beings by *puruṣa*, the giver of seed (*bīja*), of *akṣara* which serves as a matrix (*yoni*). The *yoni* is mentioned here under various names e. g. *parā prakṛti*, *prakṛti*, *kṣetra*, *mahad brahman*; while Kṛṣṇa who is to be identified with the *puruṣa* is the *bīja* or *bījapradaḥ pitā*. The fact of

Kṛṣṇa being the seed is mentioned no less than six times in the Gītā (VII 10; IX. 10,8,18; X. 39 and XIV. 4). By a comparison of these verses with Mu. Up. I. 1. 6, II. 1. 3 and Br. Sū. I. 4. 23 and 27 it becomes clear that this *yoni* and *bīja* are *akṣara* or Brahman and *puruṣa*. The *prakṛti* which gives birth to (*sūyate*) all beings living and non-living and to which they return (Bh. Gī. IX 7–10) is not different from the living *parā prakṛti* or *mahad brahman*. Thus, a comparison of Bh. Gī. IX. 10 with other passages of the same analogous statements show that the *prakṛti* of Bh. Gī. IX. 10 is the *akṣara* or the *parā prakṛti*.

One more passage of the Gītā (IV. 6) where also the term *prakṛti* seems to stand for *akṣara* will be discussed later on.

Two aspects of akṣara.

The Gītā does not use the older terms *akṣara* and Brahman to describe the *yoni* or *prakṛti* aspect of the Impersonal, and this seems to have been done with the intention of drawing a distinction between the two aspects of *akṣara* viz., *akṣara* as a goal and *akṣara* as a living Nature. The older works i. e. the earlier metrical Upaniṣads did not make this distinction. There is no verse in the Gītā which would justify us in framing two independent principles out of these two aspects of *akṣara*. Nor can we identify the goal-aspect of *akṣara* with that of the *puruṣa*, because as I have shown in my thesis, *akṣara* is described in the Gītā as lower than *puruṣa* and, in one place, even as a *dharma* of the latter (Bh. Gī. XIV. 2). *Akṣara* or Brahman is described to be eternal in Bh. Gī. II. 17, IV. 31, VIII. 20, XIV. 27; while similar statements are made for *puruṣa* in Bh. Gī. VIII. 9–10, X. 12, XI, 18, and 38. It may be added here that occasionally in the Gītā we find verses which describe *akṣara* and *puruṣa* in the same or similar terms without identifying the two. Such descriptions are due to the fact that both are independently the goals of human beings or that both take part in the act of progenerating the creation though in different capacities as we noticed in the foregoing pages. In spite of this, the Gītā does not make *akṣara* and *puruṣa* numerically two and so we find a statement that those who reach *akṣara* may be said, in one sense, to have reached even *puruṣa* (Bh. Gī. XII. 4).

Thus, in the Gītā we have two eternal spiritual principles which are, mathematically speaking, neither one nor two.

The above conclusion with regard to the Higher Nature (*parā prakṛti* or *akṣara*) of the Gītā will be further strengthened by a consideration, already partly done in the preceding pages, of its Lower Nature (*aparā prakṛti*), which is described in it as a distinct principle or originating from the Higher one or *akṣara*.

The Lower Nature: (1) apara avyakta or avyakta.

While discussing *para avyakta* as a synonym of *akṣara* I have already shown that *apara avyakta* (Bh. Gī. VIII. 18) is the same as the *avyakta* of Bh. Gī. XIII. 5; and as will be proved below, this *avyakta* is the Lower Nature (Bh. Gī. VII. 5). Thus, *apara avyakta* or *avyakta* will be a term for the Lower Nature.

(2) aparā prakṛti or prakṛti.

From the explanation of *parā prakṛti* as *akṣara* or the higher *avyakta*, it follows that the *aparā prakṛti* is the lower *avyakta* of Bh. Gī. VIII. 18–20. If we compare the elements mentioned in Bh. Gī. VII. 4 with those in Bh. Gī. XIII. 5, we find that the *prakṛti* (Bh. Gī. VII. 4) or *aparā prakṛti* (Bh. Gī. VII. 5) corresponds to the *avyakta* of Bh. Gī. XIII. 5. It is the lower *avyakta* or the *aparā prakṛti* which is "divided (evolved) into eight", so that the *aparā prakṛti* itself is the ninth. As the Higher Nature is specifically said to be 'the life that sustains this world', the Lower Nature may be taken as the inanimate or material Nature.

We may incidentally add that also because the lower *prakṛti* is identical with the lower *avyakta*, as shown above, the *parā prakṛti* is identical with the higher *avyakta* or *akṣara*.

As Bh. Gī. VII. 4–6 mentions only two *prakṛtis* (and Kṛṣṇa) corresponding to the two *avyaktas* (and *puruṣa*) of Bh. Gī. VIII. 18–21, it seems that according to the Gītā there is no third *prakṛti* and no third *avyakta*. Thus, in the Gītā we should not distinguish from one another three *prakṛtis* called *aparā prakṛti*, *parā prakṛti* and *prakṛti* simply.

Not more than two prakṛtis in the Gitā.

Kṛṣṇa is not identical with *parā prakṛti* but he is the possessor of the two *prakṛtis*, he is the *puruṣa* beyond the higher *avyakta*. It would, therefore, seem that wherever the Gītā mentions a principle calling it simply *prakṛti*, it should mean either the lower or the higher Prakṛti. To me it seems that wherever in the Gītā the unqualified term *prakṛti* occurs, there are some indications accompanying it which show that it is either the Lower or the Higher Nature of the *puruṣa* or Kṛṣṇa. Thus :—

(a) There are several passages in the Gītā in which a principle called *prakṛti* is mentioned with reference to *guṇas*, which are said to be either 'born of *prakṛti*' (*prakṛtija*-Bh. Gī. III. 5, XIII. 21, XVIII. 40; *prakṛtisaṁbhava*-Bh. Gī. XIII. 19, XIV. 5) or belonging to *prakṛti* (*prakṛteḥ guṇāḥ*-Bh. Gī. III. 27, 29). This latter expression means that the *guṇas* are the constituents of this *prakṛti*, while the former means that by rotation each of the *guṇas* preponderates over the other two as described in Bh. Gī. XIV. 10-15 (*rajas tamaś cābhibhūya sattvaṁ bhavati bhārata* etc). As no creature, earthly or divine, is said to be free from the *guṇas* of this *prakṛti* (Bh. Gī. XVIII. 40) and as all transformations (*vikāra*-Bh. Gī. XIII. 19 and XIII. 6) are the effects of this *prakṛti* it is the lower *prakṛti* of the Lord 'divided' into eight principles (Bh. Gī. VII. 5). The *vikāras* in Bh. Gī. XIII. 5-6 are the same as the elements in Bh. Gī. VII. 4 with some additions and the *vikāras* referred to in verse 19 of the same chapter (Bh. Gī. XIII) cannot be different from those of Bh. Gī. XIII. 5-6. Therefore the *prakṛti* of Bh. Gī. XIII. 19 is the *aparā prakṛti* or the Lower Nature of Bh. Gī. VII. 5.

How this *prakṛti* which is the lower *prakṛti* constituted by the three *guṇas*, and which is a *vikāra* can be said to be *anādi* 'without a beginning' will be explained later on.

(1) māyā.

It may be here pointed out that since the *prakṛti* possessing the *guṇas* is the lower *prakṛti* in the Gītā, the *māyā* mentioned in Bh. Gī. VII. 14 is also the lower *prakṛti* because the *māyā*, like the

prakṛti (Bh. Gī. III. 27–29), consists of the *guṇas* and infatuates man. It also belongs to the Lord and is therefore divine, just as the *aparā prakṛti* does (Bh. Gī. VII. 4–5a, 25). There is nothing to contradict the conclusion that the *māyā* of Bh. Gī. IV. 6 is the same principle as in Bh. Gī. VII. 14.

(b) We might take up one more passage for the exposition of the view that in the Gītā the unqualified term *prakṛti* means either the lower *prakṛti* or the higher *prakṛti* of Bh. Gī. VII. 5, and not a third principle called *prakṛti* simply.

Both the lower and the higher *prakṛtis* of the Lord are utilised by Him when, though the Lord of beings, He at the same time assumes incarnations on this earth (Bh. Gī. IV. 6). *Māyā* being nothing else but the *māyā* of Bh. Gī. VII. 14, 'my own *prakṛti*' (in Bh. Gī. IV. 6) ought to be taken as the Higher Nature and 'my *māyā*' is the Lower Nature of VII. 5 and 14, or else there will be a useless repetition of the same principle in the verse (Bh. Gī. IV. 6). As He is said to incarnate with the help of both these Natures, the *avatāra* is a reality (Bh. Gī. IX 11) and partakes both of divinity (*prakṛti* or the Higher Nature) and humanity (*māyā* or the Lower Nature).

We may now resume the discussion of passages which seem to mention the Lower Nature under a name other than *prakṛti*.

(4) brahman.

The word *brahman* in Bh. Gī. III. 15 is probably used in the sense of the lower *avyakta* (Bh. Gī. VIII. 18) or the lower *prakṛti* (Bh. Gī. VII. 5). In Bh. Gī. III. 14–15 the metaphorical sacrifice (*yajña*), which is the special contribution of the Gītā to the Indian religion, is traced to *karman* or activity; activity in its turn is traced to the Lower Nature or *brahman* and this *brahman* is said to be 'born' of *akṣara*. Thus, it is said, the Omnipresent Brahman (or *akṣara*) is established eternally in the sacrifice. It is well known that the Gītā does not teach the religion of sacrifice of the Pūrvamīmāṃsā; but it requires man to do every action of his as a sacrifice dedicated to the Lord or to *akṣara*. The Gītā traces activity (*karman*) to the Lower

Nature or to its *guṇas* (Bh. Gī. XIII. 20, 29, etc.); and hence the *brahman* which is the source of activity must be identical with the Lower Nature. The Upaniṣads also mention a principle called *brahman* which is 'born' of the Omniscient One : *tapasā cīyate brahma tato 'nnam abhijāyate* । *annāt prāṇo manaḥ satyam lokāḥ karmasu cāmṛtam* ॥ *yaḥ sarvajñaḥ sarvavid yasya jñanamayaṃ tapaḥ* । *tasmā etad brahma nāma rūpam annaṁ ca jāyate* (Mu. Up. I. i. 8–9). It is likely that because the word *brahman* is here used in the sense of the Lower Nature, the expression *mahad brahman* is used in Bh. Gī. XIV. 3 in the sense of *akṣara*. Bh. Gi. III. 15 distinguishes the *akṣara* from this *brahman* by calling the former *sarvagata brahman*. For these reasons *brahman* in Bh. Gi. III. 15 should mean the Lower Nature.

It may be added here that if the above interpretation of *brahman* (in Bh. Gī. III, 15) as the Lower Nature which is the origin of activity be correct, it follows that this Lower Nature is the effect of *akṣara*, as is clearly stated in this passage (Bh. Gī. III. 15).

(5) svabhāva.

One more term that deserves to be examined in an effort to fix the terminology of the philosophical principles of the Gītā is *svabhāva*. It is mentioned along with other important principles of the Gītā in Bh. Gī VIII. 3. From that passage we learn that *svabhāva* is different from *akṣara* (Bh. Gī. VIII. 3 a) and from *puruṣa* (Bh. Gī. VIII. 4b), and that it is connected neither with the sphere of gods (*adhidaivatam* nor with that of the elements (*adhibhūtam*) but with the individual self or rather the individual body (*adhyātmam*). This would imply that the *svabhāva* is the Lower Nature. As we have seen, the Gītā establishes chiefly three princples, the Lower Nature, the Higher Nature, (*akṣara*) and the *puruṣa* ; and as the last two are mentioned in this verse by their names, we may conclude that *svabhāvā* means 'the Lower Nature'. Moreover the *guṇas* are said to be 'born' of *svabhāva* just as they are so mentioned with regard to *prakṛti* the Lower Nature (Bh. Gī. XVIII, 40–41). Thus. *svabhāva* is the lower *prakṛti*.

svabhāva, prakṛti and brahman all synonyms.

That *svabhāva* (Bh. Gī. V. 14, XVIII. 41), *prakṛti* (Bh. Gī XIII. 20, 29; XVIII. 42–47, 60) and *brahman* (Bh. Gī. III. 15) are different names of one and the same principle is also proved by the fact that each of them is said to be the origin of activity *karman* or *kartṛtva*.) It may also be noticed that since *prakṛti* the Lower Nature is the cause of all action, sometimes the *guṇas* which constitute that *prakṛti* are also said to be the cause of action (Bh. Gī. III. 27 XIV. 19).

Lower Nature: an effect of the Higher Nature.

The Lower Nature is an effect (*vikāra*) of the Higher Nature and as such it is not an eternal principle. The *brahman* explained above as the Lower Nature is expressly mentioned as 'born' of *akṣara* (Bh. Gī. III. 15). The statement that the higher *avyakta* is *sanātana* (Bh. Gī. VIII. 20) suggests that the lower *avyakta* which means the Lower Nature is not eternal. This lower Avyakta is said to be a *vikāra* 'an effect' of *kṣetra* which, as proved above is *akṣara* (Bh. Gī. XIII. 6). A conclusion like this about the Lower Nature is also supported by the Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad (Śve. Up. I. 10), which makes *pradhāna* (the Lower Nature) a mutable principle, and speaks of *pradhāna* and *akṣara* as being maintained by the Lord or *puruṣa* as the Gītā calls Him (Śve. Up. I. 8). Thus, the Lower Nature of the Gītā is a *vikāra* or an effect.

Lower Nature: anādi though not sanātana.

In spite of all the above-mentioned passages of the Gītā, which speak of the Lower Nature as a created or evolved principle, we find one passage in the Gītā in which the Lower Nature is said to be *anādi* 'without a beginning'; and therefore it may appear that the interpretation of the lower *prakṛti* proposed in this paper is not consistent with that verse (Bh. Gī. XIII. 6). In fact, however, it is not so. The word *anādi* used here does not mean eternal or *sanātana*; *prakṛti* is *anādi* in the sense that it has no beginning but that does not mean that it has no end; and 'the absence of a beginning' only means that the beginning cannot be definitely located in

time. It is in this sense that the word *anādi* is used by the author of the Brahmasūtras *na karma avibhāgād iti cenna anāditvāt*–Br. Sū. II. 1. 35). In order to explain the *raison d'être* of creation, the Brahmasūtras take *karman* (action) as *anādi*, while the Gītā believes the Lower Nature (*prakṛti*, the cause of action or activity) to be *anādi*. Similarly *puruṣa* 'the soul in bondage' is *anādi* (Bh. Gī. XIII. 19-21) though he, as the conscious living self, is eternal *sanātana* (Bh. Gī. XV. 7). The binding Nature (Bh. Gī. XIV. 5) and the bound soul are both *anādi;* and thus the bondage is *anādi*. 'without a beginning in time', yet the salvation is as sure as anything. If we look to the terminology of the Gītā, we find no objection to the above interpretation of the term *anādi*. The Gītā speaks of *akṣara*, *puruṣa*, and the individual soul as *avināśin*, *śāśvata*, *nitya*, *purāṇa*, *sanātana*, *avyaya*, etc., but it never describes them as being *anādi* only thereby implying the possibility of an end, The Lord is '*aja anādi*' (Bh. Gī X. 3), and *ananta* (Bh. Gī. XI. 47). The individual soul which is identical with the unchanging Supreme Soul is said to be a non–agent and unstained by its actions though it is in the body (from time) without a beginning, because it is devoid of the *guṇas* (Bh. Gī. XIII. 31). The objects of enjoyment have a beginning and an end '*ādyantavantaḥ*' (Bh. Gī. V. 22). The Supreme Brahman is *anādimat* (possessed of a principle which is without a beginning (Bh. Gī. XIII. 12), while the Lower Nature is *anādi* 'without a beginning' (Bh. Gī. XIII. 19). These various words show that the Gītā takes special care in using negative and other compounds with the words *ādi* and *anta*, as also in the use of words like *sanātana* etc. Thus, the Lower Nature is an effect (*vikāra*, of the Higher Nature) without a beginning in time.

Functions of the Lower Nature.

Thus, an examination of most of the passages of the Gītā which mention the Lower Nature shows that it is called *prakṛti* or more exactly, *aparā prakṛti*, *avyakta* or more accurately, *aparā avyakta*, *māyā*, *brahman*, and *svabhāva*; it is a material principle consisting of three constitutents, *sattva*, *rajas*, and [illegible] different from the Higher Nature or *akṣara*.

which is a conscious principle; this Lower Nature is an effect (*vikāra*) 'born' of the Higher Nature; though an effect it has existed from time without a beginning and thus it explains the origin of transmigration or bondage; and finally the Lower Nature is subtler than *buddhi* and the remaining principles. As this Lower Nature, though distinct from *akṣara*, is an effect (of the latter) without a beginning, we cannot say that these two principles are mathematically *two*.

The Gītā Doctrine: A Triad of Three Dyads.

We can sum up the philosophical principles of the Gītā by saying that the metaphysics of the Gītā is a metaphysics of a three-fold non-dualism. The two *prakṛtis*, the two aspects of *akṣara*, and the two goals viz., *akṣara* and *puruṣa* (as explained in my Thesis: Akṣara: A Forgotten Chapter in the History of Indian Philosophy, published in 1932), are each of the three pairs not numerically two but at the same time not one either. Thus the Gītā doctrine is a Triad of three Dyads.

In support of the interpretation of the Gītā given here I may be allowed to refer to my above thesis, where I have shown how this doctrine of the Gītā was modified in subsequent ages by various schools of philosophy. In that work I have pointed out in detail by means of several quotations from the Mahābhārata that the Sāṅkhya of the Epic objected to the two *prakṛtis* of the Gītā and raised up a rational doctrine by ascribing the eternality of the Higher Nature to the Lower Nature and its consciousness and finality (i. e. the goal-aspect) to the *puruṣa* and thus established a philosophical opposition of Spirit and Matter for the first time in Indian philosophy. The Yoga school accepted this opposition but went further by giving up the Gītā identity of the Individual soul and the Universal soul derived from the Upaniṣıds and thus established the till then unknown dualism of Jīva and Paramātman and this bold step was possible because the Gītā had already taught a semi-dualism of two spiritual principles. The author of the

Further evidence for the above interpretation of the Gītā: rise of the Sāṅkhya and Yoga schools of the Epic (Ch. XII) and that of the Vedānta school of the Brahmasūtras from the Gītā Triad of Three Dyads.

Brahmasūtras also modified the Gītā doctrine and said that *akṣara* and *puruṣa* were only two names of the same principle and thus saved the Aupaniṣada or Vedānta school from becoming purely dualistic or pluralistic (vide the interpretation of Brahmasūtras III. 3 in Akṣara: A Forgotten Chapter...). Thus the post-Gītā history of Indian philosophy also corroborates the interpretation of the Gītā as given in this paper.

THE LEŚYA DOCTRINE.

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The doctrine of 'leśyās' has been, indeed, a hard nut to be cracked by Oriental scholars. Leumann, so far as I know, was the first Oriental scholar to be attracted by this doctrine; and he is said to have perceived a resemblance of the six 'leśyās' with Gosāla's division of mankind into six classes. Dr. Jacobi (SBE., *Jaina Sūtras*, part ii. Introduction p. xxx) looked upon this 'leśyā' doctrine as curious and almost paradoxical; he accepted the resemblance then perceived by Leumann and concluded 'that the Jainas borrowed the idea from the Ājīvikas and altered it so as to bring it into harmony with the rest of their creed'. The resemblance suggested by Leumann and accepted by Dr. Jacobi has been lately controverted by Dr. Barua who points out that the division of mankind into six classes by Gosāla is based on the statement of Buddhists, while Gosāla simply mentioned *chaḷabhi-jātiyo*. And then as to the origin of that doctrine, Dr. Barua says, 'as a matter of fact, the idea of such a division seems to have been inherited by Gosāla from the teaching of Pārśvanātha, as may be inferred from the expression *cha-jīvanikāya* of Mahāvīra's parents who were lay-followers of Pārśvanātha,' (*Pre-Buddhistic Indian Philosophy*, p. 303). Dr. Charpentier has also tried to shed some light 'on this darkest and most difficult point in the Jaina religion'; and he compares the 'leśyā' conception with the Sāṅkhya doctrine of *chāyā* or *pratibimba* (*Uttarādhyayanasūtram*, notes p. 392).

Leumann's suggestion of the resemblance was perhaps based on the notion that he understood the six 'leśyās' to be the colours of the soul; and, therefore, he compared them with the Ājīvika tenet as we learn it from Buddhaghoṣa, that men

can be divided into six classes according to colours. It is in *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, on Sāmaññaphalasutta of *Dīgha-Nikāya*, that the phrase *chaḷabhi-jātiyo* is explained by Buddhaghoṣa; and it must be noted that the six classes of men according to colours–black, blue, red, yellow, white and supreme white,–are enumerated in the commentary and not in the text of *Dīgha-Nikāya*. To say that the 'leśyās' represent the colours of the soul is to misunderstand and mis-state the Jaina position. Dr. Jacobi called this doctrine paradoxical, because the notion that the soul has intrinsic colour becomes inconsistent with other tenets of Jainism. The tradition never says that the soul has colour. The soul, according to Jainas, is an incorporeal stuff of sentiency; and naturally it cannot have colour and other sense–qualities, which are associated with matter alone (*Pravacanasāra* i, 55–56, ii, 40; *Tattvārthasūtra* v, 5 and 23). Even Buddhaghoṣa knew that Nigaṇṭhas, or the Jainas, hold the opinion that the soul has no colour as opposed to the Ājīvika view (*Sumaṅgalavilāsinī* on *Dīgha-Nikāya* 1, 2, 38). Dr. Jacobi accepts elsewhere (*The Metaphysics and Ethics of the Jainas*, in the Transaction of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions, vol. ii p. 63) that the 'leśyās' do not represent the colours of the soul. Since 'leśyās' do not stand for the intrinsic colour of the soul, Leumann's detection of similarity between the Ājīvika creed and Jainism and Dr. Jacobi's consequent inference that the Jainas borrowed the leśyā doctrine from the Ājīvikas are groundles. On the contrary, Dr. Barua has suggested Gosāla's indebtedness to Pārśvanātha, the predecessor of Mahāvīra. Dr. Charpentier, so far as I understand him, is still under the notion that Leśyās represent the colour of the soul, and that they are common to both Jainas and Ājīvikas. These two presumptions are groundless, and with them it is not possible to arrive at a correct understanding of that doctrine. No further remarks are necessary on Dr. Charpentier's views, because he is not confident of his thesis, which according to himself contains several rather obvious mistakes'; and still he is in a mood open to correction (*Uttarādhyayanasūtra*, notes p. 392).

The historical evaluation of the 'leśyā' doctrine by Leumann and Charpentier is based on the unguaranteed presumption

that 'leśyās' represent the soul-colours; and as such it needs revision and adjustment in the proper light and sympathetic scrutiny of details about the 'leśyā' doctrine in the Jaina works. Further the borrowal of the 'leśyā' doctrine by the Jainas from the Ājīvikas also remains unproved, because the similarity suggested by Leumann is itself *sub judice*. Even if we accept what the Buddhist commentator has to say about the explanation of *chaḷabhijātiyo*, there remains a gap that 'leśyās' in Jainism have a reference to all the mundane souls viz. hellish, subhuman, human and divine beings, while the colours in Ājīvika creed have a reference to men alone.

The etymology of the word leśyā is also a crux. The Jaina Sanskrit writers treat it as a Sanskrit word, and certain Sanskrit lexicons have registered that word in the sense of light; even in Jaina texts the word leśyā has, when it is not used in the technical sense, different shades of meaning such as lustre, psychic tendency or temperament, spiritual force etc. (*Ardhamāgadhī dictionary* under *lessā*); but in all probability it is a sanskritisation of the Prakrit 'lessā'. Dr. Jacobi, it appears, wants to derive it from the root *kliś*; *kleśa-kilesa*, then *lesa* and *lessā*. But I think it should be traced from the root *śliṣ*: *śleṣa-silesa*, then *lesa* and *lessā*, though the course of derivation is the same. The second etymology, so far as I think, has certain advantages; the root *śliṣ* indicates that the lessā is the result of the association or contact of soul and matter; the form *siliṭṭho* is used as a predicate, by Kundakunda, for the Karmic dust (*Pravacanasāra*, ii, 29 and 96); and finally Abhayadeva, in his commentary on *Bhagavatīsūtra*, has used that root in defining 'leśyā', and his definition runs thus: *liśyate śliṣyate karmaṇā saha ātmā anayā iti leśyā, kṛṣṇādi-dravya-sācivyād ātmanaḥ śubhāśubha-pariṇāma-viśeṣaḥ*. Any attempt to derive 'leśyā' from the root *liś* will have to be given up, because that root has altogether a different significance.

The Jaina texts, early as well as later, abound in a wealth of dogmatic details about the 'leśyās' that one often fails to catch the exact philosophical or psycho-physical significance

of the tenet that these details are driving at. The positive significance of that doctrine will have to be grasped in a particular metaphysical back-ground of Jainism. Karma, according to Jainism, is a subtle type of matter, a tenet almost peculiarly Jaina. The soul is in association with Karmic matter from times immemorial; and it is impossible to conceive a soul, in *saṁsāra*, free from the Karmic encrustation. The Karmic matter is constantly being added to the already existing stock due to the passional vibrations etc. in the soul; and this Karmic deposit forms, for the soul, a subtle body known as *kārmaṇa-śarīra,* which Dr. Jacobi compares with the *liṅgaśarīra* of the Sāṅkhya school. The immediate presence of Karmic matter with the soul throws a reflex as it were in the soul, as a coloured flower does in a mirror or crystal. Just as the colour of the flower reflected in the crystal does not belong to the crystal, but at the same time it cannot be separated from the crystal as long as the flower is there, similarly the 'leśyā' reflex is always there in a soul, in mundane circuit, due to Karmic contiguity. The colour of the reflex does not belong to the soul, and hence 'leśyā' cannot be called the colour of the soul. The soul, when it becomes free from Karmic matter and attains Siddhahood, is absolutely free from 'leśyās' which are not predicated of a Siddha or a liberated soul. The passions etc. which lead to the Karmic influx are the reasons for the presence of 'leśyās' with the soul.

With this metaphysical back-ground great many details are built on these ideas. Leśya is of two kinds: *bhāva-leśyā* which refers to the wave of feelings tinged with passions, and *dravya-leśyā* which indicates the Karmic body material in nature. Further 'leśyās' are of six types: black (*kṛṣṇa*), blue (*nīla*), dove-grey (*kapota*), yellow (pīta or *taijasī*,) pink (*padma*) and white (*śukla*). These names suggest the colour of the Karmic associate of the self. The first three are associated with the criminally darker emotions constituting the springs of evil, while the last three are indicative of the graded advance of spiritual development. But the details do not stop here. We are given the description of 'leśyās' with regard to the five sense-qualities with different degrees among themselves. So

far as I understand, the tastes etc. of 'leśyās' are to be understood only in a metaphorical sense, just elaborated to bring out clearly the various degrees of intensity etc. of different 'leśyās'; and there is no objection to this elaboration, since Karma, as a type of subtle matter, can be predicated of potential sense-qualities of taste etc. These 'leśyās' are not perceptible to ordinary vision, because the subtle Karmic matter is beyond sense-perception. Further, the topic of 'leśyās' is discussed from various stand-points of consideration (see for the dogmatic details, *Uttarādhyayanasūtra*, xxxiv; *Gommaṭasāra* xv; *Lokaprakāśa* iii; *Pañcasaṅgraha* i, etc.).

Besides, there is an ethical aspect of the doctrine as well. The 'leśyās' are treated as an index of temperament and character or ethical purity. A man of black 'leśyā' is wrathful, wicked, pitiless, excessively rash and pugnacious in temperament; that of blue 'leśyā' is characterised by indolence, deceit and greed; that of grey 'leśyā' praises himself and ridicules others, is envious, trustless and devoid of discrimination; that of yellow 'leśyā' is discriminative, impartial, gentle and devoted to acts of charity; that of pink 'leśyā' is forbearing, straightforward, devoted to the worship of saints and teachers and of renunciative bent of mind; and lastly, that of white 'leśyā' is equanimous, without remunerative hankerings, and free from attachment and aversion. The temperament and the consequent acts of these six types of 'leśyās' are illustrated in this manner. Say six travellers, representing six 'leśyās', are lost in the midst of a forest; by chance they come across a fruit-laden tree; and every one of them, with a desire of eating the fruits, puts forth some attempt. The man of black 'leśyā', in order to get the fruits, intends to uproot the tree; that of blue 'leśyā', to cut it by the trunk; that of grey 'leśyā', to cut its branches; that of yellow, to cut its twigs; that of pink 'leśyā', to pluck the fruits alone; and finally, that of white 'leśyā', to pick up the fruits fallen on the ground. Though the illustration speaks only of men for convenience, the 'leśyās' are present with all the souls in *saṁsāra*; it is the liberated souls alone that are completely immune from the 'leśyās'. This is a very popular illustration, known as *leśyā-vṛkṣa*, and is represented in

pictures by the Jainas. There is also given another illustration of an attack on a village by persons of different 'leśyās' and their intended modes of looting the settlement (*Gommaṭa-sāra*, xv, gāthās 507–8; *Āvaśyaka* iv).

That the conception of 'leśyās' is closely connected with the Karma doctrine is quite clear from the above remarks. The phrase *kamma-lesāṇaṃ* (*Uttarādhyavanasūtra* xxxiv, 1) confirms the etymology suggested above and also clearly indicates that the 'leśyās' are the consequences of Karmic contiguity. It is impossible to disassociate the 'leśyā' tenet from the Karma doctrine. The Jaina Karma theory is an independent structure; nowhere else, in any of the Indian systems, do we find the Jaina basic conception underlying and the further wealth of details about the Karma doctrine. Against Glasenapp's view that the Karma doctrine is the central dogma of the Indian religions, Windisch, in his *Geschichte der Sanskrit-philologie*, rightly remarks that in no Brahmanic or Buddhistic work is it so extensively dealt with as in Jaina philosophy. It is the material Karma that properly explains the struggle between the soul and matter; and this struggle culminates into liberation, when the fresh Karmic influx is completely stopped and the Karma in arrears and stock is completely consumed. Essential antecedents of an automatically working Karma, with no intervention of any divine agency, like the eternal soul, its association with Karma having no beginning in time and a fully developed doctrine of transmigration are present in Jainism. The 'leśyās' form an inseparable aspect of Karma theory; and this is the main reason why 'leśyās' are discussed in details, with respect to different stages of spiritual evolution (*guṇa-sthāna*) and the different grades of existence (*gati*). As long as it is not proved that the fundamentals of the Karma doctrine are a common property of Jainism and Ājīvika scoool, two Magadhan creeds, it is not possible to assert that the 'leśyā' doctrine is common to both. The association of colours, either with the soul or Karma, is found in many systems; and that as well weakens the position of Leumann, Jacobi and [illegible]

In Buddhism Karma is classified according to colours: i. black, ii. white, iii, black-and-white, iv. not-black-and-white (*Dīgha-Nikāya*, iii, 230). Kern has already detected how the presence of mythology and Karma theory has endangered the consistency of Buddhism (*Manual of Indian Buddhism*, p 50). The same classification of Karma is adopted in the Yoga school. Since both these systems do not accept the metaphysical concept that Karma is a subtle matter, the four-fold analytical division of Karma according to colours is simply a temperamental indication. The 'leśyā' notion has a metaphysical basis in Jainism, while such does not appear to be the case in Buddhism and Yoga school; and hence Prof. Dasgupta says 'The idea of *śukla* and *kṛṣṇa* Karmas of the Yoga system was probably suggested by the Jaina view' (*A History of Indian Philosophy*, vol. i, p. 74).

The Jaina 'leśyā' doctrine being intrinsically connected with the 'karma' theory of the Jainas and the fundamentals of the material Karma being not present in the Ājīvika school, it is not possible, simply on the ground of some common colour-names, to hold that the 'leśyā' notion is similar to the six-fold division of mankind by Gosāla.

Lastly, I would like to suggest passingly that if at all there is any borrowing, it is possibly by Gosāla. Dr. Barua has ingeniously suggested that the *chaḷabhijātiyo* might have been suggested to Gosāla from the *cha-jīvanikāya* of Pārśvanātha, the predecessor of Mahāvīra. There is apparently some motive, as it is clear from the explanation in *Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, on the part of Gosāla in twisting *cha-jīvanikāya* and confining the six classes to men alone. In that classification, if Buddhaghoṣa really represents the view of Gosāla, the Ājīvika leader wants to establish the superiority of Ājīvikas over Buddhists and Jainas who are put under blue and red classes respectively, and the Ājīvikas and their leader belong to white and supreme white classes. Gosāla's division is clearly sectarian, with no dogmatic or doctrinal back-ground, and not without a motive; and possibly, therefore, it was inherited by him from Pārśvanātha.

As to the relation of Pārśvanātha and Gosāla, the suggestion put forth by Dr. Barua can be substantiated by

the traditions preserved by the Digambaras as well as by the Svetāmbaras. Gosāla is traditionally said to have taken his doctrines from a portion of Pūrvas (Charpentier, *Uttarādhyayanasūtra*, Introduction pp. 19, 21). Malayagiri, in his commentary on *Nandīsūtra*, more than once (*Nandīsūtra*, Agamodaya Samiti ed. pp. 238a, 239a) associates Ājīvika tenets with portions of *Dṛṣṭivāda*, the twelfth Aṅga. More definite is the tradition incorporated by Devasena, in his *Bhāvasaṅgraha*, (Manikachandra D. Jaina Granthamālā, Vol. XX) a work of compilatory character collecting traditional verses, that Maskarī (another name of Gosāla) and Pūraṇa belonged to the *tīrtha* (i. e. creed or the intermediatory period between two Tīrthaṅkaras) of Pārśvanātha. Though there are certain syntactical difficulties in both the verses, the meaning of the first line is clear:—

Masayara-Pūraṇa-risiṇo uppaṇṇo (ā) Pāsaṇāha-titthammi ।
siri Vīra-samavasaraṇe agahiya-jhuṇiṇā ṇiyatteṇa ॥ 161 ॥
bahi-ṇiggayeṇa uttam majjhaṃ eyārasaṅga-dhārissa ।
ṇiggai jhuṇī ṇa aruho viṇiggayā sā sa-sīsassa ॥ 162 ॥

To conclude, Leśyā doctrine cannot be separated from the peculiar Karma notions of Jainism; the similarity between the Jaina 'leśyās' and the Ājīvika division of mankind is only superficial; and if the similarity were sufficient enough to an inference of borrowal, then it is Gosāla who might have got a suggestion from the *cha-jīva-nikāya* of Pārśvanātha in whose creed he was born, and used that classification, confining it to men alone, to indicate his superiority over Jainas and Buddhists.

AGAMIC VĪRASAIVISM.

By S. G. Sakharpekar.

(Baroda.)

Introductory.

It is a common understanding with scholars that Vīraśaivism was founded by Basaveśvara of Kalyan in the latter part of the 12th century, in the time of the Kalachuri king Bijjala. It is not known that it is a distinct branch of that ancient Āgamic Śaiva religion, and is equally old and consistent with the Vedas. It has an authoritative scripture called Śaivāgamas[1] which are the fountain heads of Śaiva religion and philosophy. Indeed, it is impossible to treat the above subject in detail as Śaivāgamas are not easily accessible nor have scholars taken up the above subject for study except a few. The present paper, therefore, is a sketchy treatment of the subject. It is presented to arouse a general interest in this country towards the vast hidden and unsearched for field of study and to induce others, better equipped for the task, to take up the work.

Characteristics of a Vīraśaiva.

The history of Vīraśaivism is lying in an obscure condition. No one has written it systematically from the Agamic point of view. Others who have written, built up their theories on erroneous facts. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar has remarked that it is a jealous copy of Brahmanism.

1. (1) Kāmika (2) Yogaja (3) Cintya (4) Kāraṇa (5) Ajita (6) Dīpta (7) Sūkṣma (8) Sahasra (9) Aṁśumāna (10) Suprabheda (11) Vijaya (12) Niśvāsa (13) Svāyambhuva (14) Anala (15) Vīra (16) Raurava (17) Makuṭa (18) Vimala (19) Candrajñāna (20) Bimba (21) Prodgīta (22) Lalita (23) Siddha (24) Santāna (25) Sarvokta (26) Pārameśvara (27) Kiraṇa (28) Vātula.

Really, it is ignorance of general knowledge of Śaivāgamas and the specific teachings of Śaiva religion. It is essential to have a knowledge of the broader principles of Śaivāgamas on which Vīraśaivism is based. Then, what is meant by a Vīraśaiva? He is a Vīraśaiva, who puts on Liṅga, incanted by Ṣaḍadhvā,[1] on his own body, for day and night and engages himself in attaining Aikya (unity) of Siva and Jīva or Liṅga and Aṅga adhering to Pañcācāra[2] and Aṣṭāvaraṇa[3] (eight environments) through the process of Ṣaṭsthala[4] the Siddhānta of Vīraśaiva. Liṅgadhāraṇa is the peculiarity of a Vīraśaiva. References to it are made in Vedic literature. Some of the technical terms of Vīraśaivism are used in Vedic literature. These two facts will be useful to decide the existence of Vīraśaivism in ancient times.

Technical terms of Vīraśaivism.

Some of the technical terms of Vīraśaivism are as follows:—

माहेश्वर, प्रसादि, प्राणलिंगि, शरण, ऐक्य, लिंग, अंग, स्थल, जंगम, लिंगिन्, प्राणलिंगांगसंगिन्, लिंगांगी, लिंगैक्य, शिव, जीव, शिवैक्य, शिवजीवैक्य, लिंगधारी, लैंगिक, वीरशैव, वीरमाहेश्वर, लिंगधारण, देशिक, शिवलिंगधर, अत्याश्रमी, शिवयोगी, परमशैव, शिवानुभवी, महापाशुपत, शिवसंग etc.

Besides this, there are many other words. But the technical terms quoted are often used in Vīraśaiva scriptures and sometimes in Vedic too. Such terms are not likely to be coined by the Vedic school in case such system had not prevailed in the past. These terms are used in Vedic literature to express some exceptions or general truths in their prescribed

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1. (1) Varṇādhvā (2) Padādhvā (3) Bhuvanādhvā (4) Mantrādhvā (5) Kalādhvā (6) Tattvādhvā.
2. (1) Sadācāra (2) Niyatācāra (3) Gaṇācāra (4) Bhṛtyācāra (5) Liṅgācāra.
3. (1) Guru (2) Liṅga (3) Jaṅgama (4) Pādodaka (5) Prasāda (6) S'iva-[illegible]a (7) Bhasma (8) Rudrākṣa.
4. (1) [illegible]kta (2) Mahes'a (3) Prasādi (4) Prāṇaliṅgi (5) S'araṇa (6) [illegible]a.

rules and regulations. From such references, I shall proceed to show how ancient Virasaivism is :—

References to Virasaivism in Vedic scriptures.

(1) वंशावलीप्रयातानां लिंगधारणशालिनाम् ।
ज्ञानिनां शिवभक्तानां शूद्रत्वं नैव विद्यते ॥

—गरुडपुराणे ।

(2) बाह्यपीठार्चनादेतत्करपीठार्चनं वरम् ।
सर्वेषां वीरशैवानां मुमुक्षूणां निरन्तरम् ॥
शिवभक्तान् सदाचारनिरतान्धृतलिंगकान् ।
विप्रानाराधय सदा भस्मरुद्राक्षधारिणः ॥
इष्टलिंगमिदं साक्षादनिष्टपरिहारकम् ।
धारयेदवधानेन शरीरे सर्वदा बुधः ॥
लिंगधारणकं नाम वृत्तं माहेश्वराभिधम् ।
यावज्जीवमिदं दत्तमिष्टलिंगं समर्चयेत् ॥

—स्कंदपुराणान्तर्गतशाङ्करसंहितायाम् ।

(3) लिंगधारी सदा शुद्धो निजलिंगमनोहरम् ।
वेदेषु शास्त्रसंघेषु पुराणेष्वागमेषु च ॥

(4) ब्राह्मणस्य समाख्यातं लिंगधारणमुत्तमम् ।
शूलं शिरसि लिंगं च धारिणो जंगमास्तथा ॥

—आनंदगिरिकृतशंकरदिग्विजये

(5) आक्षिप्य पाशुपतवैष्णववीरशैव—
माहेश्वराश्च विजिता हि सुरेश्वराद्यैः ॥ (स. १८—११९)

—विद्यारण्यकृतशंकरदिग्विजये ।

(6) अद्वैतद्रोहिणः शैवा लिंगांकितभुजद्वयाः । ३ ।

(7) शूलं शिरसि लिंगं च धारिणो जंगमास्तथा ।
ललाटे हृदये नाभौ बाह्वोः शूलेन चिह्निताः ॥

—धनपतिसूरिकृतशंकरदिग्विजये
डिण्डिमाख्यटीकायाम् ।

(8) Dr. Nandimath has pointed out that the title of one of the kings of the Gupta period of the 5th century was as follows:—

अंसभारसंन्निवेशित-शिवलिंगोद्वहन-शिवसुपरितुष्ट-समुत्पादित-राजवंशानाम् ।[1]

It shows that he was of Vīraśaiva faith.

(9) किमाहुर्भरतश्रेष्ठ विप्राः पात्रं सनातनम् ।
लिंगिनं ब्राह्मणं चैव ब्राह्मणं चाप्यलिंगिनम् ॥
सद्वृत्तिमपि विज्ञाय लिंगिने चेतराय च ।
देयमाहुर्महाराज उभावेतौ तपस्विनौ ॥
—महाभारतानुशासनपर्व ।

(10) लिंगधारणमाख्यातं द्विधा सर्वार्थसाधकैः ।
—कौषीतकिस्मृतौ ।

(11) वानप्रस्थं योगिनं च लिंगैकं भिक्षुकं यतिम् ।
—शातातपस्मृतौ ।

(12) शिवध्यानरतो भूत्वा शिवलिंगांगसंयुतः ।
शिवेतरपरित्यागी ध्यानयोगी स उच्यते ॥
— मनुस्मृतौ ॥

(13) मुखे मंत्रो हृदि ध्यानं मस्तके लिंगधारणम् ।
—गौतमस्मृतौ ।

(14) लिंगांगशोभा मोक्षमार्गैकनिष्ठा लिंगांगसामरस्याच्च ।
शरीर लिंगधारणान्नियमेनैव धृत्वा ते मुक्ताः संसारबंधनात् ॥
—हंसोपनिषदि ।

Conclusion about Vīraśaivism.

All the words underlined are the technical terms of Vīraśaivism used in Vedic literature. *Liṅgadhāraṇa*, which is the characteristic of a Vīraśaiva, is referred to even by Smṛtikāras. It shows that the wearing of a Liṅgam on the human body is not an innovation introduced by Basava in the 12th century and that the system is as old as any other, which

1. Dr. Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions p. 236.

derives its mode of worship from "Vira-Āgama" one of the twenty-eight Śaivāgamas, inculcating the worship of Śiva from time immemorial. Though the chief distinguishing doctrines of Viraśaivas are adumbrated in the Vedas and Upaniṣads, yet they are treated exhaustively in the latter portion of the twenty eight Śaivāgamas. As such, to prove the exact date of Viraśaivism, it is but essential to fix the date of the Vedas and Āgamas. However, it is anterior to the Smṛti period.

Viraśaivism is an ancient branch of the Śaivāgamic school. It is Vedic Āgamic, and not a branch of Sruti, Smṛti or Purāṇa. It does not discard the authority of the Vedas but ignores the "Karma Kāṇḍa" of the Vedas. It is said that Pañcācāryas systematised the Viraśaiva school. They are named differently in different yugas. But, their history prior to Basava is enshrouded in the mist of the unknowable past. Any attempt to compile it would be futile.

Viraśaivas recognise the great Śaivite commentator Śrikaṇṭha. But, they rely upon "Nilakaṇṭhabhāṣya" of Nilakaṇṭha, the first commentator on the Brahmasūtra and contemporary of Śaṅkarācārya, expounding Śaktiviśiṣṭādvaitam and on "Śrikarabhāṣya" of Śripatipaṇḍita, one of the five great commentators on Brahmasūtra, of the 11th century, expounding Viraśaiva philosophy as Viśeṣādvaitam. It begins in Dvaita as Jiva in Bhaktasthala considers himself a servant of God Śiva and so there is Dvaita. But, gradually, this duality becomes less and less and at last in Aikyasthala, it is non-dual or Advaita. It is technically termed as Śivādvaitam, Viśeṣādvaitam, Śaktiviśiṣṭādvaitam or Ṣaṭsthalasiddhānta.

Tamil Śaivas and Viraśaivas revere 63 Śaiva saints called Purātanas for upholding the cause of Āgamic Śaivism. Among these, eight only are Viraśaivas. Devara Dasimayya, the Viraśaiva saint and guru of Suggaladevi converted a Jain king (A. D. 1018-42) to Viraśaiva faith. His name stands first in Viraśaiva historical records. Similarly, Ekānta Rāmayya was a staunch Viraśaiva. He converted many Jainas to Viraśaiva faith. He did a miracle in the time of Someśvara IV for which a "Jayapatra" was issued. This fact is recorded in the temple of Somanāth at Ablur in Dharwar District.

Basava's monumental work.

In short, it is misleading to suggest that Vīraśaivism was established by Basava. Really, he was the reviver and reestablisher of the Vīraśaiva faith, based on Śaivāgamas. His period was a golden period in Vīraśaiva history. He was as important a figure as Śaṅkarācārya. He strengthened the Vīraśaiva system by preaching in simple Canarese, against the old practice of doing in Sanskrit. He was more practical but not less theoretical too. Therefore, he is the last but not the least important figure in the Vīraśaiva system, and one of the staunch religio-political propounder and reviver of it, in the latter part of the 12th century. His name is immortal in the religious, social, political and literary history of India.

THE CONCEPTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE ŚŪNYA DOCTRINE IN MEDIÆVAL INDIA.

By Prof. Kshiti Mohan Sen, M. A.

(*Shantiniketan.*)

Men have exhausted all their resources to express the Supreme Truth. They have tried to express the Infinite Reality through affirmation, through negation, through all other possible means, but nothing has been adequate for this purpose.

If we try to express the Supreme Reality through affirmation, it becomes one with all the material things of this world. Neither can it be expressed through negation. Therefore men have tried to express it through absolute negation. Indeed men have spared no pains to give adequate expression to this Reality.

Ṛgveda.

A striking example of such an endeavour we find in sūkta 129 of Ṛgveda, X Maṇḍala. The seer of this sūkta has obliterated his own self and has placed Paramātmā as the seer of this sūkta. In fact the fain of expression in this sūkta is the spiritual fain of all humanity.

The seer describes the origin of creation and existence with these wonderful words —

ना सदासीन्नोसदासीत् तदानीम् ।

(ऋ. १०, १२९, १)

That is, "then there neither was सत् (existence) nor असत् (non-existence)".

न मृत्युरासीदमृतं न तर्हि etc.

(ऋ. १०, १२९, २)

Then "there was neither death nor immortality".

तस्माद्धान्यन्न परः किंचनास ।

"There was nothing beside Him".

को अद्धा वेद क इह प्रवोचत् कुत आजाता कुत इयं विसृष्टिः ।

(ऋ. १०, १२९, ६)

"Who can know, who can declare, whence has come, what is the source of this wonderful creation ?"

Upaniṣads.

Then comes the wisdom of the Upaniṣads. Īśa Upanisad says,

"He pervaded (स पर्यगात्) because he is incorporeal (अकाय)"
(Īśa. Upa. 8).

"He provides for all because he is colourless (अवर्ण)".
(Śvet. Up. 4, 1).

"He is the safe basis (अभयप्रतिष्ठा) for He is devoid of all qualifications." (Tait. Up. 2, 7).

"This great Ātman is birthless, decayless, deathless."
(Bṛ. Up. 4, 4, 25).

"The source of all beings (भूतयोनि) is all-pervading (सर्वगत) at the same time devoid of all qualifications" (Maṇḍ. Up. 1, 1, 6).

"That unalterable (अक्षर), they say, is the negation of all attributes". (Bṛ. Ār. Up. 3, 8, 8).

"But the whole world is held together by the Law of that unalterable (अक्षर)". (Bṛ. Up. 3,8,9).

"Our senses, our knowledge, fail to reach that Primal Source of all." (Kena. Up. 1, 3).

"That Divine One (एको देवः) has neither any duty nor activity. His wisdom, strength and activity are natural" (Śvet. Up. 6,8).

"That Primal Cause is devoid of all attributes, has no beginning, no end; is supremely great and permanent. By knowing Him one becomes free from death".
(Kaṭha. Up. 1, 3, 15).

स एष नेति नेति आत्मा

(Bṛ. Ār. Up. 4, 4, 22).

"He, the Self, is to be described by No, No. !".

So one is compelled to take the help of "नेति" or the path of negation in trying to give some idea of the Absolute Source, though even that method is not adequate.

Buddhism: Mahāyāna.

Starting from "नेति" (way of negation) gradually came the negative expressions, "Nirvāṇa", "Nirañjana", etc. The fundamental truth of the Buddhists was non-permanence (अनित्यत्व) soullessness (अनात्मत्व) and peace in Nirvāṇa.

The doctrine of Śūnyatā (voidness) in Buddhism has been very successfully studied and surveyed by many eminent scholars; so it is not at all necessary to reproduce its development in this paper. Mahāyāna literature is full of valuable information for this purpose. The great poet Aśvaghoṣa expressed this truth in his wonderful poetical way; the great philosopher Nāgārjuna very ably established this Śūnya doctrine in his Mādhyamika philosophy.

We can clearly see that this Śūnya is not a negative thing by perusing the definition of Śūnya by Nāgārjuna.

अस्तिनास्तितदुभयानुभयचतुष्कोटिविनिर्मुक्तं शून्यरूपम्।

That is, "this Śūnya is neither existent nor non-existent, neither both of them, nor non-both of them".

Therefore this Śūnya is not a negative entity. Rather the existence of everything has been possible because of this Śūnyatā.

सर्वं च युज्यते तस्य शून्यता यस्य युज्यते।
सर्वं न युज्यते तस्य शून्ये यस्य न युज्यते॥[1]

(Nāgārjuna, Mādhya. su. 24, chap).

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1. शून्यतासंभवो यस्य तस्य सर्वसंभवः।
शून्यतासंभवो यस्य तस्य कश्चिन्न संभवः॥

The mediæval thinkers have wonderfully expounded this doctrine. Everything is transient and ever changing, therefore Śūnya. This Śūnya alone is truth, this is the highest reality.

Aryadeva has also very successfully surveyed this doctrine. Neither the Yogācāris, nor the Vajrayānis could proceed with their philosophy without the doctrine of Śūnya.

Philosophers like Maitreyanātha and Asaṅga were Yogācāris. The Paramārthalakṣaṇa of Asaṅga is, in fact, the Śūnya doctrine of Nāgārjuna, because that is also,

न सन् नासन् न तथा न चान्यथा ।

(Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra, Levi, p. 22, VI. 1).

We may compare here—

शून्यमिति न वक्तव्यमशून्यमिति वा भवेत् ।
उभयं नोभयं चेति प्रज्ञप्त्यर्थं तु कथ्यते ॥

(नागार्जुन, मूलमाध्यमिककारिका 15, Poussin, p. 264).

Advayavajra, the great Vajrayāna teacher of the eleventh century also preached,

न सन् नासन् न सदसन् न चाप्यनुभयात्मकम् ।

(G. O. S. Advayavajrasaṅgraha, p. 19, ll. 21–22).

According to them Śūnyatā itself was Vajra,

दृढं सारमसौशीर्यमच्छेद्याभेद्यलक्षणम् ।
अदाहि अविनाशि च शून्यता वज्रमुच्यते ॥

(वज्रशेखर quoted by अद्वयवज्र G.O.S. Ibid pp. 23, 37).

This doctrine virtually entered into the Tāntric, Śaiva, Vedānta and other philosophies.

Tantras.

Let us see how we find the Śūnya doctrine in the Tantras.

Gāyatrītantra says, "Śūnya–worship alone without any 'Nyāsa' or 'Prāṇāyāma' sanctifies everything".

विना न्यासं महेशानि प्राणायामं विना तथा ।
शून्यपूजनमात्रेण सर्वं याति पवित्रताम् ॥

(Gāyatrītantra, pari. 1).

Kāmadhenutantra says, "S'ūnya knowledge is beyond all S'ūnya, it is absolute S'ūnya, it is pure without any stain or falsehood; its brightness is like that of ten million suns".

शून्यात् शून्यं परं शून्यं शून्यरूपं निरञ्जनम् ।
कोटिसूर्यप्रतीकाशं निर्मलं ज्ञानमुत्तमम् ॥

(11th paṭala).

"One should do the 'japa' of S'ūnya which is illuminated in the firmament of heart".

ततस्तु प्रजपेत् शून्यं ....
ततस्तु हृदयाकाशे शून्ये ज्योतिर्मयेषु च ॥

(Ibid, 21st paṭala).

Bṛhannīlatantra says, "One should not worship S'ūnya without Dīpakamantra".

विना दीपकमंत्रेण अग्रे शून्ये न चार्चयेत् ।

(paṭala, 4).

Jñānasaṅkalinītantra says, "Paramātmā is S'ūnya, where mind becomes merged".

परमात्मा भवेच्छून्यं मनो यत्र विलीयते । (33)

Gandharvatantra says, "Mind can be merged only in Brahma". So S'ūnya is Brahma.

ब्रह्मण्येव मनोलयः ।

(36th paṭala).

Jñānasaṅkalinītantra again says, "S'ūnya element is life".

शून्यधातुर्भवेत् प्राणः । (34)

"Meditation is the process of merging the mind in S'ūnya, no other meditation is worth the name".

न ध्यानं ध्यानमित्याहुर्ध्यानं शून्यगतं मनः ॥

(Jñānasaṅkalinī, 54).

Therefore we see that S'ūnya is the repository of all consciousness.

Mahādeva, the supreme God, says, "I am Rudra. I am Sūnya, I am all-pervading and unqualified".

अहं रुद्रोऽप्यहं शून्यमहं व्यापि निरंजनम् ॥

(Ibid, 85).

Gandharvatantra says, "In the process of Layakarma Sūnya has to be merged in Sūnya".

... . लय: कार्य: शून्ये शून्यस्य वै तथा ।

(paṭala, 36).

Sāradātilakatantra says, "Paraśiva is Sūnya, in which everything has to be merged".

दिक्कालादिविवर्जिते परशिवे चैतन्यमात्रात्मके
शून्ये कारणपंचकस्य विलयं नीते निरालंबने ॥

(25, 81),

We find Sūnya in many such places of Tantra.

According to the earlier Tāntrikas, Sūnya was 'mantra' and Sūnya was 'devatā' (divinity). Devatas were only expressions or images of Sūnya.

S'ūnya and Dharma cult of Bengal.

(*a*) *Sunyapurāṇa (11th century ?).*

Sūnyapurāṇa of Bengal (11th century) says, "Sūnya is without form, all-pervading, infinite and unlimited." The worship of Sūnya became fully established in Bengal with the Dharma cult. According to the Sūnyapurāṇa, the supreme God is "Sūnyarūpa."

शून्यरूपं निराकारं सहस्रविघ्ननाशनम् ।
सर्वपर: परो देवस्तस्मात्त्वं वरदो भव ॥

(Sūnyapurāṇa, ed. by Charu Chandra Banerji, p. 152).

Sūnya is adorable.

This Sūnya has been worshipped by Haricandra.

शून्ये पूजए हरिचन्द्र

(Ibid, 111, 1),

Śūnya is a lake which is filled up with the water of Bhakti—

सून सरोवर.... ...

....

भगतिर जल.......

सरोवर पून हइल ॥

(Ibid, 177, 10).

In the "Vāṇis" of Dādu, the great mystic (1544–1603 A. D.), we find the mention of Śūnya lake (Dādu, Parchā Aṅga, 64–69). We shall show that later on.

(b) Dharmapūjāvidhāna (11th century).

This Śūnya is "Nirañjana" and then it became identified with Dharma. We find the process very clearly in the "Dharmapūjāvidhāna" of Ramai Pandit (11th century) of Bengal. Dharma cult is a special feature of Bengal and Orissa.

Through the process of Nirañjana cult, Śūnya gradually became identified with Sahaja. Śūnya in that form is to be found in the age of Rāmānanda.

We find Śūnya in its own form as well as identified with Sahaja in Kabir and post-Kabir mediæval saints of India. None of them was idolator. We shall come to them later on.

In Bengal and Orissa, Śūnya became identified with Dharma and Dharma was also gradually transformed in Śiva or Viṣṇu. In the "Dharmapūjāvidhāna" of Ramai Pandit we see the questions during "Dvārabheṭa" ceremony—

"O Paṇḍita, where is your abode, whom do you worship, what form do you meditate upon ?"

बाडी कोथा पंडितेर कोन देव भज ।

कोन मूर्ति ध्यान कर कोन देव पूज ॥

(D. P. V. Bengal Sāhitya Parishat, p. 165).

The answer was, "My abode is in 'Ballukā', I adore God without form, I meditate Sūnya form and I worship an image with form."

बाडी मेर बल्लुकार ।
पूजि देव नैराकार ॥
सुन्य मूर्ति ध्यान करी ।
साकार मूर्ति भजि ॥

(Ibid, p. 165).

Ballukā is a river in Burdwan District, in west Bengal.

Dharma says, "I am the actor and I am the action, I meditate on Sūnya."

आमि करतार आमि से कर्म्म ।........
आमि सुन्यके धियाइ ॥

(Ibid, p. 212).

There is a beautiful Dhyāna of Sūnya in the "Dharma-pūjāvidhāna'.

ओं। यस्यान्तं नादिमध्यं न च करचरणं नास्ति कायो निनादं[1]
नाकारं नादिरूपं न च भयमरणं नास्ति जन्मेव यस्य ।
योगीन्द्रध्यानगम्यं सकलदलगतं सर्वसंकल्पहीनं
तत्रैकोऽपि निरञ्जनोऽमरवर: पातु मां शून्यमूर्त्तिः ॥ (p. 70)

In the beginning there was nothing. Darkness was everywhere and Sūnya was all-pervading. Then there was Brahma and no second.

रेख रूप यहं नाहि चिह्न वर्न्न
ना छिल वेद सञ्चार ।
सुन कहि आर सब अन्धकार
देखि सुन्य सब्बमय ॥
कहि सुन मर्म्म हथे यके ब्रह्म
दितीय नाहिक आर ।
नाहि गति भाँति स्थान अवस्थिति
केवल सर्व्वेर सञ्चार ॥

(Ibid, pp. 199-200).

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1. I think it should be "—निनादं".

(Compare Tait. up. 2, 7, 1 ; Maitri. up. 5, 2 ; Br. up. 1, 2, 1 ; Śvet. up. 4, 18; etc.).

This idea is also wonderfully expressed in the eight ślokas (35, 36, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44) of Dharmāṣṭaka hymn of the Dharmapūjāvidhāna (pp. 77–78).

Such passages are to be met with in the writings of many mediæval poets and saints.

Dharmapūjāvidhāna says, "In the beginning was only Śūnya and creation came out of the activity of Brahma with Śūnya meditation."

सुन्न भावि मने आनिल व आने
छाडिल एक हुङ्कार ।
....
अनादिकारण........प्रभू निरञ्जन
ध्यानम लभिला तथि ॥ etc.
(pp. 200–201).

Dharma who is Śūnyarūpa has, "no form, no body, no निनाद (I think निदान, i. e. cause), no birth, no image. Salutation to that Śūnya."

नास्ति रूपं नास्ति देहं नास्ति कायो निनादं (?) ।
नास्ति जन्म नास्ति मूर्तिस्तस्मै श्रीधर्माय नमः ॥
(Ibid, 90, 146.)

Nirañjana is called Śūnyadeveśa.

ॐ । नमस्ते निरञ्जनो देव नमस्ते सुखमोक्षद ।
नमस्ते शून्यदेवेश निरञ्जन नमोऽस्तु ते ॥
(Ibid, 81, 69.)

"Dharma is without beginning and end. He is Śūnyarūpa, Divine, Nirañjana. Salutation to Dharma"

आद्यन्तरहितं शून्यरूपं देवं निरञ्जनं ॥ श्री धर्माय नमः ।
(Ibid, 91, 153.)

Still, that Śūnya Dharma is not a negative entity for he is everywhere and is the primal cause.

सर्वत्र स्थितयं कारणं शून्यरूप निरञ्जनं । श्री धर्माय नमः ॥
(Ibid, 92, 15.)

Though He is Śūnyākāra yet He is the fulfiller of all desires.

सर्वकामप्रदं देवं शून्याकारं नमाम्यहम् ।
(Ibid, 75, 26.)

Therefore, Śūnya Nirañjana was regularly invoked.

आगच्छ शून्यदेवेश सन्निधामिह कल्पय ।
(Ibid, 70, 2.)

In the Dharmapūjāvidhāna we find three kinds of Śūnya—

महाशून्याय नमः । परमशून्याय नमः । अनिलशून्याय नम : ।
(Ibid, 93.)

We find three kinds of Śūnya in the Vāṇis. (Parcā Aṅga, 53) of saint Dādu (1544–1603). We shall come to that later on.

(c) Dharmamaṅgala of Ghanarāma Cakravarti (Born 1669 A.D.)

Dharmamaṅgala by Ghanarāma Cakravarti is one of the latest books on the Dharma cult of Bengal. In that book we see Dharma is Śūnya—

सूक्ष्म शून्य सनातन, निराकार निरंजन– etc.
(Śrī Dharmamaṅgala, Gurudas Chatterji, 1902, p. 2, 169.)

तुमि हे संसारे शून्य सगुण निर्गुण– etc.
(Ibid, 244.)

Dharma is Nirañjana. He is Hari and Viṣṇu (Ibid, pp. 112, 125, 138, 151, 157, 244).

He comes to save His devotee in the form of "Nārāyaṇa". His abode is "Goloka". He is "Pāṇḍavasārathī".
(Ibid, pp. 233, 234.)

So His form is:

चतुर्भुज शंखचक्रगदापद्मधारी,
पीताम्बरपरिधान पंकजलोचन
श्रवणे कुण्डल बुके कौस्तुभभूषण........ etc.
(Ibid, p. 318.)

(d) *Dharmamaṅgala of Mayūrabhaṭṭa.*

Mayūrabhaṭṭa in his "Dharmamaṅgala" (which is one of the latest books of that kind) has called Dharmaśilā a Viṣṇuśilā.

शिलारूपे रहे विष्णु बल्लुकार तीरे।

Viṣṇu and the Sun are always inter-related. So in the Dharmapūjāvidhāna we find Sūrya is called "Śūnyadeha".

मण्डलं वर्तुलाकारं शून्यदेहं महाबलं।
एकचक्रधरं देवं तं सूर्यं प्रणमाम्यहं॥

(Dharmapūjāvidhāna, p. 52 5.)

Śiva has also been invoked as Śūnya.

शून्यनिरञ्जन उर्घ्वमुखं
प्रणमामि सदाशिवपापहरं

(Ibid, 60, 17.)

(e) *Dharmamaṅgala of Mānik Ganguli (1467 A.D.)*

Mānik Ganguli's Dharmamaṅgala was completed in the year 1467 A. D. There we find that 'Kailāsa' is the abode of Śūnya.

Nātha Sect.

From "Nātha" and "Nirañjana" cult, this Śūnya doctrine extended to many schools of devotees. The mediæval mystics accepted "Śūnya" in their own way. With the idolators "Śūnya" became many kinds of idols or sacred stones. With the non-idolator mystics "Śūnya" became various ways of expression of the Infinite idea. With "Śūnya" they gradually evolved their own doctrines of "Sahaja", "Samarasa", "Ekarasa", etc.

(a) *Gorakṣanātha, (12th century?).*

We have no space here for saying something about "Nāthapantha". Those who are familiar with the Nātha schools know that Gorakṣanātha was duly connected with Śūnya doctrine. Many things can be shown by his unpublished "Vāṇis", but let us restrict ourselves to his published sayings.

Like the "Gorakṣasaṁhitā", many of his sayings became latterly very greatly sanskritised. Yet in the Gorakṣasaṁhitā we find "that a devotee being sanctified by 'samarasa' remains in ecstasy in Śūnya."

शून्यागारे समरसपूतः
तिष्ठत्येकः सुखमवधूतः ।

(Gorakṣasaṁhitā, Prasanna Kumar Kaviratna, 1st edition, p. 183; पंचम अंश 105)

The Gorakṣasaṁhitā says that this universe is all-void and non-void.

सर्वशून्यमशून्यं च etc.

(Ibid, p. 184, V. 108.)

(b) Gorakṣavijaya, (15th century).

In the "Gorakṣavijaya" by Shekh Faizulla (15th cen., according to Dr. D. C. Sen) there is mention of 'Śūnya-mantra' (Gorakṣavijaya, p. 196). Śūnyajñāna has also been mentioned.

पागल करिल गोर्खे दिया शून्यज्ञाने ।

(Ibid, p. 162.)

Songs of Gopichand.

In the Bengali songs of Gopichand published by the University of Calcutta, we find "Dharmarāja" is called "Śūnyarāja" (p. 475, p. 485, p. 497). Dharma has also been called Śūnya.

अंतरिक्षे छिल शू·य साक्षाते आईल । (p. 497.)

Dharma Cult of Orissa.

Wherever we see prevalance of Dharma cult there we also see predominance of Śūnya. In Orissa the Dharmagītā of Mahādevadāsa is a sacred book. We find there Śūnya-puruṣa was occupying Infinite Mahāśūnya. He was "Nirguṇa-mahāśūnyamūrti". Becoming "Saguṇa" he was transformed into Dharma. From Him came out "Ādyā Śakti" and [illegible] is the Viṣṇu and Śiva.

In the Brahmāṇḍabhūgolagītā of Balarāmadāsa of Orissa, we see there that God was Sūnyarūpa in the beginning.

सेकाले शून्य मोर रूप ।

In the Sārasvatagītā of Balarāmadāsa the creator has been called Mahāśūnya.

In the Sūnyasaṁhitā, Anādisaṁhitā and Anākārasaṁhitā of Achyuta Dasa of Orissa, God is अनाकार, निराकार, निरञ्जन, अजय, अनाद्य, अक्षय । He is Sūnya.

Jayadeva (1170 A. D.) and Rāmānanda (14th century).

In Northern India during the time of Rāmānanda this Sūnya doctrine became mixed up with the Sahaja cult. According to Granth Sahib of Sikhs, Jayadeva and Rāmānanda were worshippers of Sahaja.

Bhakta Sundaradāsa was a disciple of Dādu. He was born in the year 1596 A. D. and was a powerful writer. He wrote a book named Sahajānandagrantha in which he has written these lines "That Sahaja Nirañjana we find everywhere, all the saints are held together in that Sahaja .... saint Sojā and saint Pīpā are absorbed in Sahaja. Saints Senā and Dhanā are drinking the रस of Sahaja. Ravidāsa was a devotee of Sahaja; in Sahaja alone was the delight of Guru Dādu.

सहज निरंतर सब में सोई
सहजै संत मिलै सब कोई ॥
सोजा पीपा सहजि समाना
सेना धना सहजै रस पाया
जन रैदास सहजको बंदा
गुरू दादू सहजै आनन्दा ।

(सुन्दरदास, सहजानंदग्रन्थ. २३)

Jayadeva says "Adore the incomparable, real, ideal, great, wonderful, supernatural, incomprehensible, all pervading, supreme and primal personality."

परमादिपुरखमनोपिमं सतिआदिभावरतं ।
परमद्भूतं परक्रितिपरं जदिचिंतिसरबगतं ॥

(Granth Sahib, Rāga Gujari, Jayadeva Pada.)

Jayadeva says again, I have become absorbed in His love, I have obliterated myself in Him and have acquired "Brahma-nirvāṇa."

बदति जैदेबउ जैदेव कह रमिआ ब्रह्मनिरबाणु लिवलीणु पाईया

(Granth Sahib, Rāga Maru, Jayadeva Pada.)

We find in the Granth Sahib, the famous Vāṇī of Rāmānanda, "Where shall I go, the sport is going on within. My mind does not like to move, it has become immobile. I was going to worship in the temple of Brahma, Guru says that the Brahma is within."

कत जाइऐ रे घर लागो रंगु ।
मेरो चित्त न चले मनु भई ओपंगु ॥
पूजन चाली ब्रह्म ठाइ ।
सो ब्रह्म बताईओ गुर मनमाहि ॥

(Granth Sahib, Rāga Basanta, Rāmānanda Vāṇī.)

Rāmānanda is here against all ceremonialism. He is a Sahaja devotee.

In the Vāṇis of the mediæval saints and mystics, we find that Sahaja and Śūnya are mixed up.

Kabir (1398 A. D.)

In the Vāṇis of Kabir, Sahaja and Śūnya are always interwoven. Kabir's literature is vast, much of which is not adequately known. If one tries to collect all his sayings on Śūnya and Sahaja it becomes a big volume. Therefore, let me use only one handy volume which has been published in 1928 by the Nāgarīpracāriṇī sabhā.

The question is what was the beginning of creation. The Padāvalī N. 164 in that book is the eternal question of the human mind. At the end of that Pada Kabir asks, "where you reside, O Nirañjana, is there anything positive or is there only Śūnya?"

कह कबीर जहाँ बसह निरंजन, तहाँ कुछ आहि कि शून्यं ॥

(Kabirgranthapadāvalī 164.)

Kabir could not satisfy himself with a Śūnya which is *merely negative. Kabir says 'a devotee loses his own self if he* forgets God and places his love in Śūnya".

सुनि सनेहि राम बिन गाये अपन पौ खोई ॥

Kabir says "What is caste? He has created mixing water and air; 'Śūnya' has been filled up with Śabda."

पाणी पवन संयोग करि, कीया है उतपाति
सुनि मै सबद समाइगा तब कासंनि कहिये जाति ।

(Ibid.)

Within our body, the firmament is resounded with unstruck music, there the mind merges in Śūnya.

गगन गराजे मन सुंनि संमानां, बाजे अनहद तूरा ॥

(Ibid, Padāvalī 7.)

The Gaṅgā and the Yamunā are within our heart, Sahaja Śūnya is the 'ghāṭ' where they meet.

उर अंतरै, सहज सुंनि ल्यौ घाट ॥
गंग जमुन

(Ibid, Lai Aṅga, 3.)

Sahaja-śūnya is a living truth which can absorb the whole universe of land and water.

सहज सुन्न इक बिरवा उपज्या ।
धरती जलहर सोख्या ॥

(Ibid, Pariśiṣṭapada, 108.)

Śūnya is the Infinite which is beyond all limitations.

हदछडि बेहद गया किया सुन्नि असनान । [1]

(Ibid, Parcha Aṅga-11.)

The Śūnya is not void or empty for here resides the "Man of the Heart".

सुनि मण्डलमें पुरुष एक ताहि रहै ल्यै भाई ॥

(Ibid, Guruśikhā here Aṅga 7.)

1. (I think असनान should be अवधाने here.)

Śrī Kamalākānta resides here in twelve-petaled lotus.

द्वादशदल अभ्यन्तर मंत
जँह पोढे श्री कमलाकंत
अरध उरध मुख लागो कास
सुन्नि मंडल महि करि परगासु ॥

(Ibid, Pariśiṣṭapada 16.)

Kabir says "Music is going on in the Śūnya sphere and my mind dances with that music."

सुनि मंडलमै मंदला बाजै, तह मेरा मन नाचै ।

(Ibid, Padāvalī 72.)

Not only music is going on there, but one who is initiated gets here the supreme enjoyment of रस.

सहज सुनि मैं जिनि रस चाख्या, सतगुरथैं सुधि पाई ।

(Ibid, Padāvalī 74.)

Kabir says, "I have taken my abode in that Śūnya sphere, so that I may ever remain immersed in that रस."

सुनि मंडलमें घर किया, जैसे रहे सिचांनां ।

(Ibid, Padāvalī, 154')

Kabir says, "Śūnya is such a reality that there is no scope of imagination".

सुन्नगुफामहि आसण बैसण कल्पविवर्जित पन्था ।

(Ibid, Pariśiṣṭāmśa Pada 210.)

The illusion of life and death ceases if one can remain immersed in Śūnya during his life.

जन्ममरणका भ्रम गया गोविन्द लिव लागी ।
जीवत सुन्नि समानिया गुरु साखी जागी ॥

(Ibid 73.)

Kabir says, when limitations and illusions cease then our mind enters into Śūnya,

कहु कबीर ऐसा गुण भ्रम भागा तौ मन सुन्न समाना ।

(Ibid 63.)

When the personal Śūnya embraces the universal Śūnya I will become समदर्शी and will be like wind.

सुन्नहि सुन्न मिल्या समदर्शी पवनरूप होई जावहिंग ।

(Ibid, 24.)

To end the unending chain of life and death one should enter into Śūnya.

जीवत मरै मरै पुनि जीवै एसे सुन्नि समाया ।

(Ibid, 91.)

Let me finish here quoting a beautiful आरति prayer of Kabir to Śūnya.

सुन्न संध्या तेरी देवदेवा करि अधपति आदि समाई ॥
सिद्ध समाधि अंत नही पाया लागि रहै सरणाई ॥
लहै, आरति हो, पुरूष निरंजन सति गुरू पुजह भाई ।
+ + +
कबीरदास तेरी आरती कीनी निरंकार निरबानी ॥

(Ibid, 211.)

Dādu (1544–1603 A. D.)

Dādu was a great disciple of Kabir though he was born a few generations after him. His time is between 1544 to 1603 A. D. He has thrown much light on Sūnya.

Negative Śūnya was absolutely unacceptable to Dādu. He says, "what do you mean by giving name to nothingness which has no reality at all ? "

कुछ नाहींका नांव क्या, जे धरिये सो झूठ ॥

(Dādu, Sach Aṅga, 145.)

Yet the whole world, high as well as low, is confined in it.

सुर नर मुनि जन बंधिया.........etc.

(Ibid).

The whole world is deluding itself by accepting non-existence as a reality.

कुछ नाहींका नांव धरि भरम्या सब संसार ॥

(Ibid, 146.)

Dādu accepted the subtle Sahaja infinity which has no form or limitation and which is repudiated by ordinary men.

सूखिम सहज न सूझई, निराकार निर्धार ॥

(Dādu, Bhesh Aṅga, 36).

Dādu says, "He who reduces his passions to ashes, lives in Sahaja and meditates on Śūnya, attains universal receptiveness and becomes unconquerable for ever."

काम दहै सहजैं रहै, अरु सुंन विचारै ।
दादू सो सबकी लहै, अरु कबहूं न हारै ॥

(Dādu, Rāg. 349).

That Sahajaśūnya remains pervaded everywhere in every form in every soul. That is the field of sport of Nirañjana. No 'Guṇa' can have any access there.

सहज सुंनि सब ठौर है, सब घट सबही मांहि ।
तहाँ निरंजन रमि रह्या, कोई गुण व्यापै नांहि ॥

(Dādu, Parcha Aṅga, 56.)

In 'Parcha aṅga' of Dādu we find fourteen Vāṇis (56-69) dealing with Sahajaśūnya as a lake or an ocean. The lake is the repository of the supreme 'Rasa'. Let us now quote only two of them.

"By the brink of that Sahaja lake I brought my heart to His lotus-feet. I found there my beloved the Primal Nirañjana (आदिनिरंजन), the personification of my good-fortune.

तिस सरवर के तीर चरण कमल चित लाइया ।
तहं आदि निरंजन पीव, भाग हमारे आइया ॥

(Dādu, aṅga, 60).

How filled up with fulfilness is that ocean of Bliss ! Bright and pure is the water thereof. Even there on the brink of the ocean, none can drink unless he is really thirsty.

सुख सागर सू भर भरया उज्जल निर्मल नीर ।
प्यास बिना पीवै नहीं, दादू सागर तीर ॥

(Ibid, 63.)

S'ūnya is the lake (ocean!) of Sahaja and mind is the earl-diver.

सुन्य सरोवर सहजका तहं मरजीवा मन ॥

(Ibid, 67).

God is the lotus in that Sūnya lake and mind is the bee.

सुन्य सरोवर मन भवर, तहाँ कंवल करतार ॥

(Ibid, 66).

We have already seen in the S'ūnyapurāṇa of Bengal, hat S'ūnya is a lake filled up with the water of 'Bhakti' page 277, 10.)

None can reach that abode of bliss by any external means. o Dādu says, "This is a way where no foot can tread; how an our life reach there ?

बिन पायन का पंथ है, क्यौं करि पंहुचै प्राण ।

(Dādu, Lai Aṅga, 10)

Dādu supplies the answer himself later on. "Parabrahma as given the way, Sahaja meditation of love is the only thing ssential in that way".

परब्रह्म पैंडा दिया, सहज सुरति लै सार ॥

(Ibid, 14).

Our mind should be placed in Sahaja S'ūnya which is ituated in the interval between Yoga Samādhi and Premānanda (bliss of love).

सहज सुंनि मन राखिये, इन दून्यूं के माहिं ॥

(Ibid, 9).

In the Dharmapūjāvidhāna of Bengal we have three inds of S'ūnya—

(1) Mahāśūnya.

(2) Paramaśūnya, and

(3) Anilaśūnya (page 93).

Dādu has also said about three S'ūnyas—

(1) Kāyāśūnya

(2) Ātamśūnya,

(3) Paramaśūnya.

(Parcha Aṅga, 53).

In "Kāyāśūnya" the five (elements, senses) reside, in "Atamśūnya" life gets its expression, in "Paramaśūnya" there is the union with Brahma.

काया सुंनि पंचका वासा, आतम सुंनि प्राण प्रकासा ।
परम सुंनि ब्रह्म सौं मेला ....etc.

(Ibid)

We find also in Dādu mention of one Brahmaśūnya where resides the Unlimited Infinite Brahma devoid of forms.

ब्रह्म सुंनि तंह ब्रह्म है, निरंजन निराकार ।

(Dādu, Parcha Aṅga, 130.)

In the four Vāṇis (129–130) of Parcha Aṅga of Dādu we get the content of the different S'ūnyas. In the Vāṇi No. 50 of Parcha Aṅga Dādu says, the first three S'ūnyas are concerned with the world of form, the fourth S'ūnya is "Nirguṇa". In that Sahajaśūnya is going the sport of love.

तीनि सुंनि आकारकी, चौथा निर्गुण नांव ।
सहज सुंनि में रमि रह्या, जहां तहां सब ठावं ॥

(Parcha Aṅga, 50).

Sahajaśūnya is the source of the universe of the sun, the moon and the firmament. In it the elements, Earth, Water, Wind and Fire get their expression. Time, passion (काम), soul, illusion (माया), mind, form and breath have their source in it and that is also the residence of God. That Sahajaśūnya is with everybody.

दादू जहां थै सब उपजे, चंद सूर आकास ।
पानी पवन पावक किये, धरतीका परकास ॥
काल करम जिव उपजे, माया मनघट सास ।
तंह रहिता रमिता राम है, सहज सुंनि सब पास ॥

(Dādu, Parcha Aṅga, 54, 55).

Dādu's disciple Sundar Das was a deeply spiritual man. He says, there is no 'Dhyāna' like S'ūnyadhyāna; it is the best of all Dhyānas.

इहि शून्य ध्यान सम और नाहिं ।
उत्कृष्ट ध्यान सब ध्यान माहिं ॥

(Sundar Das, Jñānasamudra, ध्यानोल्लास, 83).

By the grace of God bring your Samādhi in this S'ūnya.

गुरु के प्रसाद शून्य में समाधि लाइए ।

(Ibid, गुरुशिष्यलक्षणनिरूपण, 12)

Rajjabji (16th century).

Among the disciples of Dādu, Rajjab was a very great and spiritual man. His first dictum is, "Out of 'Nay' nothing alone can come, reality can only come out of 'Yea'."

नाहिं सून्नाहिं उदै है सौं है सत्र होय ।

What is the use of S'ūnya ? S'ūnya is the space where life finds its expression and the possibility of its growth. Life in this world has been possible only because it is surrounded with the freedom of etherial "Akāśa". No life could have existed if the 'Ākāśa' was something more solid. Guru has to open and unfold the inner life of his disciple, so he must be like S'ūnya.

सतगुरु शून्य समान है ।

(Rajjab, Gurudeva Aṅga, 56)

"Bāuls", the folk mystics of Bengal have exactly the same view.

Rajjab says Soul is like S'ūnya.

आतम शून्य समान है ।

(Rajjab, Madhimārga Nijasthānanirṇaya Aṅga, 21)

Soul is of the nature of S'ūnya; it is integral and imperishable.

शून्य स्वरूप अकल अविनाशी ।

(Rajjab, Rāga Rāmagiri, 30, 2)

S'ūnya is absorbed in the five (elements, senses) at the same time free from them.

शून्य समानी पंच में पुनि पंचों सूं मुकत ।

(Rajjab, Sakhibhūta Aṅga, 3)

Both S'ūnya and the Lord have no beginning, end or the middle.

इक साँई अरु शून्य के, आदि अंत मधि नाहिं ।

(Rajjab, Havian Aṅga, 3)

Devotees and the clouds are alike because both take "rasa" of nectar from S'ūnya.

बादल बंदे एक गति शून्य सुधारस लेहिं ।

(Rajjab, Sudhā Aṅga, 1)

God Himself is of the nature of S'ūnya.

शून्य स्वरूपी राम है ।

(Rajjab, Rāmagiri, 19, 2)

S'ūnya is filled up with consciousness and "Sahaja" abides there.

शून्य माहिं चेतन है, तामें सहज समाहिं ॥

(Rajjab, Gurudeva Aṅga, 35)

Our soul takes manifold colour like a cloud in the Lord and S'ūnya.

रजब साँई शून्य में आतम आमहु रंग ॥

(Rajjab, Sakhībhūta, 10)

Lightning, wind and cloud are fickle. S'ūnya is never unsteady.

बीज वाय बादल चपल है शून्य न चंचल होय ।

(Rajjab, Prasidda sudhā Aṅga, 11)

S'ūnya firmament is the tree, planets and the stars are the fruits, there are no visible branches and yet the fruits do not get scattered. In that Infinite Soul all the individual souls are likewise held together,

शून्य तरोवर उड फल डाल बिन व्यंटत नाहिं ।

अजम अलग यूं आतमा रजब अविगति माहि ॥

(Rajjab, Sakhībhūta Aṅga, 6)

Flame has its asylum in S'ūnya, life also has its asylum in the supreme Soul.

ज्यों पावक मूल शून्य में त्यूं परमातम में प्राण ॥

(Rajjab, Sājibani Aṅga, 3)

The highest bliss of the personal consciousness is to be merged in the Infinite consciousness, so the personal S'ūnya has its fulfilment of bliss in that Infinite S'ūnya.

Nānak. (Born 1469 A. D.)

शून्य ठहरे शून्य में तन ही आनंद होय।
चेतनि चेतनि कू मिलै काल न लागे कोय॥

(Ibid, 4)

We find S'ūnya and Sahaja in many of the Vāṇis of Guru Nānak. Let us quote here only a few lines on S'ūnya.

Pandit Brahmadās once asked the Guru what was before the creation. The Guru said, "Then there was neither day nor night, no sun or moon. His meditation was embracing S'ūnya etc.

ना दिनु रैनि चंदु न सूरजु सुंन समाधि लगाहिदा–

(Granthsāhib, Rāgamam)

He is S'ūnyakalā.

सुंन कला अपंरपरिधारी।

(Ibid)

Water and sky have to be merged in S'ūnya. Thus a devotee attains his spiritual "Mahārasa".

जलु आकाशी सुंनि समावै।
रसुनतु झोलि महारस पावै॥

(Granthsāhib, Rāga Asa, Aṣṭapadi)

Yogis meditate on S'ūnya.

जोगी सुंनि धिआवनि जेते।

(Ibid)

Prāṇasaṅgatī is a famous book on Yoga among the Sikhs. Guru Nānak went to Ceylon and gave instruction to Rājā S'ivanābha. There the Guru had acquaintance and conversation with many Yogis. His disciples Gheho and Saido wrote them out afterwards from memory. Prāṇasaṅgatī according to many scholars must have been written long time after Nānak. Yet this is a very useful book on the Yoga doctrine of the Sikhs. One edition of this book has been brought out from Taran Taran by Sant Sampuran Singh. The name of the first chapter of this book is शून्य महतको कथा निरंकारका ध्यान.

Here we find how the Lord unfolded the universe many colours out of Śūnya.

ज्यों कीआ प्रगास सुन्न ते नाना रंग बनाय ।

(Prāṇasaṅgatī; .p.

The second chapter of this book is about the meditati of supreme Thatness (परमतत्त्वध्यान).

We see Nānak entered into the Śūnya palace and ǥ priceless jewels therefrom.

नानक सुन्न महलि को संन्न लगावै ॥
सुन्न महल महि जाय समावै ।
रतन अमोलक तदि ही पावै ॥

(Ibid, p. 8)

In the opening words of the third chapter of the bo Prāṇasaṅgatī we see that life and form come out of Śūnya.

(Prāṇasaṅgatī, page 1

In the very beginning of that chapter we see the Vāı "Everybody says S'ūnya and S'ūnya. The Lord Himsel engaged in the Sūnya meditation. When he is alone in Sūr meditation, then who is guru and who is chelā ?"

सुन्नो सुन्न कहै सब कोय । सुन्नि ध्यानरंज प्रभु सोय ॥
सुन्न ध्यान जब रहै इकेला । तब कवराउ गुरु कवणु कहीअै चेला ।

(Prāṇasaṅgatī, page 1

When the Lord was alone in that obscurity, then Himself was guru and He Himself was chelā.

जब धुंधूकारि प्रभु रहै अकेला । आपि गुरु आपे ही चेला ॥

(Ibid)

In Prāṇasaṅgatī printed from Belvedere Press, Allahat we find, "Supreme Śūnya is the door of expression."

परम सुन्न परगास दुवार ।

(Prāṇasaṅgatī, page 4, 19, Vol.

In Śūnya alone is the continuous Sahaja.

सुन्न निरंतरि सहज समाधि ।

(Ibid, page 6,36).

He alone is a Sannyāsi who comprehends Śūnya.

सन्यासी जो सो सुन का वेता ।

(Ibid, page 9, 53).

Mulla should make others hear the unstruck music and call for prayer; he should bow his head in Śûnya mosque.

अनहद बाजा बांग सुनावै । सुन्नमसीत जाय सिरनावै ॥

(Ibid, 10 p. 64).

In the S'ūnya chamber within, the door is made of "Vajra".

*सुन्न कोठरी वज्र कपाट ।

(Ibid, page 11,69)

Besides these saints named above, we have in mediæval India more than two hundred very prominent saints and thinkers flourishing during a period over nearly four centuries. Most of them have mentioned about S'unya and Sahaja. We have no space here for all of them, but we have given some specimens which will give an idea that if we wish to trace the development of Śūnya and Sahaja doctrine we cannot ignore their Vāṇis.

Saints of Gujarat and Kathiawad.

Saints of Gujarat and Kathiawar also were intimate with Śūnya and Sahaja doctrine. Ravi Saheb, Bhāṇ Saheb, Jīvanji, Mithoji, Akhoji, Khīmji, and many others have left behind their evidence on Śūnya and Sahaja.

(a) *Akho (1615–1675).*

Akho says, "Śūnya is not light, nor water, nor earth, nor air; it is beyond firmament. "Nigama" says there only 'nay'. That Śūnya is not three 'guṇas', it has no concern with virtue or sin. It is not red, yellow, white, black or blue. There is neither movement nor fixity, then how can one describe the S'ūnya? O Akhā, recognise the God who is like 'infinite space' in the heart of the guru".

नहि तेज न तोय, नहि अवनि वाए ।
आकाशथी आधु जेह, निगम त्यां नेति गाए ॥
त्रिगुण नहि ते शून्य, पुन्य नहि पाप न धारे ।
रक्त पीत नहि श्वेत, स्याम नहि नील विचारे ॥
गति अवगति ते त्यां नहि, तो कहो विचार कई पेर वदे ।
अंबरवत् ते ईशने ओलख अखा सतगुरु हृदे ॥

(Akhā's Anubhavabindu chhappaya, 6).

Akho says, "way-farer (on the way of devotion) is S'unya, ether is Sūnya, shadow of devotee is also S'unya."

सून पंथी सून आकास है सून संतकी छायाजी।

(अखाकृतकाव्य; गु. व. सो. Part II, p. 202.)

That Sūnya is beyond ether, it has neither form nor name. When looking up for Sahajaśūnya I discovered the region of fulfilment.

संतो आकाशथी आघेरडुं ! तेनु रूप नहि नाम ।

सहज शून्य निहाळतां, देखु पूरण धाम ॥

(Akha, गु. व. सो. part II, p. 22).

Sahajaśūnya is not only, non-negative, it is a thing worthy of wooing and love.

इत उत कहेवे को अखा सहजशून्य जबे वरूं ।

(b) *Khīmji, (18th century).*

Khīm Saheb says: "Having got the sight abiding in Sahaja-s'ūnya, mind became immersed in bliss; I saw the light before my eyes, which was neither big nor small."

दर्सन देखी भया मन गगना सहजे सुन सुन समाना ।

नेनु आगे नूर निरखिया नहि मोटा नहि नाना ॥

(Khīm, Y.V.B.B. 43, pada 1)

"Intoxicated Yogi sat on S'ūnya, what a sport was going on all sides! What was subjective became objective and sport was going on through all space."

मतवाला जोगी सुन पर बेठा खेल रमे चोधारा ।

गगन मंडळ मे रमता देख्या भीतर जोऊं त्यां बारा ॥

(Ibid, 43, pada 2.)

Bāul mystics of Bengal.

Among the "Āuls", "Bāuls", "Nāthapanthis" and "Nirañjanis" of Bengal we find ample mention of S'ūnya. Among the "Bithangali" sect of Sylhet district in East Bengal, "Aṣṭagrāmi" and "Dakṣiṇa sāhabāgpūri" Bāuls of East Bengal, Bāuls of Vikrampur (in Dacca district), "Narsindi" (in

Dacca district) and Rāḍha (पश्चिम West Bengal), everywhere S'ūnya and Sahaja have a very important place. My paper has already become long, so I must be very concise.

S'ūnya is free (मुक्त) like free infinite space (मुक्त आकाश). No seed can sprout, no life can move unless there is free firmament above. "Ākāśa" is also the indispensable space and refuge (आश्रय) of the life of movement. Śunya is also the indispensable receptacle of the life of consciousness (चेतना).

There is also S'ūnya within ourselves ; so there is eternal freedom there. In that S'ūnya chamber we can meet our "Beloved". That is the only fitting place for the union with our "Beloved" and eternal love.

प्रेमेर प्रियेर मिलनभूमि ।

Bāuls say, "a Guru must be S'ūnya, for he never crushes down the potential life and the spiritual individuality of his disciple. Gurū always inspires and fosters, but never smothers."

गुरु पोषे किन्तु पेशे ना ।

Brahma therefore is S'ūnya. "Mukti" and "Nirvāṇa" are also S'ūnya.

"Parabrahma" is realisable only in our Sahajas'ūnya within. "You will realise Him" says Gaṅgārāma, "in your S'ūnya chamber, otherwise all is darkness."

तोर शून्य घरे देखा पाबि नय तो अंधकार ॥

Gaṅgārāma flourished some two hundred years ago.

Bāul "Bisā" says, "Alas, the rasa which wells up between rūpa and arūpa has not been realised by you ! If you could comprehend the wonderful "Thatness" (तत्त्व), you would have become initiated and would have realised your S'ūnya (void) as full (पूर्ण).

रूप अरूपेर माझखाने रस तार स्वरूप पाइलाना ।
ओ सेई बुझले तत्त्व हइछि मत्त तारे देखलि शून्य पूर्णकार ॥

Bisā flourished some nine generations ago.

The Bául-Vāulis of North Bengal say, "We can realise S'unya if we can perfectly balance our 'sādhanā' by uni S'iva and Sakti within us".

"If you can unite S'iva and S'akti, you will have (a balance of) samarasa. You will have to spread both y wings in the sun and the moon, and being perfectly poi you will be able to remain in Sahajas'ūnya without external support."

शिवशक्ति हले युक्ति हबे समरस........
सूर्य चंद्र मेले युगल पाख ।
समान हये सहज शून्ये निरालम्ब थाक ॥

"चन्द्रसूर्य", "समरस" etc. are esoteric technical terms in E mysticism. So let me finish here without going into th in detail.

PRE-SAṄKARA MUTILATION OF THE TEXT OF THE BRAHMASŪTRAS: SOME SUGGESTIONS FOR CORRECTIONS.

BY DR. P. M. MODI, M.A., PH.D. (KIEL),
(*Bhavnagar.*)

Arguments.

In this paper I propose to show that there is evidence leading to the conclusion that not only was the traditional meaning of the Brahmasūtras lost by the time of Saṅkara and the subsequent Acāryās but also that these teachers did not get even the text of the Sūtras in its original form.

Limits of the paper.

I will here restrict the textual discussion to only some Sūtras of Br. Sū. III. 3-1-54. I have given an explanation of these Sūtras as it appeared to me to have been originally in my Thesis (Akṣara: A Forgotten Chapter......). I shall here discuss the reasons for the readings of some of these Sūtras, that I have adopted there without any detailed consideration for want of space.

Proposed corrections in the Readings of Br. Sū. III. 38-39.

(1) In Sūtras 38-39 Śaṅkara and other Ācāryās read *saiva hi satyādayaḥ* ‖ 38 ‖ and *kāmāditaratra tatra cāyatanādibhyah* ‖ 39 ‖. I propose to read these Sūtras as *saiva hi* ‖ 38 ‖ and *satyādayaḥ kāmād itaratra tatra cāyatanādibhyaḥ* ‖ 39 ‖. *saiva hi* means that the same Śruti that describes the *pradhāna* (*ānandādayaḥ pradhānasya*— Br. Sū. III. 311 referring to Taittirīya Upaniṣad II. 5) as *ānandamaya* distinguishes the impersonal Brahman in terms applicable to the other, i. e. to the *pradhāna* or in other words the *puruṣa*. The Sūtra refers to *satyam jñānam anantam Brahma*.........(Tai. Up. II. I, which describes Brahman in

positive terms). The Sūtrakāra says that the Srutis intercl the attributes of *akṣara* and *puruṣa* (*vyatihāro viśiṃṣan itaravat* Br. Sū. III. 3. 37) and in Sūtra 38 he gives an ilh tion for the statement he made in Sūtra III. 3. 37. Th context shows that Sūtra 38 consists simply of *saiva hi*. *satyādayaḥ* in *satyādayaḥ kāmād itaratra tatra cāyatan bhyaḥ* refers to *satyaṃ jñānam anantaṃ* Brahma etc. wh referred to in Sūtra 38 (which consists of *saiva hi* as I proposed to split up the Sūtra). The Sūtrakāra says *satyaṃ jñānam* etc. may be taken as attributes or (thoughts) of the other i.e. the other than Brahman i. e. thoughts to be used in the meditation of *puruṣa* the one is to be meditated upon as the *ānanda* etc. (*ānandāc pradhānasya*-Br. Sū. III. 3. 11 refers to Br. Sū. I. 1. 12-*ān mayo sbhyāsāt* as also to Tai. Up. II. 5: as shown in Thesis); and according to the Sūtrakāra this transference attributes of Brahman to the *pradhāna* or *puruṣa* may be at the will of the meditator (*kāmāt*). Similarly the med may take *āyatana* etc. as the attributes of Brahman the in sonal, though they belong according to the Sūtrakāra, to personal aspect of Brahman. Now, no Acāryā has expl satisfactorily the reference in *āyatanādibhyaḥ*. Wi entering into a discussion of their views I would at once that it seems to me that *āyatanādibhyaḥ* refers to *dyub yāyatanaṃ svaśabdāt*—Br. Sū. I.3.1. The occurrence c word *āyatana* in both the places (in the Sūtras III. 3. 3 I. 3. 1) is a sufficient evidence for the probability o correctness of my suggestion about the reading. Śaṅl reading (*kāmādi itaratra* etc.) is faulty and consequ his interpretation of *kāmā* as *satyakāma* and of *āyatana* human heart etc. is very far-fetched and it only serves evidence of how mutilated the text that was handed dow Śaṅkara was.

Correction in Br. Sū. III. 3. 43.

(2) Another correction of the text I propose is to *pradhānavat* in place of *pradānav pradānavad eva tad uktam* (Br III. 3. 43). This Sūtra refers to th that the meditation on *akṣara* (Br. Sū. III. 3. 33) is carrie

in the same method as the meditation on *pradhāna* (*ānand-ādayaḥ pradhānasya*–Br. Sū. III. 3. 11). '*tad uktam*' refers to *itaravat* in *ātmagṛhīti itaravad uttarāt* (Br. Sū. III.3.16). The method of meditation of the *pradhāna* is that *pradhāna* is to be identified with the self (*ātmāgṛhītiḥ*) of the meditator as is the case in the meditation on the other i. e. on *akṣara*. The reading *pradānavat* which is the only reading preserved to us hardly gives any satisfactory sense.

Correction in Br. Sū. III.3.42.

(3) Sūtra 42 and 45 are, according to Śaṅkara, *tannirdhāraṇāniyamas taddṛṣṭeḥ pṛthag-ghyapratibandhaḥ phalam* ॥ 82 ॥ and *anubandhādibhyaḥ prajñāntarapṛthaktva-vaddṛṣṭaś ca tad uktam* ॥ 86 ॥ According to the Sūtrakāra there is no objection to taking the thoughts on *akṣara* and those on *puruṣa* as different (*pṛthagdhyapratibandhāḥ*), and in Sūtra 45 *tad uktam* refers to *pṛthagdhyapratibandhaḥ*. So in place of *pṛthagghyapratibandhaḥ* in Sūtra 42 we ought to have *pṛthagdhyapratibandhaḥ*. '*prajñāntarapṛthaktvavat*' in 45 also suggests that the reading in Sūtra 42 should be *dhi* instead of *ghi*. We actually find this suggested reading in Madhva's recension.

I have also suggested some other corrections in the extant *pāṭhas* in my thesis. I believe these will show that Śaṅkara and the subsequent Ācāryās had recensions which were already mutilated and that we have to proceed with great caution in guessing at the original meaning of the Sūtras.

A LITTLE STOCK-TAKING IN ORIENTAL PHILOSOPHY.

By S. G. Bhalerao, B. Ag.,

(*Nadiad*).

Preamble.—Audacious as it might seem on the part of the author, it is time that an earnest effort at stock-taking in Oriental philosophy be done, particularly in view of the development of modern sciences, so that certain lines of thought be altogether closed down, as too old for the time, and certain others, that seem truly valuable both in speculation and action be concentrated on.

2. Resume.—The new clear problems in Oriental philosophy are, one might say, concerning (1) the self, (2) the non-self, and (3) the inter-relation between them (आत्मानात्मविचार). It may, next, seem advisable to take up the broad classification of the philosophical problems, given above, and to thrash them out as under.

3. Science and Philosophy.—It need not be mentioned that no philosopher now-a-days, proposes to keep philosophy and science in water-tight compartments, as philosophy is not opposed to science but only transcends it. It is, therefore, desirable to see how far modern science goes in helping philosophical speculations.

4. The nature of the highest Reality.—It is now an indisputable fact of science that, underlying the whole inorganic world, there is a unity of the chemical and physical substance. Further, it is also known that this substance is no longer of the nature of substance, but of the nature of eneregy this being a reference to Sir J. J. Thomson's finding viz. "All mass is electromagnetic." Next may be adduced the recent

findings of Sir Oliver Lodge that, ether, having electromagnetic properties, is very much akin to life and mind, so that, in other words, and subject to certain possible refinements, it can be said that, the highest Cosmic Reality is essentially of the nature of Life, though, of course, it may be so on by far a grander scale than the life that every individual feels in himself as supervening his physical frame. This very Reality has been expressed by the Upaniṣadic sages as वरिष्ठः प्राणः or आत्मा or Spirit or the Soul, which, may it be noted, breaks out both into the object and the subject (रयिश्च प्राणश्च) as Kant also maintains.

5. THE MOTIVE.—It will, further, pass unchallenged that, this Supreme Life, projected or evolved the universe out of Itself and unto Itself more or less for His recreation (लीला) as no other hypothesis, in this field, surpasses this one and this, by itself, is quite satisfactory even to the æsthetic sense of the philosopher.

6. THE PRACTICAL WORLD.—So far as the practical world, next, of our daily affairs, is concerned, it is clearly an emanation of this highest Reality, as the modern science of evolution can convincingly shew. Besides, reasons can be adduced to prove that the practical world may even be of greater significance and richer contents than the simple Reality in which it has evolved. For truth, the practical world has its being, living and moving in this Reality, in so far as, the Reality, simultaneously with the projection or evolution of the universe into Itself, also entered Itself unto it (तत्सृष्ट्वा तदेवानुप्राविशत्) so that, the practical world, though looking quite so simple, for practical conveniences, is really a complex world with at least a double constitution one, the visible and material and the other, the invisible and spiritual (यावत्संजायते किंचित् सत्त्वं स्थावरजंगमम् B. G. XIII, 26). It is also to be pointed out that this double complex aspect of the practical world is justifiable with evidence from the modern science, the 'ether' of which is a subtility that permeates all the material universe which is supposed to be only a modified form of the same ether. The Reality is thus the "Brahma permeating Prakṛti that It projected from Itself into Itself." This complex Reality then, [illegible] decidedly richer and fuller than the simple single Reality of the Absolutists.

7. **THE RELATION BETWEEN THE SUBJECT AND THE OBJECT.** As to the inter-relation between the soul and the world or the subject and the object, none of the relations, existing between any two separate entities in tight compartments of the ordinary sense experience, would ever give an exact idea of it. It is, of course, a very unusual and extraordinary relation, the nearest approach to which is possible only in organic relations like that between the tree and the hard wood or the animal and the bones that develop into it.

8. THE EXPLODED INDIVIDUAL EGO.—The following corollaries could be safely drawn from the foregoing scientifio-philosophic findings. Taking first, the problem of the self or the ego, the same, in its individualised aspect, is only a superficial and phenomenal entity, good for certain practical purposes only. It does not deserve to be raised to the metaphysical level, when now-a-days, it is being, fairly and squarely, thrown over even from the economic field, as is at present being done in America. In philosophy the position of ego is that of identicality of it with the Soul or the Spirit or the highest Reality mentioned above (जीवो ब्रह्मैव नापर). The evidence from telepathy, thought-transfer, hypotism, and even ecstatic experiences of the mystics go to prove the same.

9. THE ANTIQUATED HYPOTHESIS OF TRANSMIGRATION OR REBIRTH.—Consequent to the sublimitation of the individual ego into the cosmic ego, in philosophy, the hypothesis of rebirth or metempsychosis is no longer called for. Besides, by independent evidence this hypothesis of rebirth can be proved to be untenable. The analogical argument for the form of the next birth being in conformity with the last wish of the dying man (अन्ते मतिः सा गतिः) basedon the so called भृङ्गकीटक-न्याय is itself the outcome of insufficient observation. The भृङ्गकीटक-न्याय is a case of parasitism, pure and simple, by the wasp (भृङ्ग) on the larve of the moth, (कीटक) mistaken as a psychic law of metaphysical significance.

10. THE UNTENABLE HYPOTHESIS OF ACTION.—The illusoriness of the above argument for transmigration, can, further, be made clear by the supporting evidence from the unten-

ability of the Hypothesis of Action (कर्मफलोपनिपात). As already pointed out, the individual ego is not an entity, metaphysical enough to bear the brunt of Karma hypothesis in its current form. The responsibility, next, of a man's action is not fixed on the doer or the agent either by the Upaniṣads, vide तत्रैवं सति कर्तारमात्मानं केवलं तु यः:-B. G. XVIII-16 or अहङ्कारविमूढात्मा कर्ताऽहमिति मन्यते B. G. III-27 nor even by modern criminology which is now advanced enough to accept the social explanation for the conduct of any person who is only the factor and product both of society as a whole. Besides, the modern science of heredity has proved, beyond any shadow of doubts, that the morally good or bad traits of character have a hereditary continuity and persistence; and that way, actions good or bad done, in the practical world, produce their relations, due, not according to any absolute code, but according to the relative circumstances of time and place of the action and they are required to be borne by the phenomenal egoes themselves, either in their own life time or failing that, and in fact, very often, in addition to that, in the life time of their own continuity (संतति).

11. THE MYTH OF A LIFE AFTER DEATH.—As to the myth of individual life after death it does not deserve a moment's consideration under philosophy proper except for being dismissed with the words: "No gain of INDIVIDUAL consciousness remains after the disintegration of the physical frame" (न प्रेत्य संज्ञाऽस्ति) of the sage (याज्ञवल्क्य) of the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad. As to scientific evidence on the point the medical science seems to know, by now, pretty fairly, how to actually revive the deads even 28 hours after death by proper stimulation to the physical organs and thus evoking the requisite expression of the Soul that need never leave the body.

12. THE MIRAGE OF INDIVIDUAL ABSOLUTION.—As to the idea of the highest realisation, in consequence of progressive perfection, the same also ceases to have any individual significance, in philosophy, as perfection and individualism cannot keep house together. To indulge in the idea of salvation for oneself alone from the bonds of Prakṛti is first to mistake death for salvation. It is, next to be so unphilosophic

in one's outlook as to treat one's ego as particulate and separable from those of the rest and is lastly, to misconstrue the relation of matter with the Spirit. The matter, not being in any way alien in nature to Soul does not impose bonds on the Soul, but serves Him only as an instrument for His sport.

13. THE UNPHILOSOPHICAL LINES TO BE CLOSED.—In view of the contentions entertained above, the following lines be declared as closed down for philosophical pursuits. (1) The hypothesis of the phenomenal Individual soul (2) the hypothesis of Transmigration or Rebirth (3) the hypothesis of Karma (4) the hypothesis of life after death in the spiritual world, and lastly (5) the ideal of Individual Absolution.

GĪTADHARMAKAUMUDĪ.

By Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale, B.A., LL.B.

(Satara).

The need of the hour.

We are passing through the transition period of our national life and at this juncture the people at large need for their guide a scripture whose principles are in accordance with the democratic spirit of the present times. These are contained in the Bhagavadgītā. It is necessary for all those who exercise the vote or who are engaged in politics to be liberal-minded and avoid all selfishness or self-interest. In these democratic days public attention should be directed towards these religious principles and the necessity of living up to them. Our duty to-day is to spread this kind of religion and to foster union both among ourselves and with those of other faiths and to have an attitude of tolerance. It is difficult to find a more efficatious method of cultivating amity, good will and catholicism than the study of such a book.

Such a course will result in a lessening of rigid caste-distinctions and the so called depressed classes will be treated with consideration. There will be less hatred between members of different religious groups. Hindus and Moslems will be welded into a national unity. It is necessary to direct the attention of the public at large to the practice of a religion in which the service of humanity irrespective of community or caste is prominently inculcated. The above objects can be achieved by stressing the principles and practices of the Bhagavadgītā.

Synthetic effort of the Gītā.

The Bhagavadgītā is the most widely known scripture in the world. Its numerous commentaries and translations in

almost all languages in the world point to its merit as a work which belongs not to one race or religion but to all humanity. The reason for this is that there is in the Gītā very little that is merely local or temporal. It is pre-eminently a scripture of the future world-religion as it represents the greatest synthetic effort of human thought.

The Bhagavadgītā reconciles the conflict between religion and science, which arose since the progress of science in the Western countries and when religious ideas of God were considered mere superstition. Recent discoveries in physical and mental science have begun to shake the foundations of purely materialistic scientists, and show that science and religion are both based on the same eternal principle and that the dual structure is but one without a second (एकमेवाद्वितीयम्). In the teachings of the Gītā is discernible exactly this complete harmony between religion and science. It aims at pure religious work as the highest ideal of life. The religion of the Gītā is what was formerly called Ekāntikadharma.

The Bhagavadgītā is not a regular systematised work elaborating a single organised system. We have in it a set of practical directions. The omnipersonality of God in Christianity, the spiritual democracy of Mahomedanism and the religious purity of the Zoroastrian religion are all found interwoven into the Gītā.

The Bhagavadgītā presents a religion for the masses. The need of the hour is to bring about the synthesis of humanity (लोकसंग्रह). The teachings of the Gītā bear upon a practical crisis in the application of ethics and spirituality to human life and help us to solve the present day question even. The message of the Gītā is that the world problem is essentially the problem of the individual and the world will progress when each member of the society looks within himself.

The eighteen chapters of the Gītā cannot be separated into [illegible] distinct sections each dealing with an independent path [illegible]rally done. The subject matter of the Gītā can be [illegible] various lessons. Some of them are discussed in [illegible] in the light of a few typical verses.

Catholicism of the Gitā.

The catholicism of the Gitā can be illustrated by verse II-43. The verse is the typical keynote to the method and attitude adopted by the Gitā towards the existing ancient schools of thought including the Vedic. The Gitā has dealt with the philosophical dogmas and religious creeds of Vedic and non-Vedic schools. Whatever is of permanent value and of universal application in the contemporary systems has been adopted by the Gitā. It shows that all religions are based upon certain fundamental laws which govern the universe, visible and invisible.

Religious teaching at home and in schools is quite necessary. In the world of to-day, if it has to be saved from chaos and anarchy, religion can alone bring about the cultural unification of the human race. We must devise means by which the younger generation may profit by the propagation of such a religion at home and in schools. The teaching of the eternal varieties of religion in its broadest sense, which include morality and not any doctrines of a particular religion, should be introduced in schools. A study of the Gitā will be of great help in this respect.

Quintessence of the Gitā.

The traditional method of dividing the Gitā into three separate divisions dealing with Karma, Bhakti and Jñāna is not correct. The Gitā's philosophy of life is that everything proceeds from the divine universal Spirit and its injunction is to worship Him with our inner and outer activities and to make our whole life a sacrifice of work. By the union of all the three practised simultaneously, the soul is taken up in the Brāhmi state to dwell there in the Puruṣottama who is the Lord and Master of Eternal spiritual calm and the Eternal cosmic activity. The Bhakti of the Gitā is useful activity for the uplift of all humanity and expects maximum of moral action. But there is a difference between the Bhakti of the Gitā and of the later Bhakti schools like those of Rāmānuja and the Warkaris of Maharashtra in that the former asks the devotee to work with a lofty purpose without attachment and the latter to abandon

the ordinary life of the world. The Gītā proclaims the combined path of knowledge, exertion and devotion and not the perfection of one by subordinating the other two, as is done by its own adherents. Thus the correct view of the Gītā is that there should be the simultaneous march on the combined path of कर्म, ज्ञान and भक्ति as is stated in the 45th verse of the 18th canto. Further it is an error to suppose that there are three stages to be crossed successively to reach the final goal. The path to salvation is a level path which is made up by a combination of the three things which co-exist and are equally essential. It is also not correct that the Gītā contemplates three or five distinct paths or directions by resorting to any one, of which independently of the other, man can reach the higher goal such as the path of action, the path of devotion, or the path of knowledge.

The battle of life.

The very first opening words of the Gītā are suggestive of the whole subject-matter contained in the exposition of the metaphysics (Brahmavidyā) and Ethics* (Yogaśāstra) of the Gītā, Dharmakṣetra being the field of righteousness and Kurukṣetra the field of activity. The word Kṣetra occurs in various places in the Gītā and means the body as a whole gross and subtle or the cosmos as a whole or in the broadest sense whatever consciousness may survey as its object. (XIII-1,2,6). Karma is universal activity. Dharma is the divine motive power at the back of the whole action.

Battle means something more than the usual fight between rival armies. Has not a man to fight the every day battle of life? For, is not our own self ignorance, our selfish longing, our unholiness, the enemy we have to fight? Duty high and low has always been a battle and how to come out successful is the problem that every day confronts us in this life. The Pāṇḍavas and Kauravas would seem to symbolise the two sets of activities respectively virtuous and vicious. The first chapter is, therefore, suggestive of the whole teaching of the Ethics (Yogaśāstra) as founded upon the Brahmavidyā [illegible], whilst superficially describing the miserable

plight of Arjuna who is reluctant to fight because it involves the destruction of his dear and near revered relations and friends and who therefore seeks the advice of the Bhagavān.

Thus though Śrī Kṛṣṇa, the Bhagavān, urges his companion Arjuna to a physical struggle with his opponents at the time, the disciple Arjuna represents the mind of man engaged in a perpetual struggle with the thoughts and hopes and fears which are the kinsfolk of that mind, and the foes whom he must conquer before he can attain to man's true function viz. acting in communion with Him, such action being wise and for the common good, if it is performed for Him and for the harmonious working out of His Supreme Will.

VIṢṆUSVĀMĪ AND VALLABHĀCARYA.

By G. H. Bhatt, M. A.

(*Baroda.*)

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1. Date of Viṣṇusvāmī.

Viṣṇusvāmī is traditionally looked upon as one of the earliest Vaiṣṇava Ācāryas and a predecessor of Ācāryas like Rāmānuja, Nimbārka, Madhva and Vallabha.[1] He is reported to have written commentaries on the four Prasthānas[2] viz. Upaniṣads, Brahmasūtras, Gītā and Bhāgavata, but none of his works is available at present. Only some stray verses attributed to him appear in the works of Śrīdhara (15th

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1. आसन् सिद्धान्तकर्तारश्चत्वारो वैष्णवा द्विजाः ॥
यैरयं पृथिवीमध्ये भक्तिमार्गो दृढीकृतः ।
विष्णुस्वामी प्रथमतो निम्बादित्यो द्वितीयकः ॥
मध्वाचार्यस्तृतीयस्तु तुर्यो रामानुजः स्मृतः ।

Bhaviṣyapurāṇa, Bhaktimāhātmya, chp. 21.

(quoted in Appendix B., Prefatory Notice, by Dr. A. Venis, Tārkikarakṣā of Varadarāja, Reprint from the Pandit, Benares, 1903).

श्रीब्रह्मरुद्रसनका वैष्णवाः क्षितिपावनाः ।
चत्वारस्ते कलौ भाव्याः सम्प्रदायप्रवर्तकाः ॥
श्रीविष्णुस्वामिनिम्बार्कमध्वरामानुजाह्वयाः ।
भविष्यन्ति प्रसिद्धास्ते ह्युत्कले पुरुषोत्तमात् ।

(described as a quotation from Padmapurāṇa in Śrīśa Bhaṭṭa's commentary on Vallabhācārya's Jalabheda, 14-15. Bombay, 1919).

There are also other similar verses:—

e. g. Sanskrit version of Nābhāji's Bhaktamālā, Sarga 48.1 (Veṅkaṭeśvara Edn. p. 72)

Also cf. Gadādhara's Sampradāyapradīpa chp. III (S P.)

2. S P. chp. III.

century)³, the well-known commentator on the Gītā, Bhāgavata and Viṣṇupurāṇa. Nābhājī (early part of the 17th century) frequently refers to Viṣṇusvāmī in his Bhaktamālā[4] and describes him as the teacher of Jñāneśvara, the great Mahārāṣṭra saint of the 13th century, and of many other persons.[4] Vallabhācārya[5] (15th century) and a host of writers of his school such as Gadādhara[6] (16th cent.),

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3. S'rīdhara's commentary on Bhāgavata, I. 7. 6; III. 12. 2; his com. on Viṣṇupurāṇa I. 12. 68.

(a) तदुक्तं विष्णुस्वामिना—

ह्लादिन्या संविदा श्लिष्टः सच्चिदानन्द ईश्वरः ।
स्वाविद्यासंवृतो जीवः संक्लेशनिकराकरः

तथा

स ईशो यद्वशे माया स जीवो यस्तयार्दितः ।
स्वाविर्भूतपरानन्दः स्वाविर्भूतसुदुःखभूः ॥
स्वादृगुत्थविपर्यासभवभेदजभीशुचः
यन्मायया जुषन्नास्ते तमिमं नृहरिं नुमः ॥

(b) S'rīdhara on Bhāgavata I. 7. 6
(Vṛndāvana Edn. I Skandha, p. 234)

In his com. on Bhāg. III. 12. 2. S'rīdhara remarks.

श्रीविष्णुस्वामिप्रोक्ता वा अज्ञानविपर्यासभेदभयशोकाः । तदुक्तं स्वादृगुत्थविपर्यासेत्यादि (Vṛndāvana Edn. III Skandha, p. 279).

The quotation evidently refers to the fifth line in (a).

(c) S'rīdhara, further, offers the following remarks in his com. on Viṣṇu P. I. 12. 68:—

तदुक्तं सर्वज्ञसूक्तौ—

ह्लादिन्या संविदा श्लिष्टः सच्चिदानन्द ईश्वरः ।
स्वाविद्यासंवृतो जीवः संक्लेशनिकराकरः ॥ इति

(Veṅkaṭes'vara Edn. p. 41).

This is identical with the first verse in (a).

It is also clear that the work from which the verses are quoted was known as सर्वज्ञसूक्ति possibly because Viṣṇusvāmī enjoyed the title of सर्वज्ञ.

4. Sanskrit version, Sargas 26, 48.

5. Vallabhācārya's com. on Bhāgavata III. 32. 37.

भेदः पारमार्थिक इति शास्त्रं पुरस्कृत्य त्रिविधो भक्तियोग उक्तः । [illegible] विष्णुस्वाम्यनुसारिणः, तत्त्ववादिनः, रामानुजाश्चेति तमो-[illegible]भिन्नाः । अस्मत्प्रतिपादितश्च नैर्गुण्यः । एवं चतुर्विधोऽपि [illegible] प्रतिपादितः ।

(Nathadvara Edn. 1927, p. 610).

6. [illegible]

Puruṣottamji[7] (17th cent.) Gopeśvaraji[8] (18th cent.) and Gaṭṭulālaji[9] (19th cent.) mention Viṣṇusvāmī and discuss his philosophical views. Viṣṇusvāmī is, again, referred to in Ānandavana's Rāmārcanacandrikā[10] (16th cent.), Mādhavācārya's Sarvadars'anasaṅgraha[11] (14 cent.), Medhātithi's commentary on Manusmṛti[12] and Jñānapūrṇa's commentary on Varadarāja's Tārkikarakṣā.[13] Medhātithi is quoted in Vijñāneśvara's Mitākṣarā, which seems to have been composed between 1070–1100 A. D.[14] Jñanapūrṇa, at the end of his commentary, called Laghudīpikā, pays salutation to his teacher, Viṣṇusvāmī, the son of Yajñeśvarahari.[13] Varadarāja,

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7. His com. on Vallabha's third introductory verse in his Subodhinī on Bhāg. I. I. I:—

अत्र श्रीगोपीपतिवन्दिन इत्यनेन परंपरया (आचार्यपितुर्लक्ष्मणभट्टस्य) विष्णुस्वामिमतानुवर्तिगोपालोपासकत्वं सूचितम् ।

(Bombay, 1926, p. 2).

8. His com. Ras'mi on Puruṣottamaji's Prakās'a on Aṇu-Bhāṣya on II. 3. 50:—

निबंध आध्यात्मिकमतं विष्णुस्वामिमतवर्तिवल्लभाचार्यविरचितत्वात् ।

(Ras'mi on II. 3. 50 Bombay Edn. 1932, p. 141)

9. Satsiddhāntamārtaṇḍa (Bombay 1870) pp. 12, 136–142, 183.

10. श्रीमद्विष्णुस्वामिराजान् विष्णुभक्तिप्रवर्तकान् ।
वन्देऽहं प्रभुराजांश्च विष्णुस्वामिकुमारकान् ॥

p. 52 (Nirṇayasāgar Edn. 1925).

11. विष्णुस्वामिमतानुसारिभिर्नृपञ्चास्यशरीरस्य नित्यत्वोपपादनात् । तदुक्तं साकारसिद्धौ—

सच्चिन्नित्यनिजाचिन्त्यपूर्णानन्दैकविग्रहम् ।
नृपञ्चास्यमहं वन्दे श्रीविष्णुस्वामिसंमतम् ॥

Sarvadars'ana-Saṅgraha, Rases'vara darś'ana, p. 207 (M.M. Abhyankara S'āstri's Edn.)

गर्भश्रीकान्तमिश्रैर्विष्णुस्वामिचरणपरिणतान्तःकरणैः प्रतिपादितानि ।

Ibid p. 208.

12. अतो यावती काचित् फलश्रुतिः सा सर्वार्थवाद इति कोवर (V.L. काचन, कावर) विष्णुस्वामी ।

Medhatithi on Manu IX. 253.(Mr. Gharpure's Edn. 1920, p.783).

13. सर्वैश्वर्यनिजावासं सर्वविद्यानिषेवितम् ।
श्रीयज्ञेश्वरहरेः सूनुं श्रीविष्णुस्वामिगुरुं नुमः ॥

Concluding verse in Jñānapūrṇa's com. edited by Pandit Vindhyes'varīprasāda.

(Reprint from the Pandit, 1903, p. 364).

14. Prof. Kane's History of Dharma S'āstra, Vol. I. p. 290.

the author of Tārkikarakṣā, refers to Vācaspatimiśra and Udayana[13] (both in the 10th cent.) and might have been their junior contemporary. The identification of Jñānapūrṇa with the Mahārāṣṭra saint, Jñānadeva, conjectured by Drs. Arthur Venis and Satiścandra Vidyābhūṣaṇa[15], is not correct, as Jñānadeva was not the pupil of Viṣṇusvāmī as shown below and it should not, therefore, affect the date assigned to Varadarāja above. It may be, therefore, assumed that Viṣṇusvāmī must have flourished in the tenth century of the Christian era.

The late Sir Bhandarkar,[16] following Nābhājī's account, assigns the middle of the thirteenth century to Viṣṇusvāmī, as Jñānadeva, who flourished in the thirteenth century, was the pupil of *Viṣṇusvāmī. But Jñāneśvara himself nowhere* mentions Viṣṇusvāmī in his work, and on the contrary gives an altogether different spiritual lineage.[17] It is, therefore, not reasonable to ignore the opinion of Jñāneśvara himself, and to say that Viṣṇusvāmī was the direct teacher of Jñāneśvara. If, then, Nābhājī's account means anything at all, it is this, that Jñāneśvara might have belonged to a school of thought which was possibly started by Viṣṇusvāmī some centuries ago.

Quite recently, it has been shown[18] that Viṣṇusvāmī flourished in the thirteenth century. One[19] of the arguments is based on the account of Viṣṇusvāmī given by Yajñeśvara in his Āryavidyāsudhākara.[20] Yajñeśvara gives a quotation from Gadādhara's Sampradāyapradīpa (16th century) that Viṣṇusvāmī was the son of the councillor of a Draviḍa Chief dependent upon the Emperor of Delhi. From this, Rai Bahadur Amarnath Ray argues that Viṣṇusvāmī must have

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15. Prefatory Note by Dr. A. Venis in Tārkikarakṣā, iii (Pandit Edn.); also, Dr. Vidyābhūṣaṇa; 'A history of Indian Logic' (1921) pp. 373–374. On the strength of this conjecture, both the scholars place Varadarāja in the 12th century.
16. Vaiṣṇavism etc., p. 77.
17. Prof. Ranade's Mysticism in Mahārāṣṭra, pp. 47–48.
18. Rai Bahadur Amarnath Ray's article on 'The Viṣṇusvāmin Riddle'. (Annals, B O R I., Poona, Vol. XIV, parts III–IV, pp. 161–181).
19. Ibid, p. 162.
20. [illegible]

lived after Moslem influence had spread to the south, that is about the thirteenth century. But the quotation from Sampradāyapradīpa is not correct. I have examined four Mss.[21] of Sampradāyapradīpa, one in Telugu and the rest in Nāgarī character, and found no reference to any emperor of Delhi. Even the Mss. noticed by the late Dr. M. M. Haraprasāda Shastri[22] do not seem to refer to the Emperor of Delhi. The argument, therefore, loses all its force.

Rai Bahadur Amarnath Ray's theory[18] that Viṣṇusvāmi is identical with the author of the commentary on Nṛsiṁha-pūrvatāpanī Upaniṣad, and a Tāntric work called Prapañca-Sāra, and is further identical with Vidyātīrtha, the teacher of Mādhavācārya, the author of Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha, deserves careful examination. The theory involves the following assumptions:—

(1) Viṣṇusvāmī belongs to the Śaṅkara school of thought.

(2) Viṣṇusvāmi, who is called Sarvajña, is identified with the author of the commentary on Nṛ. P. T. Upaniṣad, who is also called Sarvajña, on the strength of the mere coincidence of the title.

(3) Vidyātīrtha, the teacher of Mādhavācārya, is described as Sarvajña Viṣṇu and should, therefore, be identical with Viṣṇusvāmi.

The first assumption is not correct as Viṣṇusvāmī was, as will be shown in one of the following sections, the founder of one of the Bhakti schools and as his metaphysical position was directly opposed to that of Śaṅkara. The second assumption is merely based on the common title Sarvajña which has been freely used by writers with reference to their predecessors.[23]

21. Telugu Ms., No. 7852, Oriental Institute, Baroda. (date of Ms. not mentioned.) Two Nagari Ms., Nos. 4257, 9570
(Dates of Mss. 1704 A. D. and 1682 A. D. respectively).
One Nagari Ms. kindly lent to me by Prof. M. G. Shastri. (Date of Ms. 1720 A. D.)

22. A descriptive catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Govt. Collection under the care of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. IV, 1923 pp. 98–106.

23. For instance, Sarvajña Rāmeśvara Bhaṭṭa mentioned in Raseśvara-darśana, in Sarvadarśana-Saṅgraha, p. 205.

And when it is borne in mind that Viṣṇusvāmī had nothing to do with the school of Śaṅkara, his identification with Śaṅkarācārya, of course not the great Ācārya, who commented on Nṛ. P. T. Upaniṣad, becomes quite absurd. The last assumption is equally unjustifiable. An examination of the works of Mādhavācārya clearly points out that he had three teachers, Śaṅkarānanda, Bhāratītīrtha and Vidyātīrtha who was at the same time the teacher of Bhāratītīrtha also.[24] Nowhere, excepting the supposed reference to Sarvajña Viṣṇusvāmī in the second introductory verse[25] in Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha, is found any reference, direct or indirect, to Viṣṇusvāmī. Granting, for the sake of argument, that Mādhavācārya refers to Viṣṇusvāmī as his teacher and that the word Svāmī is dropped from the verse for the sake of metre, it is very strange that the author should refer to the father of Viṣṇusvāmī, who must have been according to Rai Bahadur Amarnath, a Sannyāsī, as such a reference in the case of a Sannyāsī is not conventional, particularly in view of the fact that a Sannyāsī has renounced the world and his connections with the world have, therefore, ceased. It is more common to refer to the spiritual teacher than to the father in the case of Sannyāsins. And moreover, when Mādhavācārya, again, refers to Viṣṇusvāmī in the section on the Raseśvara system[11] he does not put any honorific title like Sarvajña, which he has taken care to use in a verse, or a title like Bhagavat even when there is no consideration of metre. Had Viṣṇusvāmī been Mādhavācārya's teacher, one would naturally expect the use of some dignified title at least in the prose portion. Further, the verse seems to refer to Bhāratītīrtha, who is elsewhere also described as Brahmā[26] by Mādhavācārya. And the description of the

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24. Dasgupta, 'A history of Indian Philosophy' Vol. II, p. 215 footnote 1.

25. पारं गतं सकलदर्शनसागराणा–
मात्मोचितार्थचरितार्थितसर्वलोकम् ।
श्रीशार्ङ्गपाणितनयं निखिलागमज्ञं
सर्वज्ञविष्णुगुरुमन्वहमाश्रयेऽहम् ॥ Sarvadars'ana Saṅgraha p. 1.

26. [illegible]रतीतीर्थयतीन्द्रचतुराननात् ।
[illegible]हृतां [illegible] पराम्भ्रतिमोऽभवत् ॥
[illegible]-Nyayamala-Vistara, introductory verse No. 7. (Anandasrama Edn. p. 1).

teacher in the verse in question is apparently hyperbolical. The teacher is spoken of as the son of the Śārṅgapāṇi i. e. the son of Viṣṇu, meaning thereby Brahmā, and in the last line the author indulges in the hyperbole when he describes the same teacher as Sarvajña and Viṣṇu. Such exaggerated descriptions of a teacher are very common in Indian literature and it is quite in keeping with the enviable position which a teacher enjoys in India.[27] A teacher is, to his disciples, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Maheśvara–nay everything in the universe. It is, therefore, quite evident that Mādhavācārya does not refer to Viṣṇusvāmī as his teacher, and consequently the theory of identification becomes untenable.

2. *Personal history of Viṣṇusvāmī.*

Nābhājī, no doubt, mentions Viṣṇusvāmī in several chapters of his Bhaktamālā,[4] but does not devote a separate chapter to Viṣṇusvāmī himself. He mentions Jñānadeva, Kṛṣṇadāsa and many others as the disciples of Viṣṇusvāmī, but a critical study of the Bhaktamālā creates an impression that Nābhājī, although he has supplied so much information, is not accurate in many places. Gadādhara, the disciple of Viṭṭhalanātha, the second son of Vallabhācārya, gives a more detailed but somewhat mythical account of Viṣṇusvāmī in his work, Sampradāyapradīpa which was composed in 1553 A. D. The second chapter of the Sampradāyapradīpa, which professes to give an account of Viṣṇusvāmī, tells us that Viṣṇusvāmī was the son of a minister of a king of Draviḍa and was a staunch devotee of Kṛṣṇa. The name of Viṣṇusvāmī's father is not mentioned in the Sampradāyapradīpa, but it becomes clear from the concluding verse[13] in Jñānapūrṇa's commentary on Varadarāja's Tārkikarakṣā that Viṣṇusvāmī was the son of Yajñeśvarahari. Viṣṇusvāmī, again, had a son whose name

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27. यस्य देवे परा भक्तिर्यथा देवे तथा गुरौ ।
तस्यैते कथिता ह्यर्थाः प्रकाशन्ते महात्मनः ॥

S'vetās'vatara Up. VI. 23.

also cf. the well-known verses like

गुरुर्ब्रह्मा गुरुर्विष्णुर्गुरुर्देवो महेश्वरः ।

and सर्वदेवमयो गुरुः ।

was Prabhurāja[10]. We are, again, told in the Sampradāyapradīpa that Viṣṇusvāmī many times enjoyed mystic experiences, that he wrote commentaries on the four principal basic works, and that he founded a Bhakti school which had a long line of Ācāryas after him and which was earlier than other similar schools started by Rāmānuja, Nimbārka and Madhva. Bilvamaṅgala, who was the last Ācārya, of that school, managed to live for a period of seven hundred years by force of his yogic powers with a view to seeing Vallabhācārya, who was born in 1479 A. D., in order to hand over the charge of the Viṣṇusvāmī school to him and to declare him as the Ācārya of that school. It is incredible that Bilvamaṅgala lived for seven hundred years, when Viṣṇusvāmī, who should be far removed from Bilvamaṅgala, flourished in the tenth century. But the meeting of Bilvamaṅgala with Vallabhācārya may be looked upon as historical. Medhātithi's reference[12] to Viṣṇusvāmī clearly shows that the latter might have written some work on Mīmāṁsā or discussed some Mīmāṁsā topics in his commentary on the Brahmasūtras. And it is quite possible that Viṣṇusvāmī must have lived on the bank of the Kāverī from which he was called Kovara (? Kāvera) Viṣṇusvāmī[28]. He must have been further known in the country as a great scholar and his scholarship did not fail to win for him the title of Sarvajña.[3]

3. *Philosophy of Viṣṇusvāmī.*

The quotations in the works of Mādhavācārya[11] and Śrīdhara[3] show that Viṣṇusvāmī himself was a worshipper of a personal God like Nṛsiṁha and strongly recommended that form of worship. The history of the Vallabhācārya school tells us that Lakṣmaṇabhaṭṭa, the father of Vallabhācārya, was a follower of Viṣṇusvāmī school and as such he worshipped the Gopāla form of Kṛṣṇa,[7] otherwise known as Madanamohana. This image of Gopāla or Madanamohana came in the possession of Ghanaśyāmalālajī, the seventh son of Viṭṭhala-[illegible] (the second son of Vallabhācārya). It has been

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28. Prof. Kane's History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. I. p. 271. Dr. S. K. Belvalkar [illegible] kindly suggested to me that Kovara should mean Govara ([illegible]) [illegible] which has been current in many Vaiṣṇava schools).

regularly worshipped since then in a village called Kāmavana, near Muttra. The present ascetics of the Viṣṇusvāmī school, who happened to visit the last great fair at Nasik, worship one or other form of Kṛṣṇa and do not seem to be particular about Nṛsiṁha or Gopāla. It, therefore, seems that the Nṛsiṁha-worship, which was undoubtedly taught by Viṣṇusvāmī in the beginning, was gradually supplemented, and at some stages supplanted, by the Gopāla-worship.

The Nṛsiṁha* of Viṣṇusvāmī possesses an eternal body. He is Sat, Cit and Ānanda, and possesses knowledge which gives bliss and delight. He has got Māyā as one of his powers. He keeps it under his own control. He always manifests his greatest joy. The Jīva, on the other hand, enjoys everything under the influence of the Māyā of the Great God, Nṛsiṁha. He is, again, fettered by his own ignorance and consequently suffers miseries and can be free from the Saṁsāra only by means of the worship of Nṛsiṁha. These doctrines are evidently based on some of the passages in the Upaniṣads and the Gītā. The relation between the individual soul and the universal soul is neither that of identity as in the school of Śaṅkara nor that of the part and the whole (Aṁśāṁśi) as in the school of Vallabha but that of separation or Bheda as in the system of Madhva[29]. But the dualistic position of Viṣṇusvāmī seems to be more pronounced and emphatic than that of even Madhva as it has been observed by Vallabhācārya that the three Vaiṣṇava systems of Viṣṇusvāmī, Madhva and Rāmānuja are more or less dualistic and are respectively Tāmasa, Rājasa and Sāttvika, presumably owing to the degree of dualism.[30] When the Māyā of Viṣṇusvāmī is a

29. cf. foot-note 5.
Nirbhayarāma's Adhikaraṇasaṅgraha, p. 1 (Bombay, 1913) :-
तस्य (वेदार्थस्य) व्याख्यातारो विष्णुस्वामिमध्वप्रभृतयो ब्रह्माद्वैतवादस्य सेव्यसेवकभावस्य च विरोधं मन्वाना अभेदबोधकश्रुतिषु लक्षणया भेदपरत्वं स्वीकृत्य शुद्धं भेदमङ्गीचक्रुः। अत एवान्ये भक्तिमार्गाः सगुणा अयमेव निर्गुणो भक्तिमार्गः।

30. cf. foot-note 5.
Dr. Farquhar 'An outline of the Religious Literature of India', p. 238.

positive divine power of the personal God Nṛsiṁha and as such cannot be identical with the Māyā of Śaṅkara, when the highest entity is a personal God unlike the Absolute of Śaṅkara, when the relation between the individual soul and the universal soul is of Bheda and consequently when the most effective means of enjoying liberation is the worship of Nṛsiṁha it can be safely assumed that the world, according to Viṣṇusvāmī, is a reality and not an illusion as in the system of Śaṅkara.

It must have been now evident from what has been said above that Viṣṇusvāmī was the founder of a Bhakti school of Vaiṣṇavism and not a follower of the Śaṅkara school as maintained by Rai Bahadur Amarnath Ray. This is further confirmed by the fact that the four Bhakti schools, explained by Kapila in the Bhāgavata, are identified by Vallabhācārya with those of Viṣṇusvāmī, Madhva, Rāmānuja and Vallabha.[9] Ānandavana, also, holds that Viṣṇusvāmī was an advocate of the Bhakti school.[10] The practices of the present followers of the school of Viṣṇusvāmī prove the same.

4. *Relation between Viṣṇusvāmī and Vallabhācārya.*

As regards the question of Vallabhācārya's relation to Viṣṇusvāmī, two divergent opinions are current in the Vallabha school. Some writers are of opinion that Vallabha had no connection with Viṣṇusvāmī, that he was out and out original in his doctrines and that he was commissioned by the Lord Himself, without any intervening agency, to preach the noble doctrine of the divine grace. There are, however, others, who maintain that Vallabha was the Ācārya in the line of Viṣṇu svāmī and that the system of Viṣṇusvāmī, which had already become extinct, was revived, at the request of Bilvamaṅgala, the last Ācārya of the Viṣṇusvāmī school, by Vallabha, who was, since then, declared as the Ācārya in charge of the Viṣṇusvāmī-sampradāya. Thus, they try to show that the doctrines of Vallabha are not modern but identical with those of an early Ācārya, Viṣṇusvāmī, claiming thereby a high antiquity for Vallabha's system.

It is already observed that Vallabha refers, only once to Viṣṇusvāmī only to differ from him. In many places Vallabha

has clearly told that he was the incarnation of Agni,[31] the mouthpiece of the Lord Kṛṣṇa, sent by the Lord Himself to set the matters right by showing a royal road to liberation. He, further, tells us that Vyāsa, who is the embodiment of the divine knowledge, saw the misinterpretation of the Brahma-sūtras at the hands of Śaṅkarācārya and sent him to explode the theory of Śaṅkara by a correct interpretation of the Sūtras. In another place, we are again told by Vallabha that the doctrines taught by him were actually revealed to him by the Lord on the eleventh day of the bright fortnight of Śrāvaṇa.[32] Vallabha, again looks upon Vyāsa as his Guru as far as Vedānta in general is concerned.[33] Moreover, the system of Viṣṇusvāmī is, as shown before, dualistic while that of Vallabha is non-dualistic.

The biographers of Vallabha, such as Muralīdhara (16th century), Kalyāṇa Bhaṭṭa (16th century), and Gopāladāsa (17th century), nowhere mention Viṣṇusvāmī and do not even hint that Vallabha was a mere follower of the school of Viṣṇusvāmī. A majority of the writers of the Vallabha school are silent on this point and some of them vehemently repudiate the claims of Viṣṇusvāmī. Even now, many descendants of Vallabhācārya hold the same opinion.

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31. (a) अर्थं तस्य विवेचितुं न हि विभुर्वैश्वानरात्कल्पते-
रन्यस्तत्र विधाय मानुषतनुं मां व्यासवच्छ्रीपतिः ।
दत्वाऽऽज्ञां च कृपावलोकनपटुर्यस्मादतोऽहं मुदा
गूढार्थं प्रकटीकरोमि बहुधा व्यासस्य विष्णोः प्रियम् ॥
Vallabhacārya's com. on Bhāgavata I. I. I., introductory verse No. 5 (Bombay, 1915).

(b) अग्निश्चकार तत्त्वार्थदीपं भागवते महत् ।
तत्रापि येन संसिद्ध्येद् व्याख्यानं तन्निरूप्यते ॥
Vallabha's Tattvarthadīpa Nibandha; introductory verse No. 3, p. 2 (Benares Edn.)

(c) अतोऽग्निना मया सर्वतः समुद्धारार्थं यथाश्रुतानि श्रुतिसूत्राणि योजयता, सर्वो मोहो निराकृतो वेदितव्यः ।
Vallabha's Aṇubhāṣya on II. 2, 26.

32. श्रावणस्यामले पक्ष एकादश्यां महानिशि ।
साक्षाद्भगवता प्रोक्तं तदक्षरश उच्यते ॥
Vallabha's Siddhānta-Rahasya, I.

33. व्यासोऽस्माकं गुरुः ।
Vallabha's Tattvadīpa Nibandha, p. 145.

There are, however, other writers like Gadādhara, Yadunātha and Devakīnandana, the authors of Sampradāyapradīpa, Vallabhadigvijaya and Caritracintāmaṇi respectively, who emphatically say that Vallabhācārya was the Ācārya of the Viṣṇusvāmī school, an opinion which is recorded in some Kīrtanas also.[34] This opinion was later on endorsed by Śrīśabhaṭṭa and the late Pandit Gaṭṭulālajī of Bombay, and some descendants of Vallabhācārya, who were under the influence of Pandit Gaṭṭulālaji, accepted it in toto. Sir Bhandarkar also expressed the same opinion[35] on the strength of a work called Sakalācāryamatasaṅgraha, which was wrongly attributed to Śrīnivāsa, the well-known author of Yatīndramatadīpikā.

These are the two opposite camps in the Vallabha school. A careful examination of the evidence on both the sides makes an impression that Vallabhācārya, who clearly describes his own system as Nirguṇa and that of Viṣṇusvāmī as Tāmasa, cannot be, in any sense, a follower of Viṣṇusvāmī. The modern practices of the ascetics of the Viṣṇusvāmī school do not show anything that can indicate any possible connection between the schools of Viṣṇusvāmī and Vallabhācārya. Again, the evidence of the pro-Viṣṇusvāmī writers is rather weak. Of the three works, mentioned in the last paragraph, only Sampradāyapradīpa seems to be an old work as many old Mss., both in Nāgarī and Telugu scripts, are found in several places in India, and as it is already quoted by Śrīśa Bhaṭṭa (18th century) in his dissertation[36] on one of the treatises of Vallabhācārya. The Mss. of Devakīnandana's Caritracintāmaṇi are, of course, not rare but are quite modern.[37] It is referred to by Rāmakṛṣṇa Bhaṭṭa (19th century) in his commentary on Giridharajī's Śrutirahasya. While the Mss. of Yadunātha's Vallabhadigvijaya are not only rare but quite modern,[38] and

34. Puṣṭimārgīya Padasaṅgraha. Part I, pp. 434, 439–440; also Part 3, p. 135 (Bombay Edn. 1895).
35. Vaiṣṇavism etc. pp. 77–78.
36. On Vallabha's Jalabheda 14–15. p. 49 (Bombay, 1919).
37. A descriptive catalogue of Sk. Mss. in the Govt. collection under the care of Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. IV. pp. 95–98.
38. Introduction to Vallabhadigvijaya, pp. 2–3. (Nāthadvārā Edn. 1918).

further the work, so important from the historical view-poi not at all referred to in any work of the Vallabha schoo am, somehow or other, led to believe that it is a huge fı Some modern Pandit must have composed the work passed it off in the name of Yadunātha, the sixth son of ṭhalanātha, with a pious wish to show the high antiquity o system of Vallabhācārya. The Sakalācāryamatasaṅgra relied upon by Sir Bhandarkar, is an anonymous[40] work, taining four sections which give the system of Viṣṇus Rāmānuja, Nimbārka and Madhva respectively. The section gives the head-line and a verse[41] which is followe its explanation. The verse is, again, found in the Vādaka of Gopeśvarajī (17th century), the son of Kalyāṇarāyaji, seems to be its real author. The verse together witl explanation is found *ad verbatim* in the Brahmavād Vrajarāya (18th century)[43] It seems that some one, was very keen on connecting Vallabhācārya with Viṣṇus must have selected Vrajarāya's Brahmavāda, omitted fro all quotations from the works of Vallabha to avoid suspi introduced it by the head-line and incorporated it as the section in the work, to be called Sakalācāryamatasaṅg The evidence of this work is, therefore, very weak. The att made by Pandit Gaṭṭulālajī in the same direction[9] is also uı cessful. But some of the Mss. of Vallabha's Tattvadip andha give a colophon that Vallabha is a follower of Viṣṇus The same colophon appears once in the Bengal and Be editions of Vallabha's Aṇubhāṣya. Yogī Gopeśvarajī (1st of the 19th century) noticed this colophon in his Raśmi[8] offered his remarks that Vallabha's opinion recorded in

39. Published together with S'rī-Bhāṣya-Vārtika and Yatīndramata in Benares Sanskrit Series, Nos. 123 and 133. (1

40. Ratna Gopala Bhatta's introduction to the three works mentioı the preceding foot-note.

41. अथ श्रीविष्णुस्वामिशुद्धाद्वैतमतम् । तथा हि–
विशेषैः प्राकृतैः शून्यमप्राकृतविशेषवत् ।
अशेषोपनिषद्वेद्यं परं ब्रह्मास्तु ते मुदे ॥

42. Vādāvalī edited by Pandit Ramānātha, p. 27 (Bombay, 1920).

43. Ibid pp. 54–63. Also Brahmavāda-Saṅgraha, pp. 31–38. (Haridās Sanskrit Series, No. 61, Benares, 1928).

Tattvadīpanibandha was Ādhyātmika as indicated by its colophon[44] that Vallabha was a follower of Viṣṇusvāmī. Whether the interpretation of Yogī Gopeśvarajī is correct or not is more than what we can say at present, but it is quite certain that the colophon was known to him. The discovery of some of the old Mss. of Tattvadīpanibandha, preferably the Mss. used by Vallabha and his son Viṭṭhalanātha, is likely to throw more light on this question. Till then, a tentative explanation may be offered that the colophon might have appeared, of course before Yogī Gopeśvarajī, in the Mss. of the Tattvadīpanibandha at a time when studied efforts were made to connect Vallabha with Viṣṇusvāmī.

F. *The reason for connecting Vallabhācārya with Viṣṇusvāmī.*

It has been shown that attempts were made from the times of Gadādhara to trace Vallabha's system to Viṣṇusvāmī, in spite of the decisive opinion of Vallabha to the contrary. The reason is, of course, not far to seek. The theory that there are only four Vaiṣṇava Ācāryas viz. Viṣṇusvāmī, Rāmānuja, Nimbārka and Madhva, is mentioned in Padmapurāṇa

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44. इतिश्रीकृष्णव्यासविष्णुस्वामिमतवर्तिश्रीवल्लभाचार्यविरचिते तत्त्वदीपे शास्त्रार्थकथनं नाम प्रथमप्रकरणम्।

(Bombay Edn. 1904).

Almost the same colophon at the end of the first chapter in the Benares edition. The colophon at the end of the second chapter in the Bombay edition is practically the same; but in the Benares edition it simply runs as इतिश्रीवल्लभाचार्यविरचिते श्रीभागवततत्त्वदीपे सर्वनिर्णयकथनं नाम द्वितीयं प्रकरणम्।

In the third chapter, there are twelve sections, nine of which mention विष्णुस्वामिमतवर्ति in their colophon in the Bombay edition which is based on four Mss the oldest of which is written in 1612 A. D. (Introduction, Bombay Edn., also p. 393 footnote).

There are two Mss. of Tattvadīpa-Nibandha, Nos. 9066 and 9733 in the Oriental Institute, Baroda. The first Ms. contains only the first chapter and mentions विष्णुस्वामिमतवर्ति in the colophon. The second Ms. gives two chapters and has got the same colophon as in the first Ms. The two Mss. are not dated, but from the appearance they do not seem to be old. The second Ms. gives the following name on the last page :—

श्री छ गोस्वामिश्रीजदुनाथजी श्रीगोपालजीके पुस्त.

and Bhaviṣyapurāṇa) and is recorded by Gadādhara in his Sampradāyapradīpa.) It must have been current only after Madhva but before Vallabha. The four Vaiṣṇava Ācāryas are, again, traced to Rudra, Śrī, Sanaka and Brahmā, and are the recognized founders of the four principal Sampradāyas or schools. According to Gadādhara, there were, also, other four secondary schools or Upa-Sampradāyas viz. Caitanya, Nanda, Svarūpa and Prakāśa, connected with Viṣṇusvāmi, Rāmānuja, Nimbārka and Madhva respectively. Gadādhara, further, says that out of the four Upa-Sampradāyas, two i. e. Svarūpa and Prakāśa, have become extinct.[45] Whether Gadādhara's opinions are historically correct or not one thing is quite clear that the tradition of the four Vaiṣṇava Ācāryas was very strong at the time when Vallabha was born. And it may be assumed that the four Vaiṣṇava schools of the four Ācāryas must have commanded much respect from the Vaiṣṇavas of those times. Some of the followers of Vallabha must have actually seen the high honour that was paid to the heads of the four Vaiṣṇava schools and must have been led to believe that their own school, unless it was placed on a high level by including it in one of the principal four schools, did not stand any chance of enjoying a high status in the society, as it was likely to be vehemently criticised by opponents simply on the ground of modernity. But out of the four schools, those of Rāmānuja, Nimbārka and Madhva were in the hey-day of their glory and were too strong to be suppressed by the new school of Vallabha. Moreover, the followers of Vallabha would not like to see the complete suppression of their own school by connecting it with these three powerful schools. The school of Viṣṇusvāmi was, however, losing the numerical strength of its followers and the Vallabhācāryans did not fail to take advantage of this situation. They at once started the theory that Vallabha's system was simply the continuation of the oldest Vaiṣṇava school of Viṣṇusvāmi and that Vallabha should, therefore, be recognised as one of the four Vaiṣṇava Ācāryas in the line of Viṣṇusvāmi. Some of the writers of the Vallabha school have, as observed above, put

45. S P. III.

a different construction on this. They try to maintain that Viṣṇusvāmī's school was fast losing ground, that Bilvamaṅgala, the last Ācārya of the school, requested Vallabha to take its possession, that Vallabha founded his own school on the ruins of the school of Viṣṇusvāmī and that Vallabha was therefore simply continuing the line of Viṣṇusvāmī. Anyhow, they made an attempt to bring Vallabha's school to the status of one of the four principal Vaiṣṇava Sampradāyas, and to claim antiquity of the system.

There is also another consideration which might have moved, of course at a later stage in the history of the Vallabha school, the followers of Vallabha to connect the school with Viṣṇusvāmī. It is generally believed that in the latter school, the Ācārya or the head of the school was always succeeded by a deserving pupil and not necessarily by a son. In fact, the claims to the Gādī were always made only on the strength of merit and not on the mere accident of birth. The practice in the Vallabha school has been, however, quite different. From the times of Vallabha and his son Viṭṭhala, the head of the Gādī was always succeeded, as a rule, by the son irrespective of his qualifications. Possibly some of the members of the Bhaṭṭa community in the Vallabha school did not like the convention of a son succeeding his father on the Gādī. They, therefore, strongly advocated the theory that Vallabha was an Ācārya in the line of Viṣṇusvāmī, according to whom only a qualified man should succeed the Ācārya, simply with a view to showing the desirability of an old practice. Pandit Gaṭṭulālaji, who was a member of the Bhaṭṭa community, saw that the Bhaṭṭas, who, no doubt, married the girls of the descendants of Vallabha, were not allowed to enjoy their privileges, became a strong champion of this school of thought, and it was probably he who started the theory of the spiritual lineage of Vallabha[46] which, however, did not go unchallenged,

46. आदौ श्रीपुरुषोत्तमं पुरहरं श्रीनारदाख्यं मुनिं
कृष्णं व्यासगुरुं शुकं तदनु विष्णुस्वामिनं द्राविडम् ।
[illegible] बिल्वमङ्गलमहं वंदे महायोगिनं
[illegible] धाम च मत्वेऽस्मत्संप्रदायाधिपम् ॥
Satsiddhānta-mārtaṇḍa, p. 137.

even in his own times.[47] The theory, as we have seen, above, was hardly supported by the descendants of Vallabha. Even now, it is only the members of the Bhaṭṭa class who are chiefly taking interest in this theory for obvious reasons.

The above discussion must have made it clear that Viṣṇusvāmī, who was the founder of a Bhakti school, which was more dualistic than that of Madhva, flourished in the tenth century, and that his identification with Vidyātīrtha, the teacher of Mādhavācārya, is evidently unwarranted. It has been, again, shown that Vallabhācārya was, rightly, not prepared to admit any connection with Viṣṇusvāmī and the attempts to connect the former with the latter, were made by some of the followers of the Vallabha school, simply to show a high antiquity and a better status of the school and had, therefore, no historical support.

Gaṭṭulālajī introduces the above verse as follows :—

तत्र परमतेषु नारायणं पद्मभवं वसिष्ठमित्यादिवदस्माकमयमाचार्यपरंपरा-संग्रहश्लोकः ।

It is quite evident that the verse in question is composed in imitation of the verse which gives the spiritual lineage of the school of S'aṅkara. And although the verse is possibly described by Gaṭṭulālajī as a quotation, it is not found in any earlier works of the Vallabha school. I think, the rivalry between the schools of S'aṅkara and Vallabha must have led Gaṭṭulālajī to compose the verse and pass it off as a quotation. The Vallabha school is called Rudra-Sampradāya by the pro-Viṣṇusvāmī followers of the school who explain that Rudra was an ideal devotee of God Kṛṣṇa and should therefore, be looked upon as one of the advocates of Bhakti in the spiritual lineage of Vallabha.

47. cf. Puṣṭi-Mārgīya-Guru-Paramparā-Vicāra. edited by Nārāyaṇa S'āstri and Bālā S'āstri, Muttra, 1891.

From an oral discussion with Prof. M. G. Shastri, the best authority on Vallabha Vedānta, I find he has now revised his old opinion that Pandit Gaṭṭulālajī was solely responsible for the Viṣṇusvāmi-paramparā. He now believes that the theory connecting Vallabhācārya with Viṣṇusvāmī, of course historically wrong, was no doubt earlier than Gaṭṭulālajī.

THE ANNIHILATION OF KARMAN.[1]

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संसारबीजभूताय नानारूपधराय च।
आत्मज्ञानप्रकाशाय नमस्त्रिविधकर्मणे ॥ १ ॥
ध्यात्वा तीर्थपतिं ततो गणपतिं सूगाभिधानां प्रसूं
तातं श्रीजयदेवसंज्ञमनिशं सतर्कचूडामणिम्।
नत्वा श्रीमधुसूदनं गुरुवरं मोक्षस्य संप्राप्तये
पद्माचार्यमतेन तन्यत उपायः कर्मणां निर्हृतेः ॥ २ ॥

The highest aim (*Parama Puruṣārtha*) of Indian Philosophy is to achieve *tattvajñāna* and the realisation of the *identity* between the *Jīvātman* and the *Paramātman*.

Every school of thought has laid down certain means to realise this end according to its own view-point. Following this very tradition Padmapāda gives his own view about the means to realise the highest aim of our life. According to him the bondage is due to the law of Karman and the annihilation of it leads to the desired aim, namely, the *tattvajñāna*.

This leads Padmapāda to discuss the theory of *Karman* and find out the means to annihilate it with a view to achieve the highest end.

Avidyā[2] is considered to be without any beginning. The law of *Karman* is the manifestation of this very *Avidyā*. Under its influence due to the effects of the meritorious and the

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1. This paper is based on Vijñāna-dīpikā of Padmapādācārya, the only Ms of which so far known is in the Mss Library of H. H. the Mahārāja of Nepal.

2. It is of the nature of the harmonious state of the three guṇas. It manifests itself in the form of subtle and gross bodies and is the same as ajñāna.

demeritorious deeds, the *Jīvātman*[1] passing through various births and deaths imposes upon itself the idea of *kartṛtva* and *bhoktṛtva*. In fact, it is due to this very idea that there appears to be two Ātmans; so that, the chains of birth and death, the experience of the dualistic nature of the self, the distinction between name and form, all these continue until Avidyā or its manifestation, namely, the law of Karman is entirely annihilated.

It is all due to the differences of karman under the influence of the three guṇas that there are obvious differences in the result. This the Jīvātman under the influence of the Tamas aspect of the *Avidyā* enters the body of lower creatures such as birds, deer, elephants, etc. (adhovṛtti) and acts according to the nature of the organism into which it takes its abode, and finally, attains such loka where suffering alone prevails. If the Rajas prevails then the Jīvātman enters such organisms as occupy the intermediate stage namely, the organisms of Vidyādhara, Yakṣa, Rākṣasa, Manuṣya, etc. (madhyavṛtti), and finally, goes to the loka where both pleasure and pain are found in equal proportion. If, on the other hand, the Sattva predominates then the Jīvātman enters the organism of Ṛṣis, gods, etc. (ūrdhvavṛtti) and thereby obtains the Svargaloka and the Maharloka.[2] The difference in karman not only produces difference in the organism but also in the Jīvātmans themselves; otherwise, there is no difference between one Jīvātman and the other which is no other than the Paramātman itself.

Although there is only one kind of karman, yet due to the difference in the time of the experience of it, it is divided into Sañcita, Sañciyamāna and Prārabdha. By Sañcita we mean that kind of karman which is still kept in store and whose experiencing (bhoga) has not yet begun. By Sañciyamāna we mean that kind of karman which is being done every day in the course of the *bhoga* of Prārabdha-karman. And by Prārabdha is meant that karman for the experience of whose fruit the particular organism has been assumed.

1. The pratibimba of the Paramātman falling upon the Prakṛti is called the Jīvātman.
2. [illegible] vide Bhagavadgītā, 14, 18–19.

One must exhaust the bhoga of these three kinds of karman before the highest aim is attained. About the order of bhoga it is said that it is in the order in which its experience has begun, or in which each action has taken place, or according to the force (bala) of each karman. In other words, the prārabdha-karman for the experience of which the particular organism is assumed is experienced first and then comes the turn of the sañcitakarman, at the end of which the bhoga of the third form of karman begins. All these may be just possible in one or in more than one birth. Sometimes the prārabdha itself occupies more than one birth. It is also quite possible that after the bhoga of the prārabdha is exhausted, the sañcita-karmans come up for being experienced in the order in which they had been performed. It is also quite possible that the order of the sañcita-karmans may be overlooked and in accordance with the strength of the sañcita, the bhoga may take place. That is, the karman which is very forcible and vivid will come up first for being experienced and then the less forcible and so on. Some are of opinion that this sort of change in the order of bhoga is possible even in the prārabdha-karman. So that, although usually the deeds of the previous birth bear fruit in this birth and those of this birth in the next, yet if the deeds are very forcible then they will bear fruit in this very life by changing the order of the experiencing of the prārabdha-karman. Whatever may be the order, it is a fact that the bhoga of each and every kind of karman must be exhausted before the highest aim is realised.

As to the relation between karman and janman it is said that we find that janman takes place only for reaping the fruit of the past deeds; thus the cause of birth is karman. And again, when one takes birth then he cannot remain without any action even for a single moment.[1] Hence, it is clear that karman also is possible only when birth takes place. Thus there is the reciprocal relation of cause and effect between birth and action, like that of seed and sprout. In this way,

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1. Bhagavadgitā, 3. 5.

both janman and karman are responsible for the continuous chain of births and deaths, consequently, of the saṁsāra itself.

Besides these two, there is the third element which is no less important. It is the vāsanā, meaning a kind of activity of the inner sense-organ which is expressed in the form "I or it should be this and not that". In fact, it is this vāsanā which has got the entire control over the future. It is the last desire of a being that determines the subsequent birth.[1] Vāsanā is the cause of the subtle body which in its turn, leads to the grosser body which again, is the cause of vāsanā itself. So that, between vāsanā, subtle body and sthūladehotpatti there is the same reciprocal relation of cause and effect as we have in the case of karman and janman. We should also know that vāsanā is not only so closely related to the production of subtle body but also to karman itself; for, when there happens to be a vāsanā regarding any object, only then there is karman towards its achievement. In this way, we find that vāsanā is perhaps more important in determining the future.

It is clear from the above that all these three are more or less equally responsible for continuing the circle of deaths and births; so that, if one wants to get rid of this chain of births and deaths, he should try to free himself from these.

These three are so related that it is very difficult, if not impossible, to find out which of these should be stopped first. In other words, in spite of the fact that all these three are more or less equally responsible for the existence of the saṁsāra yet which of these is the most important factor upon which the other two depend is rather a difficult question. Since the very days of Ṛṣis this difficulty has been felt.

Thus Vasiṣṭha and others think that this saṁsāra, that is the continuity of janman and karman entirely depends upon vāsanā alone so that, if vāsanā is stopped the other two will naturally cease. In this way through the annihilation of vāsanā the aim is realised.

1. Ibid p. 6.

Others,[1] says Padmapāda, hold that as long as karman exists merits and demerits do exist; and janman, in its turn, continues till these two are present. Hence it is karman which is responsible for the existence of this saṁsāra and if it is stopped then vāsanā and janman both will stop to function; so that, efforts should be made to put an end to karman.

Next we come to the Sampannavādins[2] who hold that by the exhaustion of karman we destroy vāsanā which leads to the destruction of janman. Thus if karman be destroyed in course of time the chain of deaths and births will stop and the aim in view is sure to be realised.

We should remember that the view of the others mentioned above is somewhat different from that of the Sampannavādins. The former holds that it is the merit and the demerit which are responsible for janman while the latter speaks of vāsanā. But both are of opinion that the annihilation of karman will bring the desired aim.

Here by the way, the commentator says that according to Bhāskara and others as long as there is janman there is the existence of vāsanā, meaning the attachment towards worldly objects. The existence of vāsanā compels us to perform karman. Hence, according to Bhāskara, janman is responsible for this bondage. Therefore, in order to get rid of this saṁsāra one should get rid of janman.

Further, Padmapāda points out as said above that the destruction of karman leads to the destruction of vāsanā which in its turn, destroys janman. But karman cannot come to an end without any cause. Hence some[3] are of opinion that it is vijñāna[4] alone which directly or indirectly destroys all the three. It directly destroys karman and vāsanā and indirectly janman. After destroying these three it also leads to the direct realisation of the Ātman.

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1. The commentator says that by 'apare' we should understand Ācāryas.
2. The commentator is of opinion that Mahārāja and others represent the Sampannavādins.
3. This view is attributed to Yājñavalkya by the commentator.
4. By Vijñāna he means Sadākāritavṛtti.

As to the question how is vijñāna itself produced, it is said[1] that the vijñāna is produced by vairāgya, that is, the absolute detachment from worldly objects. It is indeed this absolute detachment which is the cause of both the direct (aparokṣa) and the indirect (parokṣa) knowledge, and of the destruction of vāsanā, karman and janman directly or indirectly.

Padmapāda further points out that as long as the subtle body remains there will be no end to vāsanās; for, it is the sūkṣmadeha which is the seat of these vāsanās. Hence we should find out means to destroy this subtle body. The destruction of the subtle body depends upon the destruction of merits and demerits; and the destruction of puṇya and pāpa depends upon the destruction of karman. Hence, the only means to realise the aim is to put an end to karman.

The commentator attributes this view to Ācārya. Padmapāda also appears to hold the same view.

In this way, it becomes admitted that the only means to realise the highest aim of philosophy is the annihilation of karman. Searching after the means to destroy karman we find that performing sacrifices, and digging wells and doing other similar acts of charity (iṣṭāpūrta), worship (arcanā), a pilgrimage to take bath in the holy waters of the holy rivers, like the *Gaṅgā* and others and also to the holy places, like Kāśī and others (tīrthakṣetra), giving gifts to the deserving (dāna), observance of Brahmacarya etc. (tapa), and repeating the sacred Mantras like Praṇava etc. lead to the annihilation of karman. But it is also clear that these acts destroy the demeritorious deeds alone and lead those who perform them to the Svarga. Hence, they are not helpful to those who seek after Mokṣa. We should remember that we not only want to get rid of the deeds which are demeritorious but also of those which are meritoritous; for, only then the highest aim can be realised. The happiness which one gets by going to the Svarga is only temporary while we want permanent happiness which is possible only by the destruction of all sorts of karman.

1. This view is attributed to Nārada, Vāmadeva and others.

Therefore, the above mentioned means are not capable to destroy both the kinds of karman. Hence, Padmapāda gives here some other means regarding the annihilation of karman:—

1. The destruction of karman is possible through the performance of karman itself. Thus with a view to please *Parameśvara* if iṣṭa and pūrta are performed then our antaḥkaraṇa becomes purified and thereby vairāgya becomes manifested. This gives rise to the true jñāna and finally, the destruction of karman takes place and the desired aim is achieved.

2. Others are of opinion that the Yogic practices lead to the destruction of karman. Thus the regular practice of restraint (yama), observance (niyama), posture (āsana), regulation of breath (prāṇāyāma), abstraction (pratyāhāra), concentration (dhāraṇā), meditation (dhyāna), and trance (samādhi), all these lead to the purification of the antaḥkaraṇa which removes the attraction towards the world and then there is the destruction of karman.

3. Again, some hold that by ārādhana and cintana of the qualified Brahman manifested in the form of *Gaṇeśa, Gaurī, Hara, Hari* and *Bhāskara* and others as taught by guru there is the purification of the antaḥkaraṇa. This purification produces the true knowledge and permanent bliss which cause the destruction of karman.

4. The next view is that satsaṅga (good company) is also a cause of putting an end to karman. By satsaṅga we should understand the devotion towards the Sādhus whose manas is free from dirts, who are engaged in the teaching of sadācāra and who love all others like their own self. By this the antaḥkaraṇa is purified and one becomes devoted to the worship of Viṣṇu which puts an end to karman.

5. Again, some think that the repeating of the Mantras like Praṇava, Gāyatrī, and other Vedic mantras as taught by guru, with full faith, leads to the purification of the antaḥkaraṇa which in its turn, destroys karman.

6. The next view is that by the right knowledge of the meaning of the S'rutis and the study of the Mahāvākyas the perverse knowledge is removed and the antaḥkaraṇa becomes pure. This leads one to realise the identity between the Jīva and the Brahman. This manifests the bliss and thereby, karman is destroyed.

7. Some are of opinion that the Jīva is in fact a tool in the hands of Kāla which is ever changing; so that, some day or other, the Mahāpralaya is sure to take place. This great dissolution will naturally put an end to karman.

8. Others, again, think that on the basis of our daily observation we are led to imagine that there is a supreme being who is the doer and has produced this world. This constant thinking of the supreme being, the lord of the universe, will itself bring an end to karman.

In all these cases we find that the purification of the antaḥkaraṇa is a common ground for the annihilation of karman.

9. There are some other means to destroy karman. Thus some consider that every karman, if performed in the name of Parameśvara (Parameśvara–samarpaṇa), will cease to create any future result. This act of surrender to God destroys the sañcīyamāna karman. The other two, namely, the sañcita and the prārabdha are destroyed by jñāna and bhoga respectively.

10. The next view is that karman is not exhausted by surrender only but also by not making any such surrender (arpaṇa). Thus they think that it is certain that we must perform karman and if every karman is done in the name of God then we will have to believe in two entities, namely, one who surrenders every karman to Parameśvara (arpaka), and the other who receives this surrendering. But knowing that the Jīva and the Brahmaṇ are identical how can the *bheda* between the devotee and the entity to receive that devotion be accepted. The idea of master and servant creates bheda and does not establish identity. Hence, it is far better not to per-

form any action with a view to surrender it to Paramesvara. This is the only means to bring both the sañcita and the sañcīyamāna to an end.[1]

11. There is still another view that as karman has to be done we should perform all the daily and the occasional duties, such as the Sandhyopāsanā etc. with full faith. These will naturally bring about some sort of result for the experience of which we will have to go to the Svarga. Now they are of opinion that such thoughts will surely bring an end to karman.

12. Others, again, consider that if deeds are done then undoubtedly their fruits will have to be experienced and then again all the usual troubles will certainly spring up. Hence, it is better not to perform any deed; so that, there will be neither any happiness nor any pain; and bliss, which will then manifest itself, will put an end to karman.

13. Some, again, hold that only by constant thinking of Parameśvara the identity between Jīva and Brahman is achieved and karmans other than prārabdha are brought to an end.

14. There is still another view according to which karman is annihilated by thinking of the tattvas as taught in the Sāṅkhya.

These are the various views propounded from time to time to put an end to the two kinds of karman, namely, the sañcita and the sañcīyamāna.

Against the very idea of the annihilation of karman it is said that the depth of māyā is so very impenetrable that even the great sages could not exactly know the right means of destroying karman and have consequently, given so many different views as made clear above. In fact, they consider that the theory of karman is so very subtle and intricate that it is impossible to get rid of it in any way. Again, the very nature of our sense-organs is such that even unconsciously they will be quite active and will not allow the stoppage of karman.

1. The commentator attributes this view to the Avadhūtas.

This shows that karman we must have. Now the only means to annihilate karman is through karman alone. That is, we should perform karman without any desire to obtain any result of those karmans. This niṣkāma–karman will certainly bring an end to karman and is possible only through entire disgust with merits and demerits, the fruits of the deeds and consequently, with births and deaths. In this way, when vairāgya is produced then naturally the niṣkāma–karman will have no result and karman will certainly cease.[1]

If it be emphasised that even then there will be some kind of result then we would say that such a result is vairāgya, itself acquired through the purification of antaḥkaraṇa. This purification must be preceded by the destruction of sañcita–karman.

The prārabdha–karman, on the other hand, is exhausted by bhoga alone. So that, after the manifestation of vairāgya, if karman continues it is because the prārabdha is not exhausted. Thus there is a stage when karman exists but the doer is not responsible for any deed performed during that period. This is known as the stage of Jīvanmukti. The existence of karman as only due to the previous saṁskāra. There is another advantage in this that the fallacy of kṛtanāśa and akṛtābhyāgama is also removed if actions are performed at this stage although the doer is not responsible for any such action and also neither merit nor demerit accrues from these actions.

Thus it becomes clear that there should be karman without any desire to have the result of it. This will make the antaḥkaraṇa pure and then there is the vairāgya and lastly, there is the manifestation of Jñāna This leads to the annihilation of karman. Padmapāda is of opinion that the most important factor in this is the antaḥkaraṇa–śuddhi.

As regards the arpaṇa and non–arpaṇa of karmans Padmapāda holds that if they are done with full devotion then undoubtedly they will purify the antaḥkaraṇa. And as such both kinds of action will annihilate karman. Any means which purifies the antaḥkaraṇa is acceptable. Thus the worship

1. [illegible]gītā 18, 11.

of the idol of Viṣṇu, namely, Śālagrāmaśilā, hearing the stories of Parameśvara, pilgrimage to holy places, fasting on Ekādaśī, taking bath in the holy waters of the Gaṅgā, the Yamunā, the Puṣkara, protecting the Tulasī-vana, moving round the Aśvattha and other holy trees from left to right, and similar other religious acts leading to the purification of antaḥkaraṇa destroy karman indirectly when done with full devotion.

Padmapāda further suggests that not only vairāgya is capable of annihilating karman but also the two kinds of uparati namely, kṛtoparati and kartavyoparati. By the former he means the forgetfulness of everything except the Ātman, while by the latter he means the forgetfulness of the deeds knowing them to be useless and thereby not giving any chance for the accruing of any other result except the knowledge of the Ātman.

Now these means of the annihilation of karman are meant for those alone who have not reached the highest planes, namely, the iṣṭajñāna (the knowledge that the particular deed is helpful or otherwise), phalāsaṅga (non-attachment towards the Svarga); Śuddhi (the purification of the inner means of cognition); saṁvit (the knowledge that the Brahman exists and that the Jīva is an aṁśa of the Brahman and that the latter is the doer etc); virakti (the knowledge that the Svarga etc. is temporary and subject to the law of karman; and hence, it is not worth seeking after); uparama (the two kinds of uparati mentioned above); and the ātmasāmya (the cognition of identity amongst all the creatures). These are known as the seven higher planes in ascending order. Those who have achieved any of these will certainly get rid of karman. Others should try to purify their antaḥkaraṇa and only then they can get rid of karman.

These means of the annihilation of karman put an end to both the sañcita and the sañcīyamāna karmans and as the prārabdha finally depends upon these two forms of karman it is certain that it also would have been destroyed. But it is not so; for, there are certain actions which prolong the time

of the exhaustion of the prārabdha. These acts are : speaking lie, or speaking which is not meant to be spoken, or speaking ill of others; eating the food of those who speak ill of the Śāstras, or of the Śūdras and others of the same type, or of those who are out-caste on account of going against the Varṇāśrama; accepting gifts from others, and disregarding one's elders and the Śāstras. Also accepting the gifts when given at holy places, like the banks of the Gaṅgā, etc., or accepting any money from guru; the selling of the Vedic texts, or the teaching of the Vedas on getting certain remuneration; or by teaching the Vedas to those who are not the real adhikārins, and thereby earning certain money; the giving of bride on being paid for it, or giving the bride like a maid-servant without giving anything by way of her maintenance; and also destroying the holy temples, the old wells, tanks, gardens etc. These are the various acts which prolong the time of the bhoga of the prārabdha karman. These are so to say so many obstacles in the way of the annihilation of karman.

Although as pointed out above there can be no exhaustion of the prārabdha without bhoga yet there are certain means to make the force of it less effective. These means are: Mauna, Satsaṅga, Sadarthapratipatti. Of these the first, namely, *silence* is the most important. If we keep silent then there is no possibility of speaking a lie or be unpleasant (asat and apriya) and also there is no chance in that case of creating any enmity. Again, by observing silence one escapes the punishment in the form of reprimand (vāgdaṇḍa). We know that all our efforts are to attain Mokṣa and remove the influence of māyā. Now by observing silence we reduce the influences of māyā by reducing the possibilities of love-affairs; for, it is through the speech that the love-affairs are carried and are enhanced. This causes the extension of the period of bhoga and the saṁsāra itself. Hence the observance of silence is very helpful towards the lessening of the influence of prārabdha-karman.

The next means to help the exhaustion of prārabdha-karman is keeping good company (satsaṅga). This good company may be that of Sādhus or good books like the Upaniṣads,

of dwelling permanently in holy places or on the banks of holy rivers. In so doing one would always be thinking of the perishable nature of the so-called pleasure and pain and also because one would be thinking of the means to reduce the worldly pains. So that in course of time one would be free from worldly thoughts and would be gaining the permanent bliss.

The third means to reduce the influence of prārabdha karman is the giving of gifts to deserving persons who of course, do not like to have such gifts; or surrendering all the actions to Parabrahma; or spending the entire wealth earned by good and honest means in the performance of some Vedic rites; or thinking of the Vedic texts as directly speaking of the Ātman; or giving offerings to Ṛṣis, Pitṛs, Devas, Bhūtas and others; or thinking of the real nature of Brahman, namely, sat, cit and ānanda; or the concentration of mind on certain images of Hari and Hara. All these various methods purify the mind which gives rise to the idea of identity existing between the Jīva and the Brahman.

Although these means are easy enough to purify the antaḥkaraṇa and thereby help the realisation of the aim, yet very few people actually like to cultivate any of these methods to put an end to karman. The defect, says Padmapāda, does not lie in the methods but in the persons themselves who are not wise enough, lack faith and are also very idle and dull.

Padmapāda further says that there are other methods to achieve the very aim for those who due to idleness or lack of intelligence do not like to stick to any of the above mentioned methods. These are: the repeating of the Praṇava ten million times; or of the Puruṣasūkta one hundred thousand times; or of the Iśvarasūkta ten thousand times. In every case one has to understand the meaning of each and every mantra. These practices are also capable of purifying the antaḥkaraṇa and putting an end to karman.

It is again urged that even the repeating of Mantras is not so easy; for, unless the Mantras are well taught by true guru there can be no effect. And again, there are so many other

difficulties in the correct performance of japa, for instance, the observance of several aṅgas. And it takes a very long time to finish the required number of japa. These are the reasons why it is not liked by all. Of course, those who like these do act accordingly.

Finding that all the above mentioned methods are not capable of providing scope for all sorts of people, Padmapāda says that the other substitute is the proper worship of an image of S'ālagrāma which should be free from defects and be acquired honestly. He says that the method of worship may or may not be on the lines given in the Vedas but one must have full devotion while worshipping.[1]

For those who consider that even this type of worship is not possible for all, Padmapāda says that even if they worship an image of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Maheśa which has been placed (sthāpita) by persons with full devotion they get the influence of their prārahdha-karman reduced.

Again, of all the important images to be placed the image of the Jyotirlliṅga of S'iva is the most important. By the sthāpanā of this Liṅga not only the influence of prārabdha is lessened but also one gets the Jñāna which is the highest aim of every one and of Indian Philosophy.

In this way, in order to annihilate karman and achieve the highest aim of human life we should see that the antaḥkaraṇa is purified and vairāgya towards the saṁsāra and bhakti towards Parameśvara in any form are acquired. This is how one gets rid of karmans and becomes free from the bondage of this saṁsāra.

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1. Following the line of the Bhagavadgitā, the commentator says that the worship, even if performed for show only, will certainly reduce the [illegible] the effects of sin.

ETHICS IN THE UPANIṢADS, AND MODERN LIFE.

By Prof. A. K. Trivedi, M.A., LL.B.,

(*Baroda*).

The concept of Truth is all-important in the Upaniṣads. Values are subsidiary to Truth. Pleasure and Happiness in their worldly sense find no place in the Upaniṣadic Idealism. Of course we may have delights in the spiritual sense, but no delights in the psychological sense. The value of values is the seeking of Truth—the fulness of peace, eternity, and the individual's return from plurality into the One. Referring to such fulness of the Spirit, the Taittirīya Upaniṣad proceeds :—

तस्मिन्नयं पुरुषो मनोमय : । अमृतो हिरण्मय : । प्राणारामं मन आनन्दम् । शान्तिसमृद्धममृतम् ।

It is knowledge, immortal, radiant like gold......It is the joy of life, the delight of mind, the fulness of peace and eternity. Such a concept of the spirit is its identification with Truth, Joy of Knowledge, and Freedom.

The moral life is a life of limitation. It is personal and full of struggles. Moral personality, moral progress, empirical needs are conceptions foreign to the Upaniṣadic pursuit of Impersonal Truth. Morality obtains in a world of imperfections, of contrarieties of the plural selves and of values, not in a world which transcends value, not in a world of the impersonal Absolute. In fact the Upaniṣads persent the vision of an amoral standard of life and its activities, and man's goal is the release of life from worldly ties, from even the restriction of ethics, in a way.

Of course there is ethics subsidiary to this idea of Absolutism in the Upaniṣads. We have the ethical ideal of self-

realisation. We are told again and again that the self is to be understood and realised, the self not in the empirical sense but in the noumenal aspect, not the self of lusts and passions but the self free from such fetters. Such self can be known only by mental purity. Moral perfection is the propædeutic to self-knowledge. Thus the Kaṭhopaniṣad—

नायमात्मा प्रवचनेन लभ्यो न मेधया न बहुना श्रुतेन ।
यमेवैष वृणुते तेन लभ्यस्तस्यैष आत्मा विवृणुते तनूं स्वाम् ॥
नाविरतो दुश्चरितान्नाशान्तो नासमाहितः ।
नाशान्तमानसो वापि प्रज्ञानेनैनमाप्नुयात् ॥

The soul cannot be gained by knowledge or by intellect or by manifold science. It can be obtained by the soul by which it is desired. Whoever has not stopped from wickedness, who is not self-controlled, who is not self-concentrated, who is not peaceful in mind cannot obtain it, not even by knowledge.

Thus the moral basis is emphasised. It is also true that we have an emphasis on the higher as contrasted with the lower desires and satisfactions of human nature. We have in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad the well-known dialogue between Yājñavalkya and Maitreyī, when the sage was about to quit the ties of home and wanted to divide his property amongst Maitreyī and Kātyāyanī. Maitreyī inquired, whether, if the whole world were hers with all its wealth, she would become immortal, and the sage replied that for immortality there was no hope from riches; and Maitreyī said,

सा होवाच मैत्रेयी । येनाहं नामृता स्यां किमहं तेन कुर्याम् ।

What is wealth to me if I do not become immortal thereby ?

The Upaniṣads emphasise the spirit of religion, the inwardness of morality, the spirit of renunciation, of charity and of right dealing. No ordinary virtue is to be disregarded. In direct and clear terms we have the exhortations :—

Speak the truth. Follow the duty. Don't you neglect daily study.

सत्यं वद । धर्मं चर । स्वाध्यायान्मा प्रमदः ।

Let not truth be neglected. Let there be no neglect of
rma, no neglect of protection. Let there be no neglect of
ding and teaching.

सत्यान्न प्रमदितव्यं । भूत्यै न प्रमदितव्यं । स्वाध्यायप्रवचनाभ्यां न प्रमदितव्यम् ।

y further,—

मातृदेवो भव । पितृदेवो भव । आचार्यदेवो भव । अतिथिदेवो भव ।
। अनवद्यानि कर्माणि तानि सेवितव्यानि । नो इतराणि । यान्यस्माकं सुचरि-
नि तानि त्वयोपास्यानि । नो इतराणि ।

Taittirīya Upaniṣad.

Thus one is asked to do duty to the mother, father,
cher, and is to mind only unblamable and praiseworthy
ds.

The teacher so addressing the pupil that has learnt the
das reminds us of the Chancellor addressing fresh graduates
ile they are admitted to their degrees.

One may get good deal of wisdom at about every stage
his readings of the Upaniṣads. They breathe the healthy
nosphere of Intellectualism, nay, they talk of knowledge as
very means to Salvation and Freedom. The knower of
Ātman crosses all grief, "तरति शोकमात्मवित्." And yet, despite
best consolations one gets from the sacred books, despite
best peace of mind they inspire, it is also true that strictly
rality has only a subsidiary place in them. Moral activity
o be absorbed in the perfect life of the Ātmavid.

One feels when he reads the Upaniṣads that he is in a
y high region of thought, but yet life in its vivid joys and
ense feelings, in its throbbing vigour and ties and counter-
of worldliness finds no impetus from the teachings of the
anisads. Modern social life would demand vigorous ethics,
ethics which would not merely console us intellectually, but
ovoke us and prompt us in our noble earthly sentiments and
sires. It cannot derive inspiration from a philosophy which
s as its goal 'Truth in preference to values'. If life is real, its
ues cannot be treated as of secondary importance and its
uggles cannot be neglected. It is interesting to read in the

Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad how when king Janaka performed the Bahudakṣiṇa sacrifice, when he wanted to know who knew the Vedas best and offered a thousand cows to the best knower of the Brahman, Yājñavalkya said to his disciple, O Good Sāmaśravas, drive these cattle to my house. Naturally the other Brahmanas smelt pride and arrogance in this, and one wonders why to the Absolutist sage, the consciousness of his learning or the desire of having the thousand cows should appeal so emphatically and impetuously as the Upaniṣad depicts. The fact is life has its reality, only its planes of reality differ for different men at different levels of intellectual attainments, and in the level in which one revels its struggles are real and values for that level are as important as, if not more important than Truth. Life's urges and purposes seem to be beyond the touch of the Upaniṣads, and though a veritable mine of wisdom and spiritual culture, the Upaniṣads are, in my opinion, inadequate to inspire us in the positive duties of social life.

But though the Upaniṣads are thus inadequate, yet there are fine social settings in them. The institution of the āśramadharmas was already established in their times and social divisions were there, yet these divisions were not rigid as in modern times. Anuloma marriages were tolerated and children of such marriages were admitted to the highest class and to the duties of Brahminism. Mahīdāsa Aitareya and Satyakāma Jābāla are instances to show that caste was not a rigid institution in those days. Kṣattriya kings are instanced as taking part in philosophical discussions. Janaka and Ajātaśatru are instances to the point. Women were prominent in the intellectual life. In the symposium in king Janaka's court in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad we see how Gārgī and Maitreyī take part in high metaphysical discussions. The whole atmosphere is an atmosphere of *social freedom* and *high intellectual activities*, nay of the *disinterested pursuit of Truth, of knowledge for its own sake*. These are some of the finest lessons which a reader of the Upaniṣads gets from them. These are ideas in which modern social ethics has much to learn from these ancient books. We with our class-distinc-

ıs and class-hatred, and we with our outlook on material ıforts and fame and fortune and rigid courses of studies : systems of examinations in our Universities and the ılting academic, nay, ordinarily-cultured life, have much ›onder over in this direction from the spirit of the Upani-s, and these books will, in that way, for ever remain ›iring forces of classical reflections–Visions of all time and ɔe as Plato's Dialogues are in Western Philosophy.

HISTORY OF THE WORD 'ĪŚVARA' AND ITS IDEA.

By Dr. M. D. Shastri, M.A., D-Phil. (Oxon),

(*Benares.*)

Probably there is no other Sanskrit word whose history (including that of its idea) is so interesting and can throw such a vast light on the history of the development of religious as well as philosophical thought in India as that of the word 'Īśvara' and if the conclusions arrived at in this paper are true, they go a long way in determining the chronology of several literary works also.

What led us to this investigation? The question can be answered in the following way. The word 'Īśvara' is now-a-days used, in common parlance, in the sense of 'omnific, omnipresent Supreme God.' Excepting the sectarian words like 'Śiva', 'Viṣṇu', 'Rāma', 'Kṛṣṇa', there is probably no other non-sectarian word which is so commonly used among the Hindus for the idea of God, as the word 'Īśvara' (or 'Parameśvara'). Apart from this popular use, in Sanskrit literature also, the word 'Īśvara' is generally used in the same sense. In the philosophical Sanskrit literature and especially in the Nyāya and Yoga literature the same word is used to express the idea of Supreme God. As opposed to all this we find that throughout the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini and the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali this word has been *consistently* used, as shown below, in the sense of a *rājā* or an administrative head. This striking difference in the use of the word strongly urged us to investigate the history of it.

An examination into the real meaning of the word 'Aiśvarya' also urged us to this investigation. This word is evidently derived from the word 'Īśvara', and is used in the sense of worldly prosperity in the form of wealth, house,

animals, servants, etc. It never refers to the spiritual powers or achievements of sages and saints, for which the proper words are 'Siddhi' or 'Śakti'. This shows clearly that the word 'Aiśvarya' was originally derived from the word 'Īśvara' having the sense of a 'rājā' or an administrative head and not of Parameśvara. The word 'Aiśvarya' being very old, the former sense of the word 'Īśvara' must also be older than its latter sense.

An almost exhaustive survey of the Sanskrit literature shown below also leads us to the same conclusion.

The Vedic Saṁhitās.

Let us first start with the Vedic Saṁhitās. The word 'Īśvara' has not been used, even once, in the Ṛgveda Saṁhitā; though the root *īś* from which the word is derived is often used; e.g. मानो दुःशंस ईशत। (Ṛg. I. 23,9), अयमग्निः सुवीर्यस्येशे। महः सौभगस्य (Ṛg. III. 16,1). The word 'Īśāna' which is derived from the same root and is thus akin to the word 'Īśvara' is used in the Ṛgveda in the sense of 'a ruler' and is generally used for Indra and other gods; e.g ईशानो यवया वधम् (Ṛg. I. 5,10).

The root *īś* is used in the same way in the other Saṁhitās also. The meaning of the word 'Īśāna' seems to be gradually changing in the other Saṁhitās. In the Yajurveda and the Atharvaveda the word has been sometimes used as an adjective of Agni; but mostly it is used for Śiva or Rudra. The latter tendency went on increasing until the word became a regular synonym of Śiva in the later Sanskrit literature. As our discussion is mainly concerned with the word 'Īśvara' we need not, any further, refer to this word here.

The word 'Īśvara' is not used in the (Śukla) Yajurveda Saṁhitā also. Of course the word 'Īś' as a noun and apparently in the sense of Parameśvara, has been used in the 40th Adhyāya of this Saṁhitā. But in this connection we must remember two things. Firstly, this 40th Adhyāya is really an Upaniṣad and is also known by the title of 'Īśāvāsyopaniṣad'. Secondly, when we consider such passages of this chapter as "[illegible] भूतान्यात्मैवाभूद् विजानतः। तत्र को मोहः कः शोक एकत्वमनुपश्यतः ॥"

and "योऽसावादित्ये पुरुषः सोऽसावहम्", it becomes clear that the word 'Īś' has been used here more in the sense of Paramātman the supreme self (or Brahman) than in the sense of Parameśvara or supreme God. But it need not detain us here as we are concerned here only with the word 'Īśvara'.

The word 'Īśvara' has not been used, even once, in the Sāmaveda Saṁhitā also. The case is however different with Atharvaveda Saṁhitā. Here for the first time we meet with this word in five passages. They are :—

(1) मा मा हिंसिषुरीश्वराः (Ath. VII. 107,1)

It is to be noticed here that the word has been used in the plural number and refers to Agni, Vāyu and Sūrya.

(2) प्राणाय नमो यस्य सर्वमिदं वशे ।
यो भूतः सर्वस्येश्वरो यस्मिन्सर्वं प्रतिष्ठितम् ॥ (Ath. XI. 6,1)

(3) प्राणो ह सर्वस्येश्वरो यच्च प्राणिति यच्च न । (Ath. XI. 6, 10)

It is clear that the word 'Īśvara' which refers to Prāṇa and is used with सर्वस्य, has not yet got the later sense of Parameśvara.

(4) पुरुष एवेदं सर्वं यद् भूतं यच्च भाव्यम् ।
उतामृतत्वस्येश्वरो यदन्येनाभवत्सह ॥ (Ath. XIX. 6, 4.)

This stanza, with a variant reading also occurs in the Yajurveda, and there, instead of *Īśvaraḥ* we find *Īśānaḥ*. This very fact shows clearly that here also the word has been used in its ordinary sense of a lord or master.

(5) कालो ह सर्वस्येश्वरो यः पितासीत्प्रजापतेः । (Ath. XIX. 53,8).

The above remarks equally apply to this case also.

That the word 'Īśvara' in all these Vedic passages has, not yet got its later sense of Parameśvara and has been used only in the ordinary sense of a lord or master is confirmed by the following evidence of the Nighaṇṭu and Nirukta —which serve the purpose of a Vedic dictionary. The Nighaṇṭu (II, 22) says: "राष्ट्री, अर्यः, नियुत्वान्, इनः । इति चत्वारि ईश्वरनामानि". The Nirukta while commenting upon this quotes a stanza containing the expression "इनो विश्वस्य भुवनस्य गोपाः" and in its twofold explanation says:—(1) "ईश्वरः सर्वेषां भूतानां गोपायितादित्यः;"

and (2) " ईश्वरः सर्वेषामिन्द्रियाणां गोपायितात्मा ". In both these passages, 'Īśvara' has been clearly used in its ordinary sense of a master or a *rājā*; and there is no trace here of its later sense of Parameśvara.

The Brāhmaṇas.

In the Brāhmaṇa literature also the word Īśvara' is used very rarely; and whenever it is found it is invariably used in the sense of 'competent' or 'capable of', and there is no trace of its later sense of Parameśvara; e. g.—

ईश्वरः पर्जन्योऽवर्ष्टोः (Ait. Br. III. 18),

ईश्वरो ह्यनृणा कर्तोः (Ait. Br. I. 14),

अश्नीयातामीश्वरौ जनयितवै (S'atapatha XIV. 6, 4, 14).

In the Aitareya Āraṇyaka also the word is used just as in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa.

The Sūtra Literature.

After the Brāhmaṇa literature we should take up the Upaniṣads; but as most of them belong to a very late date, we shall consider their case later on. First let us consider the early Sūtra literature.

The word 'Īśvara' is very very rare in the Gṛhya and S'rauta Sūtras. In the S'āṅkhāyana S'rauta Sūtra it is used only once (अग्निर्वै कामो देवानामीश्वरः । 16,10,5). Here it is evidently used for Agni.

Similar is the case with the Dharma Sūtras. It is not at all found in the Āpastambīya and Bodhāyanīya Dharma Sūtras. In the Gautama Dharma Sūtra it is used only once in connection with the rules for a *Snātaka*. The passage is योगक्षेमार्थमीश्वरमधिगच्छेत् । (IX. 63), where the commentator explains ईश्वरम् by राजानम्.

Before examining the Aṣṭādhyāyī we take up the Artha-S'āstra of Kauṭilya. The word 'Īśvara' occurs in this work only three times as follows :—

देवेश्च वचनामधेयोपचारमीश्वरस्य । (p. 71)

देवनामधेयोपचारमनीश्वरस्य । (p. 71)

सर्वेश्वरश्चाधिकृतांश्च राजा रक्षोपकारोपयिकार्थमाह । (p. 74)

The references are to the second edition. In all these passages the word is clearly used in the sense of a rājā or an administrative head.

The Aṣṭādhyāyī and the Mahābhāṣya.

As we have already stated, it was the evidence of these two works which mainly led us to the investigation of this question. It is therefore necessary, to examine their evidence rather in detail. The word 'Īśvara' is used only eight times in the Aṣṭādhyāyī, as follows:—

(1) स्थेशभासपिसकसो वरच् (III. 2, 175).

This only shows the derivation of the word from ईश्.

(2) प्राग्रीश्वरान्निपाताः (I. 4, 56).

This is only an Adhikāra-Sūtra and refers to the Sūtra अधिरीश्वरे ।

(3) अधिरीश्वरे (I. 4,97).

In the Mahābhāṣya and in other old commentaries the illustration of this Sūtra is given as अधि ब्रह्मदत्ते पञ्चालाः, अधि पञ्चालेषु ब्रह्मदत्तः ।

(4) The same illustration is given in these works for यस्मादधिकं यस्य चेश्वरवचनं तत्र सप्तमी (II. 3,9). It is also clear from the Mahābhāṣya on this Sūtra that, according to Patañjali, the words like adhipati and svāmin are all synonyms of 'Īśvara'.

(5) स्वामीश्वराधिपति (II. 3, 39).

The illustration for the word 'Īśvara' in this sūtra is given as गवामीश्वरः, गोष्वीश्वरः in the Kāśikā.

(6) ईश्वरे तोसुन् कसुनौ (III. 4, 13).

The illustrations of this (like ईश्वरोऽभिचरितोः) are all taken from the Brāhmaṇa literature and are of the same nature as have already been shown in connection with that literature.

(7) तस्येश्वरः (V. 1, 42). Its illustrations are:—

सर्वभूमेरीश्वरः सार्वभौमः । पृथिव्या ईश्वरः पार्थिवः ।

(8) नञः शुचीश्वरक्षेत्रज्ञ (VII. 3, 30).

Its illustration as regards the word 'Īśvara' is आनैश्वर्यम । अनैश्वर्यम् ।

Besides most of the illustrations just referred to, there also occur a few passages in the Mahābhāṣya which are very important for the point under consideration. They are:—

(1) नैवेश्वर आज्ञापयति नापि धर्मसूत्रकाराः पठन्ति–अपवादैरुत्सर्गा बाध्यन्तामिति (I. 1, 47 and V. 1, 119).

(2) तद्यथा लोके ईश्वर आज्ञापयति ग्रामाद् ग्रामान्मनुष्या आनीयन्ताम् । प्रागाङ्ग ग्रामेभ्यो ब्राह्मणा आनीयन्ताम् । (VI. 1,2)

(3) जित्पर्यायवचनस्यैव राजाद्यर्थम् । ....सभा राजामनुष्यपूर्वा (II. 4, 23). इनसभम् । ईश्वरसभम् । तस्यैव न भवति । राजसभा । तद्विशेषणानां च न भवति । पुष्यमित्रसभा (I. 1,66).

In this passage the words 'rājā', 'ina', and 'īśvara' are clearly regarded as synonyms and king Puṣyamitra is spoken of as 'Īśvara'.

This detailed examination shows quite unambiguously that the word 'Īśvara' in these works invariably means a 'rājā' or an administrative head.

The first period in the history of the word 'Īśvara'.

This striking uniformity in the use of the word in the Aṣṭādhyāyī and the Mahābhāṣya, cannot, in our view, be regarded as merely accidental. We have already seen that in other works also, which belong definitely to a date anterior to that of the Aṣṭādhyāyī or Mahābhāṣya or which may be regarded even as their contemporary, the word has not been used, even once, in the sense of Parameśvara. It seems that in the Vedic literature the word had the general sense of 'a lord' or 'competent' which later on developed into that of a 'rājā' or an administrative head. The period covered by both these uses of the word may be regarded as the first period in the history of the word. This period obviously lasted till the time of the Mahābhāṣya, i. e. the 2nd Century B. C.

The second period in the history of the word 'Īśvara'.

But there are also some works in which the word has been used, not only in the above sense, but also in the sense

of Parameśvara. The period to which such works belong we may take as the second period in the history of the word 'Iśvara.' In view of the fact that at one time the word is definitely used in one sense (of a 'rājā' or 'capable of') and at a later time we find it almost definitely used in a later sense (of Parameśvara), we think, we are perfectly justified in assuming a transitional period in which the word is used, of course in a varying degree, in both the senses.

Among the works which can belong to this transitional or second period we may assign the first place to the Manusmṛti and the Bhagavadgītā, with the difference that while in the former there is a predominance of the first sense, in the latter the second sense is found much more often.

Let us first take the Manusmṛti. So far we have found that the word has been used only six times in this work, as follows:—

(1) तस्यार्थे सर्वभूतानां गोप्तारं धर्ममात्मजम् ।
ब्रह्मतेजोमयं दण्डमसृजत्पूर्वमीश्वरः ॥ (VII. 14).

Here the commentary of Kullūka says:-ब्रह्मा पूर्वं सृष्टवान्.

(2) प्राणायामैर्दहेद्दोषान् धारणाभिश्च किल्बिषम् ।
प्रत्याहारेण संसर्गान् ध्यानेनानीश्वरान् गुणान् ॥ (VI 72).

Here cf. the same commentary:—अनीश्वरान् गुणान् । ईश्वरस्य परमात्मनो ये गुणा न भवन्ति । क्रोधलोभमोहादयः ।.

(3) मनसश्चाप्यहंकारमभिमन्तारमीश्वरम् । (I. 14).

Here the same commentary says: "ईश्वरं स्वकार्यकरणक्षमम् ।".

(4) ब्राह्मणो जायमानो हि पृथिव्यामधिजायते ।
ईश्वरः सर्वभूतानां धर्मकोशस्य गुप्तये ॥ (I. 99).

(5) दैवतान्यभिगच्छेत्तु धार्मिकांश्च द्विजोत्तमान् ।
ईश्वरं चैव रक्षार्थं गुरूनेव च पर्वसु ॥ (IV. 153).

Cf. Kullūka :—"रक्षार्थं राजादिकं गुरूंश्च......"

(6) हन्याच्चौरमिवेश्वरः (IX. 278).

Cf. Kullūka :—"चौरवद्राजा निगृह्णीयात्".

It is evident that with the exception of the first two passages where the word seems to have got the later sense, the word in all the other passages has been clearly used in the earlier sense.

The case is rather different with the Bhagavadgītā. Here the word is generally used in the sense of Parameśvara; e. g.

भूतानामीश्वरोऽपि सन्। (IV. 6).
समवस्थितमीश्वरम् (XIII. 28).
समं सर्वेषु भूतेषु तिष्ठन्तं परमेश्वरम् (XIII. 27).
ईश्वरः सर्वभूतानां हृद्देशेऽर्जुन तिष्ठति। (XVIII. 60).

But here also the earlier sense of the word is not quite absent; cf. for instance:—

ईश्वरोऽहमहं भोगी सिद्धोऽहं बलवान्सुखी (XVI. 14).
दानमीश्वरभावश्च क्षात्रं कर्म स्वभावजम् (XVIII. 43).

The last period in the history of the word 'Īśvara'.

The above tendency found in the Manusmṛti and Bhagvadgītā went on increasing until we find that the word came to be used almost exclusively in the sense of Parameśvara alone. This stage we take as the last period in the history of the word 'Īśvara.'

Before giving illustrations for this exclusive use, it is better to take a general survey of the entire Upaniṣadic literature.

A reference to the 'Concordance to the Principal Upaniṣads' shows that, as far as the ten older Upaniṣads are concerned, the word, 'Īśvara' not only, has not been used in the sense of Parameśvara, but also, excepting the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, it has not been used at all; and in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad also, as already shown in the passage from the 14th Book (or Kāṇḍa) of the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, it is unambiguously used only in the sense of 'capable of'. Of course like Īśāvāsyopaniṣad, already referred to, we find the word 'Īś' (cf. यदा पश्यः पश्यते......ईशम्) in the Muṇḍaka Upaniṣad also. With regard to this, our position is the same as already noted in connection with the former Upaniṣad.

The S'vetāśvatara Upaniṣad is not considered as old as the older ten Upaniṣads. In this the word is used (e.g. ईश्वराणां परमं महेश्वरम्), but in a way which shows that it has not yet acquired the later meaning of Parameśvara. ईश्वराणाम् evidently means here राज्ञाम्.

The case is quite different with the sectarian Upaniṣads belonging to a later date. Here the word is, not only, very frequently used, but also has invariably got the sense of S'iva or Parameśvara; e.g.—

ईश्वरः परमो देवः (Brahmavidyopaniṣad 7)
ईश्वरः सर्वभूतानाम् (Mahānārāyaṇa-Upaniṣad 17, 5)
ईश्वरः शिव एव च (Atharva-S'ikhopaniṣad 2).

These later Upaniṣads clearly belong to the third period of the history of the word. Of course here the sectarian sense of S'iva is more prominent than that of Parameśvara. The reason underlying this difference will be shown later on.

In the non-sectarian literature which also belongs to this third period, the word 'īśvara' has clearly got the sense of Parameśvara. For instance let us take the philosophical Sūtras. As far as we can say the word is found only in three of these Sūtras, viz. Yoga, Nyāya and Sāṅkhya Sūtras; and in all cases it has the sense of Parameśvara alone; e.g.—

क्लेशकर्मविपाकाशयैरपरामृष्टः पुरुषविशेष ईश्वरः (Yoga-Sūtra I. 24)
ईश्वरप्रणिधानाद्वा (Yoga-Sūtra I. 23)
ईश्वरः कारणं पुरुषकर्माफल्यदर्शनात् (Nyāya-Sūtra IV. 1, 19)
ईश्वरासिद्धेः (Sāṅkhya-Sūtra I. 92).

In the same way, in the whole of the subsequent philosophical literature the word 'Īśvara' has been used in the sense of Parameśvara alone; so much so, that Īśvara in the sense of Parameśvara is the main topic of such works as the Nyāya-kusumāñjali and Īśvarānumāna-cintāmaṇi. Similar is the case with the Purāṇa and the later Smṛti literature.

Development of the modern idea of Īśvara.

Before we point out the importance of the above, rather dreary discussion, let us first see if we can similarly trace the

development of the modern idea of Īśvara also. We must confess that in this second part of our investigation we do not feel ourselves on such firm and sure ground as we did in its first part. Still we think that we can trace more or less conclusively this development also. Before we start, let us first define what we mean by Īśvara these days. The most important point to be remembered in this connection is that the word is not a sectarian one now-a-days. We cannot say that like the words 'Rāma', 'Kṛṣṇa', 'S'iva' etc. it is used only by a particular sect of the Hindus. On the other hand we find that all the Hindus, irrespective of their sects, as stated at the very outset, use this word in the sense of "omnific, omnipresent, eternal supreme God, who is the Lord of all, above all gods and at the same time is an object of our worship".

In tracing this development we must start from the Vedic times; and first of all we must consider the Vedic (especially the Ṛgvedic) conception of gods. In the early Vedic period we do not find any god who can be regarded as occupying the position of Parameśvara. Gods like Indra, Agni, Varuṇa, Mitra, Pūṣan, are all functional (or कार्मिक) gods. In other words they are all departmental (नियतकर्माण: or विभज्यकर्मकारिण:) gods. None of these can be really regarded as 'the one god above all gods' (or देवाधिदेव). It is true that at times almost each of these gods is addressed as if he were an absolutely independent and supreme deity. But in reality this practice of the Vedic poets is only an exaggeration and is merely due to the effusion of sentiment on the part of the singer.

Of course there are Mantras from which it would appear that in course of time the seers came to realize that the various deities were but different forms or aspects of one divinity; cf. माहाभाग्याद्देवताया एक आत्मा बहुधा स्तूयते (Nirukta VII. 8).

This conception of the Ṛṣis was more of a pantheistic than of a monotheistic nature. Gradually the same idea assumed its final shape in the Vedāntic Brahman. But this idea of Brahman was not the same as that of Parameśvara. In the first place Brahman existed only in the eyes of thinkers and philosophers. Unlike Parameśvara, it never existed in

the eyes of the layman. The very fact that it is conceived in neuter gender shows that it can never be the object of popular worship. The god of popular worship is always conceived in masculine or feminine gender; cf.

देवतिर्यङ्मनुष्यादौ पुंनाम्ना भगवान्हरिः ।
स्त्रीनाम्नी श्रीश्च विज्ञेया नानयोर्विद्यते परम् ॥

The fact that no place whatsoever is assigned to Brahman in the Vedic Karmakāṇḍa would confirm the above view as regards Brahman. Statements like त्रैगुण्यविषया वेदा निस्त्रैगुण्यो भवार्जुन । (II. 45) in the Bhagvadgītā and the view of some Mīmāṁsakas, like Prabhākara, that the Veda is only concerned with Karmakāṇḍa and not with Brahman also confirm the above view.

It is true that even in the Vedas we find gods like Prajāpati who apparently seem to occupy the place of Parameśvara. But in reality it is not so. Even Prajāpati, the forerunner of Brahmā, is only one, though rather more dignified, of so many gods, and cannot be regarded as the one god above all gods.

In view of all this we can safely maintain that in the Vedic period, including that of the Upaniṣads also, the popular religious needs were sufficiently satisfied by the functional or departmental Vedic gods, and no need was felt of Parmeśvara at that time. On the other hand the need of philosophers who looked for unity in diversity was served by Brahman.

Besides Brahman, there is the Puruṣa of the Puruṣa-sūkta who also may apparently be regarded as equivalent of Parameśvara. The same idea was later utilized, in the Bhagvadgītā, for the idea of Puruṣottama. But a reference to passages like पुरुष एवेदं सर्वं यद्भूतं यच्च भाव्यम् (Yajuḥ XXXI, 2) would show the pantheistic trend of this hymn, and as such our above remarks as regards Brahman would equally apply to Puruṣa also. Moreover the fact that the word 'Puruṣa' has been generally used, in the Vedic Saṁhitās themselves, in the sense of 'Man', and the use of that word in the sense of Virāṭ Puruṣa or 'the Universal Man' in the above Sūkta is only an exception (which, by the way, explains the importance of the hymn) shows that the idea of Puruṣa in the latter sense was

the creation of a Poet-Philosopher and was only meant for thinkers. It has nothing to do with the popular Vedic ritualism. The most important argument in our favour in this connection is that even in the Pūrva-Mīmāṁsāsūtra–the most authoritative work dealing with the rationale of the Vedic Karmakāṇḍa–no place is assigned to Parameśvara or Īśvara. For the same reason it is a common belief among Pandits that Īśvara is not recognised in the Mīmāṁsā system; only they do not understand its historic background. In this connection cf. also Bhagavadgītā (II. 42) :—

यामिमां पुष्पितां वाचं प्रवदन्त्यविपश्चितः ।
वेदवादरताः पार्थ ! नान्यदस्तीति वादिनः ॥

This would also explain why the word 'Īśvara' in the sense of Parameśvara is not used in the Vedic literature.

Lord Buddha and the doctrine of Īśvara.

A consideration of the doctrine of Lord Buddha in this connection also confirms our above view. The popular view with regard to Lord Buddha, now-a-days, is that he refuted the doctrine of Īśvara and therefore he was a 'nāstika'. But we think there is no ground for this view. Let us first decide the real meaning of the word 'nāstika'. The use of this word in the sense of an atheist is not found in the older literature. Originally the word only meant 'one who does not believe in the next world'; cf. Pāṇini IV. 4, 60 : अस्ति नास्ति दिष्टं मतिः ।

Gradually it came to mean 'one who reviles the Vedas', i. e. 'one who does not conform to the Vedic tradition'; cf. Manusmṛti II. 11 (नास्तिको वेदनिन्दकः). In case we find this word used for Buddha in the older literature, we must take it in the latter sense. It has nothing to do with the belief or non-belief in Īśvara. The Sāṅkhyas and the Mīmāṁsakas, though they do not recognize God, are not called 'nāstikas'; simply because they were not opposed to the Vedic traditions.

But we may not stop here and can go a step further. Because as far as we can say, Buddha never denounced or refuted the idea of Īśvara in the sense of Parameśvara. This does not mean that he recognised it. This only means that till the time of Buddha the idea itself did not exist.

Instead of it, there were two ideas which occupied the place of Īśvara in his time. The one was of the functional Vedic gods, and the other of the absolute and attributeless Brahman. He accepted the former idea; but in the place of Brahman he installed 'Dhamma' or 'Dharma'. In our view, from a philosophical point of view, there is not much difference between Brahman and Dhamma. Both refer to abstract ideas. The idea of maintaining the whole universe and upholding every creation is common to both of them. Dhamma is only a collective name for all the eternal laws of the universe taken together. In fact it is 'The Law' of the universe. Can we not conceive the eternal and universal laws in the form of intelligence? If we can, then Dharma which refers to the totality of those laws can easily be conceived as intelligence. If so, what is the difference between Brahman and Dhamma? Brahman is regarded, not as *intelligent*, but only as pure *intelligence*.

This shows why Buddha, who recognised the traditional functional gods, Indra etc., and who substituted Dhamma for Brahman, did not denounce Īśvara. In reality the idea of Īśvara in the sense of Parameśvara did not even originate by that time.[1]

S'aivism and Īśvara.

Let us now see how the word 'Īśvara' at last came to be used in the sense of Parameśvara. An attempt is made in the following to answer this question.

Modern Hinduism is said to be a fusion of the Nigama-dharma and the Āgama-dharma. Nigama means Veda and Agama refers to Tantra. Thus we can say that the basis of Modern Hinduism is a fusion of the Vedic and Tāntric Dharmas. An examination of popular gods as well as of the daily and other kinds of ritualism of Modern Hinduism also clearly shows that it is very much different, both in spirit and form, from the pure Vedic Dharma. But it does not mean that Tān-

1. Of course there are few references to Is'vara or to Is'varavādins in Pali literature, but they evidently refer to a god more or less similar to the departmental Vedic gods; and some of the references may also belong to a time much posterior to Buddha.

tricism is later in origin than the Vedic religion. On the contrary, there are grounds for holding the former, at least as far as India is concerned, even as older than the latter. It is true that in our literature we do not find such an old description of Tāntricism as that of the Vedic religion. But it only means that Tāntricism came to influence the Vedic people gradually. Moreover, the esoteric nature of Tāntricism and the fact that Tāntric worship is of an individualistic nature as compared with the Vedic ritualism which, requiring as it does the assistance of a number of priests for its performance, is congregational, also contributed a great deal to the non-preservation in literature of Tāntricism in its oldest form.

The excavations of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa also have shown the great antiquity of Tāntric culture in India. S'iva occupies a most important place in this culture; and the fact that S'iva-liṅgas in large numbers have been excavated there clearly proves the then existence of Tāntricism. On similar grounds, we think, we are justified in designating the pre-Vedic culture of India as Tāntricism. Some people give it the name of Āsuric culture. We know that in Vedic literature the Asuras are described as the elders of the Devas; which only means that, at least in India, the Asura or Tāntric culture is older than the Vedic culture.

The fact that in the Purāṇas and the allied literature Asuras and Daityas like Bāṇāsura and Rāvaṇa are almost always described as the devotees of S'iva also shows an intimate relation, from the oldest times, between S'iva and the Tāntric (or Asura) culture. We know that a particular variety of the S'iva-liṅga is also known as Bāṇa-liṅga. Probably it was Bāṇāsura himself who substituted rather smaller stones for heavy ones for their worship as S'iva-liṅgas.

The above statement as regards the close relationship between S'iva and the Tāntric culture does not necessarily mean that the chief god of that culture was designated as 'S'iva' from the very beginning. It appears that the Vedic Āryas when they entered India found this S'aiva or Tāntric culture most prevalent. In the beginning they were naturally hostile to it as is shown by such contemptuous expressions as [illegible]

applied in the Ṛgveda to the indigenous people; but gradually, on account of its vast prevalence they themselves came to be influenced by it. This was the reason which perhaps led to the fusion of the pure Vedic god Rudra and the Tāntric 'S'iva'. The difference between the Rudra of the Ṛgveda and the Rudra of the Yajurveda can perhaps be explained by this fusion alone.

This influence of Tāntricism upon the Vedic culture was so far-reaching that gradually S'aivism assumed the form of an almost universal religion even among the Vedic people. It is due to this that Vaiṣṇavism though based on the pure Vedic god Viṣṇu appears as only a new sect when compared with S'aivism.

Spread of the word Īśvara through S'aivism.

In reality it was through the influence of S'aivism that the word 'Īśvara' in the sense of Parameśvara became so popular. We have already seen how the word 'Īśāna' gradually became a synonym of S'iva. Both 'Īśvara' and 'Īśana' are derived from the same root. Still the former word did not acquire the meaning of S'iva in the same direct way. In the S'vetāśvatara and other older S'aiva Upaniṣads 'Maheśvara' and not 'Īśvara' has been used for S'iva. The passage from Kālidāsa हरिर्यथैकः पुरुषोत्तमः स्मृतो महेश्वरस्त्र्यम्बक एव नापरः (Raghuvaṁśa III. 49) also confirms the same view.

But gradually in the S'aivite literature itself 'Īśvara' came to be used for 'Maheśvara.' We have already seen how 'Īśvara' has been often used for S'iva in the later S'aivite Upaniṣads. In the Tantras also 'Īśvara' is very frequently used for S'iva. Many of the Tantras even begin with the words पार्वती उवाच and ईश्वर उवाच. In the S'aiva Darśanas also 'Īśvara' is not only very frequently used, but it is also a technical word of that philosophy for S'iva; compare for instance the 'Īśvara-pratyabhijñā-sūtra' and the 'Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha' and also the words of Kālidāsa :

यस्मिन्नीश्वर इत्यनन्यविषयः शब्दो यथार्थाक्षरः । (Vikramorvaśīyam).

Thus it is clear that the word 'Īśvara' became so popular only through the influence of S'aivism.

Īśvara and Darśana.

But its use in the sense of non-sectarian Parameśvara did not take place until the word had not left the above sectarian world and had not become an object of independent discussion in the field of general philosophy. So long as Īśvara or Maheśvara was only a sectarian god, it could not have become an object of discussion in the non-sectarian general philosophy. For this very reason perhaps it was only gradually that Īśvara began to be discussed in the general philosophical literature. This also explains why in the philosophical Sūtras there is such a meagre discussion of Īśvara. Probably there was only a beginning of that discussion at the time when the philosophical Sūtras were written. For the same reason not much importance was attached to that discussion. But gradually that tendency went on increasing and naturally we find *Īśvara-siddhi* as one of the most important topics in the later philosophical literature of India, so much so that such important independent treatises as the 'Nyāyakusumāñjali' and 'Īśvarānumānacintāmaṇi' have been exclusively devoted to that topic.

The importance of this investigation.

The whole investigation is obviously of great importance for clearly understanding the history of Indian Philosophy and Religion. Many a knotty point of that history can easily be explained in the light of this investigation. For instance the question why there is such a meagre discussion of an important topic like that of Īśvara in the philosophical Sūtras can be answered, we think, only in the way in which we have done so. Further we cannot understand the rise and great expansion of a godless system like Buddhism in the India of B. C. if we assume the existence and prevalence of the modern idea of Parameśvara at that time also. Surely a religion of the same kind, if preached now-a-days, would not have the same prospects.

Besides, the investigation is not without interest from the point of view of literary history also. If our conclusions are true, we find here a new material for determining the chrono-

logy of many a Sanskrit work. For instance, the question whether the Vyākaraṇa Mahābhāṣya and the Yoga Sūtra are by the same author, can be definitely decided in the negative in the light of our investigation. Because the author of the Yoga Sūtra who uses the word 'Īśvara' definitely for Parameśvara must be not only different from, but also much later than, the author of the Mahābhāṣya, who uses that word only in its older sense. On the same grounds we can maintain that the Manusmṛti and the Bhagavadgītā are later than the Mahābhāṣya.

History and Chronology Section.

President:

MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA RAI BAHADUR GAURISHANKAR H. OJHA.

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PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

By Mahamahopadhyaya Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar H. Ojha,

(Ajmer).

'Itihāsa' in Sanskrit is almost identical with 'History' in English. It is a term of wide connotation and comprises within its scope all that has happened in the past with special reference to political events. This term is found in the S'atapatha Brāhmaṇa, the Atharvaveda, the Mahābhārata, the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya and in the Purāṇas.

India possesses certain natural advantages. Abundance of water and fertility of the land coupled with a congenial climate has ever been a particular source of attraction to adventurers, conquerors and rulers of various countries on the earth. Since times of remote antiquity, millenniums before the birth of Christ, we find hordes of people pouring in from the north and north-west into the fertile plains of India. The arrival of every invader from the north necessitated warfare between him and the natives of the land. Internecine warfare has also not been foreign to India. In a country which has witnessed centuries of invasions and incessant wars, it is almost impossible to find a connected history of the political events and the social and economic life of the people. Innumerable wars destroyed numerous cities of old, on the ruins of which new ones were founded. Some of the ancient cities have been brought to light by excavations during the last few decades. Taxila, Harappa, Nalanda and Mohenjodaro, rescued from oblivion by the Archæologists' spade, bear ample testimony to the highly advanced state of Indian society in centuries preceding the Christian era. Here I cannot but make reference to my late lamented friend Mr. Rakhaldas Banerji, the famous Indian Archæologist, who had to his

credit the discovery of a buried city at Mohenjo-daro which has led Oriental scholars in the east and west seriously to reflect on the problem of the civilisation revealed by the excavations conducted on the site by the Indian Archæological Department. Almost all of us are familiar with the Indus Valley civilisation, a succinct account of which has been recently published in three delightful volumes by Sir John Marshall.

India is a very large country, equal in area to Europe minus Russia. Owing to constant wars, as a result of which many towns were ruined, temples and monasteries demolished and libraries burnt, one cannot expect to find a regular history of this land through the ages. But it should not lead us to conclude that Hindus had no history. Alberuni, the famous scholar and astronomer at the court of Mahmud Ghazni (11th century), writes in his book on India :—

"Unfortunately the Hindus do not pay much attention to the historical order of things, they are very careless in relating the chronological succession of their kings, and when they are pressed for information and are at a loss, not knowing what to say, they invariably take to tale-telling".

But the same author further points out: "I have been told that the pedigree of this royal family, written on silk, exists in the fortress Nagarkot and I much desired to make myself acquainted with it, but the thing was impossible for various reasons".

From Alberuni's statement we are only to understand that the public in those days might not have evinced keen interest in history, but the kings and bards (Māgadhas) certainly preserved dynastic lists and accounts of historical events. To conclude from what Alberuni says that the Hindus had no books on history, would be a great mistake. Although we do not come across any ancient work dealing with history, pure and simple, as there are books on grammar, rhetorics, lexicography, astronomy, astrology and medicine, etc., we know that numerous books containing historical information were composed from time to time. Vedic literature contains the

key to almost every aspect of the civilisation and culture of the ancient Aryans. In the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, which are vast repositories, not simply of theories about cosmogony and time and space, but of philosophical disquisitions and lectures on the duties of the castes, we find detailed historical information about Raghuvaṁśa and Kuruvaṁśa and the state of society in those remote times. The dynastic lists in the Vāyu, Matsya, Viṣṇu, Brahmāṇḍa and Bhāgavata Purāṇas preserve the most systematic record of Indian historical tradition. History of old dynasties of kings was one of the five principal topics discussed in the Purāṇas, the other four being primary creation (*sarga*), secondary creation (*pratisarga*), genealogies of gods and patriarchs (*vaṁśa*) and reigns of various Manus (*manvantaras*). In spite of the tendency to disparage the authority of the Purāṇic lists, much genuine and valuable historical tradition upto the period of Āndhrabhṛtya dynasty is available from a closer study of some of the oldest Purāṇas. Several important historical Kāvyas in Sanskrit and Prākrit prose and poetry were composed after the reign of the Āndhras. Of some of the extant works of this nature Bāṇabhaṭṭa's *Harṣacharita*, Vākpatirāja's *Gauḍavaho*, Padmagupta's *Navasāhasāṅkacharita*, Bilhaṇa's *Vikramāṅkadevacharita*, Kalhaṇa and Jonarāja's *Rājataraṅgiṇī*, Sandhyākaranandī's *Rāmacharita*, Jayānaka's *Pṛthvīrāja-vijaya*, Someśvara's *Kīrtikaumudī*, Arisiṁha's *Sukṛtasaṅkīr-tana*, Jayasiṁhasūri's *Hammīramadamardana*, Merutuṅga's *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, Rājaśekhara's *Chaturviṁśatipra-bandha*, Chandraprabhasūri's *Prabhāvakacharita*, Gaṅgādevī's *Kamparāyacharita* (*Madhurāvijaya*), *Kumārapālacharita* of Jaya-siṁhasūri, Chāritrasundaragaṇi and Jinamaṇḍanopādhyāya, Hemachandra's *Dvyāśrayamahākāvya* (Sanskrit and Prākrit), Nayachandrasūri's *Hammīramahākāvya*, Ānandabhaṭṭa's *Ballālacharita*, Gaṅgādhara Paṇḍita's *Maṇḍalīka–mahākāvya* and Rājanātha's *Achyutarāyābhyudaya* deserve special mention. Hindi, Marāṭhi, Gujarātī, Kanarese and Tamil historical works describing dynasties ruling in particular parts of the country have also played no less an important part in this direction. As regards the Kāvya literature referred to above it is worthy of note that it does not contain pure history, but historical

information as furnished to us along with the general characteristics of the kāvyas, viz. description, concise or detailed, of the rise of the sun and the moon, night, morning, noon, evening, darkness, hunting, mountains, seasons, forest-scenes, separation and union of lovers, sages, heaven, cities, sacrifices, battles, invasions, marriage ceremonies, etc. I may add that the text of Mañjuśrī-mūlakalpa, made available by the Government of Travancore, is a very noteworthy addition to our ancient historical literature.

After the establishment of the Muslim rule in India, numerous historical works were written in Persian by the court-historians of the Sultāns and Pādshāhs. An adequate idea of the enormous historical literature composed by Persian historians during the centuries of Muslim rule in this country may be formed by the eight volumes of Elliot's *History of India as told by its own historians.* During the Mughal regime bardic chronicles were composed in large numbers in the States of Rajputana. But those works lack in authenticity so far as the history of ancient and mediæval India is concerned, because the bards were mere panegyrists and never lagged behind in eulogising the deeds of their masters.

At the time of the establishment of the British rule in India, the Indian savants possessed very little knowledge of the history of the various parts of the country, as people generally relied upon tradition or information furnished by the bards. For want of facilities of travel, easy communication and printing in the country, the early history of India was practically a sealed book to the world. Little material for a true history of the country was available even to scholars who could understand and appreciate the different stages through which the people of this great and ancient country had passed during the last three or four thousand years. The political changes and social disintegration, which marked the eight or ten centuries preceding the arrival of the British in India, left little opportunity or inclination in people to study the history or the literature of their country. With the advent of the English and the gradual opening up of the different parts of the country, an interest in its history and literature

was awakened, and scholars took to a study of Sanskrit literature and philosophy. This gave rise to a study of Indian archæology, which has, since the beginning of the last century, brought to light much important material for a proper and systematic reconstruction of the history of India. A knowledge of Indian palæography is indispensable for a study of Indian archæology. Ignorance of ancient Indian scripts and the consequent inability on the part of the Pandits to read inscriptions on stone, copper-plates and coins contributed not a little to confused and incorrect ideas on Indian history, which prevailed in the country for a long time. Whatever light modern researches have cast on the dark pages of the early history of India is due, to a large extent, to the labours of the pioneers among European and Indian scholars who succeeded in tracing out the various forms through which the Indian alphabets have passed. The complete reading of Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī scripts by Prinsep and others marks the beginning of much valuable work done by European and Indian savants, without which our present knowledge of the early history of India would have been impossible. The foundation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Sir William Jones in 1784 A. D. and the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland in 1823 and other similar Oriental research societies in India and Europe heralded the dawn of a new era in the historical and epigraphical research in India.

Importance of the aid of epigraphy in historical researches need not be emphasised here. During the last hundred years, since the commencement of the publication of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1832, innumerable inscriptions on stone and metal have been brought to light through the indefatigable efforts of Indian and European Orientalists. Pages of Cunningham and Marshall's reports of the Archæological Survey of India, Progress Reports of the various Archæological Circles, volumes of the *South Indian Inscriptions*, the *Indian Antiquary*, the *Epigraphia Indica*, the *Epigraphia Indo-Moslemica*, the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, the *Epigraphia Burmanica*, the *Epigraphia Zylonica*, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Journal of the Bombay Branch of

the Royal Asiatic Society, Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Journal of the American Oriental Society, the Indian Historical Quarterly, Journal of Indian History, the Nāgarī Prachāriṇī Patrikā and dozens of other research journals of learned Societies in India and the West are mines of valuable historical information furnished by thousands of stone and metal records discovered and critically edited year after year by enthusiastic epigraphists in India and abroad. As a result of the discovery of these epigraphs containing information on various matters, it has been possible to know and reconstruct, to some extent, the history of several dynasties, of which I may mention a few, viz the Nanda, Maurya, Greeks, Andhra, Śaka, Pārthian, Kushān, Kshatrapa, Ābhīra, Gupta, Hūṇa, Yaudheya, Bais, Lichchhavi, Parivrājaka, Rājarshitulya, Vākāṭaka, Maukharī, Maitraka, Guhila, Chāpotkaṭa, (Chāvaḍā), Chaulukya, Pratihāra. Paramāra, Chāhamāna (Chauhāna). Rashṭrakūṭa, Kachhavāhā, Tomara, Kalachuri, Traikūṭaka, Chāndela, Yādava, Gurjara, Mihira, Pāla, Sena, Pallava, Chola, Kadamba Silāra, Sendraka, Kākatīya, Nāga, Nikumbha, Bāṇa, Matsya, Sālankāyana, Saila, Mūshaka, Reddi, etc.

Although some of the old Sanskrit inscriptions, known as Praśastis, contain eulogistic descriptions of the ruling kings, one has to acknowledge their value as sources of contemporary evidence in fixing the dates of reigning kings and the extent of their kingdoms. Numismatic evidence is also very helpful to a critical historian. The names of most of the Greek rulers of Northern India have been made known to us only from their coins. The coins of western Kshatrapas contain the names of the reigning kings and their fathers with titles and dates. They have been very helpful in preparing the genealogy and the date of Kshatrapa kings. The name of Bappā Rāval of Mewār has long been famous in India in myth and legend, but the find of a single gold coin of this ruler by me has confirmed beyond doubt the identity of Bappā. Only last week I was informed by Dr. A. S. Altekar of the Benares Hindu University that he had discovered a new coin of Bappā and written a paper on it in this conference.

A word about handling the Persian sources of mediæval Indian history will not be out of place. Divested of the hyperbole indulged in by the authors, the historical truth contained in their writings should be noted. The value of the statements contained in Persian histories, surcharged as they are with religious bias, should be ascertained with sufficient caution by the historian of to-day. It would be in the best interest of the present-day scholar, if he aspires to the distinction of an impartial historian, not to base his statements upon Persian sources alone, but to make it a point also to explore and study all Hindu sources, bardic, inscriptional, numismatic and others; otherwise his works will merely embody the result of a one-sided view.

Before closing, I take the liberty briefly to review the work done in Indian history. As stated before, keen interest in India's past was awakened after the advent of the English in this country. In earlier writings their authors had to rely on hearsay and bardic information in the absence of ample material discovered later through the progress of archæological work. Colonel James Tod, the father of the Rajput history, has done pioneer work in connection with Rajputana and the results of his labourd have been embodie in his *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan* and *Travels in Western India*. Alexander Forbes did the same for Gujarāt in his *Rāsamālā*. Students of history owe a deep debt of gratitude to Pandit Bhagawanlal Indraji, Sir Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar and Dr. J. F. Fleet for their monumental work in connection with the early history of Gujarāt, the Deccan and Kanarese districts respectively. In the domain of ancient Indian history and chronology Mr. Vincent Smith's *Early History of India* and Miss Duff's *Chronology of India* stand as pioneer works. Captain J. C. Grant Duff is memorable in the field of Marāṭhā history, although much useful and critical work has been done in recent years by Mr. G. S. Sardesai and enthusiastic researchers. Vast material relating to the Marāṭhā period of Indian history has been brought to light by the Itihāsa-Saṁśodhaka-Maṇḍala, Poona, Siva-charitra-Kāryālaya and other institutes. But, it goes without saying

that research in Marāṭhī history requires a very careful sifting of the raw material. To give only one instance, even the exact date of Śivājī's birth was not settled until a few years back. Conflicting dates are found in different Marāṭhi Bakhars and the final settlement has been possible only recently after I found Śivājī's *Janmakuṇḍalī* in an old manuscript which contains about 500 *Janmakuṇḍalīs* of eminent persons of the past and is dated about 300 years back.

It is very gratifying to note that growing interest in Indian history has been awakened in recent years in Indian Universities. The Calcutta University has in the last few years produced a number of enthusiastic workers in the field of ancient Indian history and culture, and several interesting publications have come out year after year. South Indian scholars have been evincing unstinted enthusiasm for researches in South Indian History and Epigraphy. As pioneer works Sewell's the *Forgotten Empire* and Jouveau Dubreuil's *History of the Deccan* cannot be omitted. The Archæological departments of the Hyderabad and Mysore States also deserve mention in this connection. In the Allahabad and Aligarh Universities we find efforts made at specialisation of the study of the history of Muslim India. Independent labours of certain scholars have also yielded praiseworthy fruit. The late Rakhaldas Banerji's *History of Orissa* in two sumptuous volumes is a monumental work embodying the result of stupendous labour and life-long study of the subject. It is a sad irony of fate that the celebrated author could not see in print the fruit of his labour in his life-time. Rev. Heras' *Aravidu dynasty of Vijayanagara*, Moraes' *Kadamba-Kula*, Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's *Beginnings of South Indian History* and Jayachandra Vidyālaṅkāra's *Bhāratīya Itihāsa Kī Rūpa-rekhā* are also noteworthy publications. Mr. K. P. Jayaswal's *History of India* is also a very important contribution to the study of the period 150–350 A. D.

In this age of advancement of learning it is but proper to take active steps to give stimulus to historical studies in the various parts of the country. Rulers of Indian States could give invaluable help in furthering the cause of historical

studies by establishing historical and archæological dep
ments in their States. Interest in local history may
stimulated by founding historical societies in all promi
cities, where discussions and dissertations on topics of l
history may be conducted from time to time and trips
historical sites may be arranged.

I would like to conclude with a piece of advice to yo
enthusiasts in the field of Indian epigraphical and histo
research. Gradual reconstruction of the history of var
parts of India is possible only by bringing toge
innumerable bits of information that lie scattered in m
scripts, stone inscriptions, copperplates, coins, etc. As it i
always possible to come across this raw material for
history of our land in towns and places connected by rail
lines and metalled roads, one must go into the interi
the country for it. There are numerous monuments and
of historical importance in Rajputana, Central India and o
provinces away from the railway lines or metalled r
and situated in jungles and haunts of wild beasts. Cra
your indulgence for personal reference I may say that I
for this purpose travelled hundreds of miles in the int
of Rajputana in bullock carts, on foot and camelback etc;
memories of my bitter expriences are still fresh in my m
In order to quench the thirst for knowledge in this direc
a young enthusiast should take delight in travelling by bul
carts, on camels, ponies and even on foot to reach
destination. I know of several places in the interio
Rajputana which have not been visited uptil now by
archæologist on account of their situation, as a visit to t
involves great discomfort and trouble. And a regular arc
logical survey of a province is not possible without pene
ing into the interior. A researcher's work is, in fact, not
the work of an armchair politician. Gentlemen, in the pu
of knowledge we must never forget the words of the celebr
poet Kālidāsa:—

क्लेशः फलेन हि पुनर्नवतां विधत्ते.

THE INITIAL YEAR OF THE LITTLE KNOWN EASTERN GAṄGA ERA.

By R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T., F.A.U.

(*Rajamundry.*)

A paper on *Gaṅga Era* was presented by me to the Sixth All-India Oriental Conference held at Patna in December 1930, wherein I pointed out that several attempts were made by several scholars to fix the initial year of the Gaṅga Era and such years as they fixed ranged between A. D. 349 and 720. In my paper, I adduced new evidences based on copper-plate inscriptions and fixed the initial year of the Era in 493 A. D. I expressed the same view first in my Telugu work Kaliṅgadeśa Charitra published in 1930.

Since that attempt was made, two new Eastern Gaṅga plates of Anantavarma and Anantavarmadeva's son, Madhukāmārṇavadeva, dated Śaka year 913 and Gaṅga Era 526 respectively were published in 1931 and 1932 in J. B. O. R. S. Vols. XVII and XVIII. After studying the same along with the plates of the Eastern Kadamba king Dharmakheḍi of 520 Gaṅga-Kadamba Era published in J. A. H. R. S. Volume III, I stated in J. A. H. R. S. Volume V, page 274 (1931) that the initial year of the Gaṅga Era falls in 494 A. D. for the following reasons:—

(1) The discovery of the Jirjingi grant of Indravarma of 39 G. E. has thrown new light (J. A. H. R. S., Vol III, pp. 49–53). On palæographical grounds, it is the most important in fixing the Gaṅga chronology. Its characters are box-headed and belong to the beginning of the 6th century A. D. Since the grant is dated in 39th G. E, and since its characters obviously belong to the first quarter of the 6th century A. D. we get the beginning of the Gaṅga Era in or about 490 or 495 A. D.

(2) The discovery of Madhukāmārṇava's plates (C. P. No. 5 in A. R. on S. I. E. for 1918-19, J. B. O. R. S. Vol. XVIII, 1932) belonging to the year 526 of Gaṅga Era is still more important. His successor was Vajrahasta III. According to the genealogy and chronology contained in all his plates, Madhukāmārṇava ruled from A. D. 1019 to 1037. If he be supposed to have issued the grant dated 526 G. E. in the first year of his rule only, then the initial year of the Gaṅga Era falls in A. D. 493-94.

(3) The publication of the Siṁhapura plates (J.A.H.R.S. Vol. III, pp. 171-80) of the Kadamba king Dharmakheḍi, dated Gaṅga-Kadamba year 520, has led to the solution of this difficult problem. The Gaṅga and the Gaṅga-Kadamba eras are both one and the same as the Eastern Kadambas were the feudatories of the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga.

(4) The publication of the Mandasa plates of Anantavarma (J. B. O. R. S. Vol. XVII) of Śaka year 913 has further helped the solution of this problem.

From these newly published copper-plates of the Eastern Gaṅga and Kadamba kings, I was able to construct the following Gaṅga-Kadamba genealogy and chronology from which we get the initial year of the era in A. D. 494-95 (J.A.H.R.S. Vol. V (1931), p. 274).

From the above table, it is clear that 520 G. K. year or G. year corresponds to Śaka year 936-37 or the initial year falls in Ś. 416-17 or A. D. 494-95. But since Guṇḍama came to the throne in Ś. 938 and since his predecessor ruled only for half year, his date must be taken as S'. 937-938 or A. D. 495-496. It is by oversight that I mentioned in my article Ś. 936-937 for Ś. 937-938 and thus gave room to Mr. J. C. Ghosh to correct me (J. A. Vol. LXI, 1932 Dec). But I am glad that, by astronomical calculations worked out by him, he confirmed my theory which is further supported by Mr. D. C. Sarkar, M. A. (J. A. H. R. S. Vol 7, pp. 229-30). I trust the scholars, assembled in the Seventh All-India Oriental Conference, will discuss the subject still further with me and settle the initial year of the era so that Gaṅga history and chronology might be free from doubts.

Two recently published works, viz. *History of Orissa.* Vol. I (*1930*) by R. D. Banerji and the *Historical Inscriptions of Southern India* (*1932*) by Robert Sewell and Dr. S. K. Iyengar, still assume that the Gaṅga Era might have begun in A. D. 778 or 741 and A. D. 877-78 respectively. The author of the former work, while criticising the views of Mr. G. Ramadas regarding Gaṅga Era and while stating that the initial year cannot lie in A. D. 349-50 as stated by him, held that "the problem of the history and chronology of the Early Gaṅgas of Kaliṅga and the era used by them is still far from being solved." It is a pity he has not lived to see his desire fulfilled. His own assumption[1] that the initial year might have been A. D. 778 or A. D. 741 is wrong and baseless. Similarly Robert Sewell and Dr. S. K. Iyengar in their work noted already assumed that the epoch was the year of Kāmārṇava III's accession, viz. 877-78.[2] Similarly, Mr. G. Ramadas stated[3] several times that the initial year falls in A. D. 349-50 depending upon astronomical calculations and palæographical evidences. While the latter were demolished by the late R. D. Banerji, the former were made

1. *Vide* pages 150, 153, 181, 226 and 239 of his *History of Orissa Vol. I.*
2. *Vide* pages 44, 50, 58 and 357 of their work.
3. J. B. O. R. S. vide his article on 'Gaṅga Era'.

applicable to the year 495-496 also by Mr. J. C. Ghosh. Under these circumstances, his theory cannot stand. The Imperial Guptas who conquered the East Coast upto Kāñchī would not have allowed the Gaṅgas to found an era of their own so early as 349-50. It was therefore after their fall in A. D. 495 that the Gaṅgas founded their era. The Maukharis of Magadha also did the same in exactly the same year. Hence, it must be clear that the Eastern Gaṅgas started an era of their own after the fall of the Guptas in A D. 495-496.[1]

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1. Scholars who wish to go through a more detailed discussion of the subject can refer to my work *History of Kaliṅga.*

HE ADMINISTRATIVE HISTORY OF THE REIGN ANANTAVARMACHÔḌAGAṄGA (A. D. 1076-1147).

By R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T., F.A.U.

(Rajamundry.)

Original sources.

(1) The stone inscriptions found in the Nārāyaṇapuram Temple, (Visag Dt.) noticed in A. R. on S. I. Epigraphy for 1926-27, pp. 19-22.

(2) The stone inscriptions found in the Drakshārāma Temple (E. Godavari Dt.) published in Telugu in S. I. Inscrr. Vol. IV.

(3) The stone inscriptions found in the Temples of Srikūrmam, Mukhaliṅgam, Mahendragiri, Arasavelli and other places in Ganjam Dt. published in Telugu in S. I. Inscrr. Vol. V.

(4) Copper-plate inscriptions of the king.

(5) Gold coins of the period.

(6) Mādalā Pāñjī and Kaliṅgattuparaṇi.

Importance of the subject.

For the first time, a correct and fuller history of the tern Gaṅgas, based upon original sources which are tly in Telugu script and language is being published by author of this paper. The greatest king of the Eastern ga Dynasty, who enjoyed the longest and the most perous period of reign from A. D. 1076 to A. D. 1147 who spread his Empire from the Ganges in the north to Godāvarī in the south, known as Anantavarmachôḍagaṅga- perfected an administrative machinery which can be

From the Nārāyaṇapuram temple inscriptions[1] we learn about the official designations of several Eastern Gaṅga subordinates. For example, No. 648 refers to a *Senāpati* (Commander) and *Mahāsāndhivigrahi* (Secretary-in-chief for peace and war) of the emperor. No. 654 refers to a certain *S'rīkaraṇa* (Accountant). Nos. 655 and 656 refer to an officer of the king who had the title of *S'rībhujadaṇḍanāyaka* (the illustrious Magistrate). Nos. 659 and 660 refer to a certain Sarvadeva, a *Senāpati* of the king. No. 662 refers to a certain Gundayya who was the *S'rīkaraṇa* and *Rāchapuravāri* (Royal Headman of the town). Nos. 664 and 676 refer to a certain Sūraparāju who gave 35 cows for a perpetual lamp to be burnt in the temple. It is believed that the burning of lamps in Śaivite temples would increase the merit of the donors.

Similarly, the Drakshārāma temple inscriptions[2] also throw much useful light. No. 1,363, dated Śaka year 1030, refers to the gift of a certain Rechana who was the *Sāndhi-vigrahi* (Minister for peace and war) of the Lord of Tri-Kaliṅga, i.e. Anantavarma. No. 1,006 dated S'. 1003 refers to the gift of a lamp by Vanapati or Banapaṭi, the Brahmin Minister and Commander of Chōḍagaṅga as well as his father Rāja-Rāja I. He made extensive conquests and spread Gaṅga power over Veṅgi in the south and Utkala in the north. Nos. 1015 and 1016 state that the emperor endowed a choultry named after himself and instituted in Drakshārāma with rich gifts.

Similarly, the Śrī Kūrmam and Mukhaliṅgam temple inscriptions[3] of this king are the most important because they throw fullest light on the subject. Most of the grants were made by the *Nāyakas* (Leaders or Captains) and *Puravāris* of Nagara puvāḍa (Kaliṅganagaram). The different officers and their designations as well as the several divisions of the empire are all mentioned in these inscriptions. For instance, No. 1011 refers to a *Dakṣiṇadaṇḍa* (officer in charge of

1. A. R. on S. I. Ep. for 1926-27, pp. 19-22.
2. S. I. Inscr. Vol. IV.
3. S. I. Inscr. Vol. V Nos. 1005-1148 and 1150-1342.

southern region). No. 1013 refers to a *Sāhiṇi* (Cavalry Head), No. 1016 to *Daṇḍa-Nāyaka* (Magistrate), No. 1025 to *Guḍisāni* (Temple-maid), No. 1031 to *Puravāri* (Town-Head), No. 1034 to *Karaṇa* (Accountant), No. 1035 to *Lavaṇakarādhikāri* (Salt-tax officer), No. 1036 to *Pradhāni* (Minister), No. 1037 to *Nāyakas*, No. 1041 to *Mūlabhāṇḍāramuna mudrāhasta* (officer controlling the Seal of Reserve Treasury), No. 1046 to *Māṇḍalika* (Governor), No. 1052 to *Rāchapaḍihasta* (officer in charge of Royal Measures), No. 1055 to *Brahmama Rāyaṇḍu* (Royal officer called Brahmama), No. 1060 to *Senāni* (Commander), No. 1061 to *S'āsanaka* (Inscriber of royal orders), No. 1073 to *Mahāmāṇḍalika* (Governor-in-chief of a Province), No. 1083 to *Raṭṭaḍi* (*Reḍḍi* or village headman), No. 1101 to *Mantrī* (Counsellor), No. 1106 to *Senādhipāgresāni* (Commander-in-chief) and *Srīmat Sāhaṇa Nāyaka* (the illustrious leader of military forces), No. 1107 to *Gajasāhaṇi* (Leader of elephant forces), No. 1118 to *Pūjāri* (Votary of God.) and No. 1281 to *Mahādaṇḍavāsi* (Inspector General of Police).

From the foregoing account, it can be learnt that the Kaliṅga Empire had a highly organised administrative machinery. The Emperor was called *Mahārājādhirāja* (The Lord Paramount of Mahārājas) and he enjoyed absolute powers but exercised them with the advice of his ministers, commanders, local chiefs and village heads. There was a regular hierarchy of officials ruling over the several subdivisions into which the great Kaliṅga Empire was divided. The highest division is known as *Mahāmaṇḍala* or Great Province which was ruled over by *Mahārāṇakas* or *Mahāmāṇḍalikas* or Governors-General. It was divided into a number of *Maṇḍalas* or provinces over which a *Rāṇaka* or *Māṇḍalika* or Governor ruled. A *Maṇḍala* was divided into a number of *Nāḍus* or *viṣayas* or *Bhogas* or Districts and each was in charge of a *viṣayapati* or Lord of the District. Each *Nāḍu* consisted of several hundreds of *Grāmas* or villages and a *Grāma* was under a *Grāmika* or village-head. Each village had a number of *Pallis* or *Valasas* or hamlets attached to it and subject to its control. There were also *Nagaras* as for instance Kaliṅganagara and these

cities were very few. There were many *Puras* or towns like Dautapura, Siripura, Piṣṭapura and Siṁhapura. There were a few *Paṭṭaṇas* or sea-port towns like Kaliṅgapaṭṭaṇa, Viśākha-paṭṭaṇa and Bhimilipaṭṭaṇa which grew into importance on account of the extensive foreign commerce. From the inscriptions, we learn the names of thirty or more different *Nāḍus* or Districts such as Chôḍavalanāḍu, Gaddavādināḍu, Jautaru-nāḍu, Saruda Prola, Nunga, Pottapi, Paka, Dimili, Yaradi, Paratalagam, Chikati, Kroshtuka Varāhavartanı, Koluvartani, Vīrakottam Bobbili, Jalamvūru, Rūpavartani, Potnūr Prakki and others. These were under the rule of Viṣayādhipatis or District officers.

The hamlets or villages or lands or cash were mostly granted to temples or learned scholars or faithful ministers and commanders. It is significant that the king while making gifts of land, always assembled all the ministers, chiefs of villages and *janapadas* and informed them of the nature of his grants and instructed them to observe the continuance of the same without any obstacles. He usually appointed executors or *ājñaptis* to see to the proper working of the royal endowments. He exempted such gifts from taxes or other dues and also from the entry of royal servants and also obstacles. Full water rights were granted also to such grants. It would appear that the village was collectively responsible for the payment of royal dues and for the observing of king's peace. So long as these two duties were faithfully discharged, the villages which were the lowest units of administration were left as self-governing autonomous little republics. Each village had a number of village officials like Grāmika, Karaṇa, Purohita, Upādhyāya, Bhaṭa, Daṇḍapasi, Ūrikāvali, etc. In the royal capital of Kaliṅganagara, there were several important officials of varying grades and types mentioned already showing how the administrative machinery was highly organised providing for the minutest details. The designations of some of them are significant. Thus, *Kaliṅga-nagarādhyakṣa* (President of the Capital City of Kaliṅga); *Kaliṅganagarākṣapālaka* (Prefect of the City) *Kaliṅga-nagarapālaka* (Chairman of the City), *Rājaguru* (Royal Priest),

Mahāpradhāni (Prime-minister), *Mahāsāndhivigrahi* (Secretary General for Peace and War), *Mahāsenāpati* (Commander-in-chief), *Mahābhāṇḍāramuna Mudrāhasta* (Chancellor of the Privy Purse), *Mahādaṇḍavāsi* (Inspector- General of Police), *Mahāmāṇḍalika* (Governor-General), and *Mahāpātra* (Military officer), represent some of the supreme heads of departments of governmental machinery.

The inscriptions show that the emperor often toured through the empire with his chief officers for administrative purposes and also paid great attention for spreading Vedic learning and civilisation in the land. He was served by a hierarchy of military and civil *feudatory* officers called *Mahārājas, Mahāsāmantas, Yuvarājas, Mahāpradhānis, Mahārāṇakas Mahāmāṇḍalikas, Mahattaras, Mahāsenāpatis* and *Mahāpātras*. These were all Imperial officers who got their orders direct from the emperor and superintended the work of the provincial officers. For instance, we learn of *Kaliṅga Parīkṣakas* or Inspectors of administration. The provincial officers in their turn supervised the work of the local officers and these exercised control over village officials. Thus, it is clear that there were minute administrative divisions under proper authorities showing that the Gaṅga Empire in the 11th and 12th centuries reached a state of perfect organisation. That there was a Department of records is proved by the presence of such officers like Notary-in-chief, keeper of Privy Seal and officer in charge of royal edicts and grants. From the inscriptions, it is also clear that the land was carefully surveyed and measured and classified into various kinds of soils. The Copper-plates show that the boundaries of the villages or lands granted to temples or scholars or officials are noted with great detail while the measures of lands are named differently as *Murakas, Nivartanas, Guṇṭas, Puṭṭis* and *Halas*. The King's revenue was obtained chiefly from the crown lands, court fees and fines, customs dues and tolls, taxes on mines and forests, gifts and presents, tributes from feudatories and monopolies of salt, betel, abkāri and other products.

The King's expenditure was of four kinds viz, what was spent on administration (army, navy, police, etc.), what was

spent on religion and learning (donations to temples and scholars), what was spent on Public works specially in royal capital (choultries, palaces, roads, tanks and irrigation works) and lastly, what was spent on Royal household.

That there was a system of coinage of varied type is proved by the mention of the following names of coins:–Māḍas, Gaṇḍa māḍas or Niṣkas, Malla māḍas, Matsya māḍas, Gaṅga māḍas, Kullottuṅga māḍas, Chinnams, Phanams, Taṅkas of gold and silver, Gadyas and Vaṅga parakas.

To sum up, we learn from the inscriptions and literary sources that the Kaliṅga Empire enjoyed the best type of organised rule during the time of Anantavarma Chôḍagaṅga (A. D. 1076—1147). He was served by the best Ministers and Commanders of the times who systematically extended the boundaries of the Empire till they touched the Godāvarī and the Vaitaranī in the south and north respectively and the Bay of Bengal and the eastern Ghats in the east and west respectively. His sphere of influence even exceeded these limits and flowed into Veṅgī between the Godāvarī and the Kṛiṣṇā rivers as when he protected Vijayāditya VII, the Eastern Chālukya King, from being drowned in the Ocean of Chola conquest. It also spread into Oḍra or Utkaladêśa in the north as when in A. D. 1132, he conquered that country and removed his capital to Cuttack. This was due to the Cholas invading Utkala as stated in *Kaliṅgattuparaṇi* and destroying the power of the ruling family there. The *Mādalā Pāñjī* account of his rule over Cuttack is supported by his inscriptions.

The times favoured such extension of power because the Chālukya–Chola power declined in Veṅgī in the south and Keśarī power declined in Utkala. The long rule of the king for over 70 years, his efficient machinery which was at once organised and benevolent, and his choice of good ministers and commanders all these helped to establish the Gaṅga power and rule firmly in Kaliṅgadeśa. Really, he laid such firm foundations by his wise rule that his descendants were able to enjoy it for 300 years after his death without

any difficulty. The Eastern Gaṅga Dynasty ruled for 900 years over the whole of Eastern Dekkan, a unique feature not met with elsewhere and it reached its zenith in the time of Anantavarmachôḍagaṅga. His permanent contributions are (1) spread of peace and prosperity in the land, (2) spread of Brahmanic culture and civilisation in the land, (3) building of important Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite temples which still stand, (4) development of the country's resources.

EARLY HISTORY OF KAUŚAMBĪ.

By N. N. Ghosh, M. A., L. T.

(*Allahabad*).

I.

Kauśāmbi (Kosāmbī of the Buddhist literature) was an important scene of the Buddhist activity and a centre of the Buddhist religion for over a thousand years. It was the capital of the kings who ruled the territory of Kauśāmbī known to us from tradition and history. As such the ruins of Kauśāmbī offer an interesting field for archæological investigation. The ancient city of Kauśāmbī has been identified with the village of Kosam, 36 miles from Allahabad. General Cunningham first identified the city with the ruins existing at Kosam, in the seventies of the last century. Doubts as to his identification have since been expressed by Vincent Smith and Watters (Vide V. Smith's article in J. R. H. S. for 1898 and Watter's remarks on Yuan Chwang Vol. 1. pp. 366–67). But these doubts are no longer tenable in view of the numismatic and archæological evidences which are now available to us. A fuller examination of these evidences which definitely prove its identification forms a separate chapter of my forthcoming monograph on Kauśāmbī and is beyond the scope of this paper in which I shall confine myself strictly to the subject provided in the heading.

II.

The existence of the city of Kauśāmbī may be traced to hoary antiquity, long anterior to the time of the Buddha who is supposed to have flourished in the sixth century B. C. Kauśāmbī was founded by Nimichakra, sixth in descent from Parīkṣit after the great flood of the Jumna which had submerged Hastināpura (Bhāgavata Purāṇa, 9th part, 22nd

chapter, page 781). Kauśāmbī was one of the great sixteen Janapadas in the time of the Buddha. (Aṅguttara Nikāya, IV. 252,256,260). The people which ruled the kingdom were the Vatsas or the Vansas (Ibid.) The origin of the Vatsa kings is traced by Dr. Roy Chaudhuri to a king Kāśī on traditional evidences (Political History of Ancient India, p. 83; HV. 29,73. MBH. xii, 49, 80). This is a doubtful account.

The King of Kauśāmbī in the time of the Buddha was Udayana (Saṁyutta and Majjhima Nikāyas). According to the Tibetan literature Udayana's father was S'atānika who was born the same day as the Buddha (Tibetan Dulva xi, f. 99). According to Pāli literature his father's name was Parantapa and he was born at the Himavanta forest where his mother had been carried away by a monster bird *Hāthiliṅga* (Buddhaghoṣa's Parables). He had three queens–Vasuladattā, Samvatī and Magandiyā. All three were married under romantic circumstances (Ibid). His mother was a Vaidehī princess (Carmichael Lectures, 1918). Udayana had political rivalry with the neighbouring states, Avantī in the west and Magadha in the east with both of which he entered into matrimonial alliances (Commentary of the verses 21–23 of Dharmapada; Geography of Early Buddhism by B. C. Law). Udayana as king of Kauśāmbī is also mentioned in Latitavistara (100 A. D.), in Meghadūta (500 A. D.), in Ratnāvalī (700 A. D.), and in Bṛhatkathā (C. 800 A. D). During his time Kauśāmbī was an important entrepot of goods and passengers coming to Kauśāmbī and Magadha from the south and west (Sutta Nipāta 1011–13), and an important junction of both river and land routes (Vinaya texts). Udayana's son was Bodhi Rājakumāra (Ibid). Bodhi became an ardent follower of Buddha who converted him into the new faith (M. ii. 91–97). He was the Viceroy of the Bhagga country with its capital at Sum Sumāra Gira (Ibid 91).

III.

Who the third king of Kauśāmbī from Udayana was is not known, but the fourth king was Kṣemaka (Pargiter–Kali Age). After his time the political history of Kauśāmbī is a complete blank until the second century B. C. when we find

Bahasatimitra reigning in Kauśāmbī (Bahasatimitra's coin and Pabhosa Cave Inscription). On the strength of Mr. Jayaswal's reading of the Cave Inscription—"This cave was excavated in the tenth year of the reign of Oḍraka the fifth Śuṅga King, and that the donor was Āṣāḍha Sena, maternal uncle of Bahasatimitra". Prof. Rapson concluded that Bahasatimitra was a feudatory king under Oḍraka. This conclusion is doubtful. Because: (1) according to the Purāṇa, Oḍraka reigned only for 2 or 7 years; (Pargiter-Kali Age); (2) the Śuṅga Empire had broken up long before Oḍraka ascended the throne and was reduced to Magadha and the home provinces by the time Oḍraka became king (V. Smith and Rapson), and therefore he could not possibly rule over such a distant province as Kauśāmbī; (3) the Bahasatimitra's coin does not contain the name of his lord; (4) the words " In the tenth year of Oḍraka's reign (and not *sovereignty* as is found in the Bharhut Gate Inscription) do not prove sovereignty here but merely suggest it, and this suggestion becomes of doubtful value in the light of ample independent evidence.

IV.

There was Vākāṭaka supremacy in Kauśāmbī in the third and the beginning of the fourth century A. D. Samudragupta established his supremacy over Kauśāmbī by his decisive victory at the battle of Kauśāmbī in 344 or 345 A. D. (K. P. Jayaswal–History of India from 150 A. D. to 350 A. D.)

EARLY HISTORY OF THE GAHAḌAVALA DYNASTY.

By Prof. Dhirendra Chandra Ganguly, M.A , Ph.D. (Lond.)
(*Benares*)

Kanauj played an important part in the history of ancient India. About half a century after the death of Harṣavardhana, Yaśovarman occupied his throne. The Pratihāras ruled there from the early years of the 9th century A. D. till the first quarter of the 11th century. After the fall of the Pratihāras, a Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty under its king Candra established there its suzerainty.[1] Candra was followed by Vigrahapāla, Bhuvanapāla, Gopāla, and Madanapāla. The Set-Mahet inscription[2] of Madanapāla's reign is dated V. E. 1176-A. D. 1118. It describes Madanapāla's predecessor Gopāla as the ruler of Gādhipura i. e. Kanauj. Gopāla must have been ruling in Kanauj sometimes before 1090 A. D. In the latter part of the 11th century A. D. the Gāhaḍavālas are found to have established their sway over Kanauj. The earliest known inscription of this dynasty is dated 1090 A. D.[3] The Basahi plate,[4] dated 1104 A. D., states that "in the lineage named Gāhaḍavāla there was a victorious king, son of Mahīyala, named Candradeva, who when, on the death of king Bhoja and Karṇa, the world became troubled, came to the rescue and became king and established his capital at Kanauj." Karṇa, referred to, was evidently the Kalacuri Karṇa, king of Tripurī, who ruled from 1041 A. D. to 1072 A. D. Suggestion has been made that Bhoja, mentioned above, was the Pratihāra king of the same name.[5] But the Pratihāra Bhoja closed his reign before 892 A. D, after which his successors ruled in Kanauj for more than one hundred and twenty-five years.[6] Hence

1. JASB., Vol. XXI, 1925, p. 103.
2. IA., Vol XVII, p. 63.
3. EI., Vol. IX, p. 302.
4. IA., Vol. XIV, p. 103.
5. IHQ., Vol. V, pp. 89, 90.
6. J. Dep. Let., Vol. X, p. 55.

Bhoja of the Basahi plate whose death was responsible for the break-out of the anarchy in Northern India in the latter part of the 11th century, cannot be identical with the Pratihāra king of the same name. He appears to have been the Paramāra Bhoja, who closed his reign shortly before 1055 A. D.[1]

No scholar has hitherto made any attempt to determine the nature of the trouble, referred to by Basahi plate, that agitated the greater part of Northern India during this period. The most powerful among kings who flourished in the latter part of the 11th century A.D. were the Paramāra Lakṣmadeva, Kalacuri Yaśaḥkarṇa, Candella Kīrti-varman, Caulukya Karṇa, Pāla Rāmapāla, and the Cālukya Vikramāditya VI. Evidences are not available to prove that Northern India along with Kanauj fell a prey to disorder as the result of the plundering expedition launched by any of these kings. But if the contemporary records are carefully examined the cause of this catastrophe can be determined with tolerable certainty.

Ibrāhim, the son of Mas'ud, and the grandson of the great conqueror Māhmud, ascended the throne of Ghazni in 1059 A. D. and ruled his kingdom until 1099 A. D. In the year 1075 A. D. he appointed his son Māhmud governor of his Indian possession.[2] Māhmud, on behalf of his father, launched an expedition against Hindusthan. The great Persian poet Salman was a contemporary of both the Sultan Ibrāhim and his son Māhmud. He died in 520 A. H.-A. D. 1126. He gives a somewhat detailed description of the prince Māhmud's invasion of Hindusthan. He tells us that[3] the prince besieged the fort of Agra, and defeated there the Amir Jaipāl. The prince received loads of red gold, and files of male elephants from the kings of all quarters. In order to protect the elephants, he made a stable at Kanauj, and appointed Cānd Rāi to take charge of them. After that, in course of military expeditions he destroyed a thousand idol temples, and his elephants trampled over more than a hundred strongholds.

1. Author's History of the Paramāra Dynasty, p. 82 ff.
2. Cambridge History of India, Vol. III, p. 34.
3. Elliot's History of India, Vol. IV, p. 524.

He marched his army to Ujjain and the king of Malwa fled away for his life. Kālañjar next fell to his sword. The same authority tells us that, during this period, Kanauj was the capital of Hind, which, as it appears from the above report, fell to the sword of the Moslem.

Salman's statement makes it clear that the United Provinces, Malwa, and Bundelkhand and all other intermediate territories were greatly affected by the invasion of Māhmud. The date of this invasion can approximately be determined within the narrow limit of a few years. The Paramāra Lakṣmadeva, the son of Udayāditya, occupied the throne of Malwa between 1086 and 1094 A. D.[1] He is said to have repulsed an attack of the Turuṣkas.[2] It will be admitted on all hands that during the latter part of the 11th century A.D. Malwa was not invaded by any other Moslem army save one that was led by Māhmud as has been referred to above. Hence there can be little doubt that Māhmud's adversary in Malwa was Lakṣmadeva. Evidently then Māhmud's invasion against India took place between the years 1086 and 1094 A. D. the extreme limits of the reign-period of Lakṣmadeva. This is the period when the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Gopāla lost the throne of Kanauj, and the Gāhaḍavālas took possession of it. The earliest known date of Candradeva, the founder of the Gāhaḍavāla dynasty, is 1090 A.D.[3] Hence, he can almost with certainty be identified with Cānd Rāi, an officer of Māhmud, referred to by Salman. The Gāhaḍavāla Candradeva's predecessors were not royal personages. It appears that Candradeva accepted a service under Māhmud and helped him in his invasion against Hindusthan. When the power of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa Gopāla was completely shattered by the Moslems, Cānd Rāi was engaged by the Moslem general as his stable-keeper at Kanauj. Shortly afterwards when the Moslem army withdrew to the Punjab leaving Northern India into a state of chaos and disorder, Candradeva, as we are told, taking advantage of the trouble that perturbed the whole world i. e. Northern India, wielded the sovereignty of that imperial city.

1. Author's History of the Paramāra Dynasty, p. 142, 158.
2. EI., Vol. II. p. 188.
3. Ibid, Vol. IX, p. 302.

The Basahi plate inscription gives us to understand that the death of Bhoja and Karṇa resulted into anarchy in Northern India. If this troublous state of things is considered to have been created by the invasion of Māhmud, as has been suggested above, it will have to maintain that Bhoja and Karṇa were instrumentals in checking the onrush of the Moslems into the heart of India. Both Bhoja and Karṇa died in the third quarter of the 11th century. Their disappearance from the political arena emboldened the Moslems to launch once more plundering expedition against India. A short review of the Hindu-Moslem war in India during the middle of the 11th century will throw more light on the subject under review.

Firishta tells us that[1] "in 435 A.H.=1043 A.D. the Raja of Dehly, in conjunction with other Rajas, retook Hansy, Thanesar, and other dependencies from the governors to whom Modood had entrusted them. The Hindoos from thence marched towards the fort of Nagarkote, which they besieged for four months....The success of the Raja of Dehly gave such confidence to the Indian chiefs of the Punjab, and other places that though before this time, like foxes they durst hardly creep from their holes, for fear of the Mussulman arms, yet now they put on the aspect of lion, and openly set their masters at defiance."

The most notable among kings who were contemporaries of the Rājā of Delhi, mentioned above, were the Kalacuri Karṇa, the Paramāra Bhoja, Cālukya Someśvara, the Cāhamāna Anahilla, and the Caulukya Bhīma. The Udepur praśasti of Udayāditya states that[2] the Paramāra Bhoja defeated the Turuṣkas by means of his mercenaries. Malwa is not known to have been ever invaded by the Moslems during this period. Hence it seems likely that Bhoja sent his mercenaries somewhere outside his kingdom in order to fight with the Moslems. The Cālukya Someśvara, king of the Deccan, who ruled from 1042 to 1069 A. D., is said to have

1. Brigg's Firishta, Vol. I, p. 118.
2. EI., Vol. I, p. 235.

defeated the Turuṣkas.[1] He certainly waged aggressive war against the Moslems. Moslems never led any expedition to the south of the Narmada till the time of Alā-ud-dīn Khilji. The Sundha hill inscription tells us that[2] the Cāhamāna Anahilla who was a contemporary of both the Paramāra Bhoja and the Caulukya Bhīma, defeated the Turuṣkas. Now, it seems almost certain that the Rājās, referred to by Firishta, who helped the King of Delhi in his aggressive war against the Moslems were Someśvara, Bhoja, Anahilla, and others. Though the Kalacuri inscriptions do not tell us anything about Karṇa's conflict with the Moslems, it does not seem quite unlikely that he also sent his armies to the Punjab to help the cause of the Rājā of Delhi. Bhoja and Karṇa, as has been noticed above, were well known for their strong military force. The death of these two veteran leaders put the Moslems on their mettle, who then cast their greedy eyes on the rich plains of India. We have just seen how successfully they carried on their marauding excursions through the heart of this country. The force of the statement of the Basahi plate can only be maintained if the things are viewed in the above light.

A brief survey of the above discussion points out that in 1043 A.D. the Moslems suffered a terrible defeat at the hand of the Rājā of Delhi, Paramāra Bhoja, Kalacuri Karṇa, and other Hindu chiefs. So long as Bhoja and Karṇa were alive the Moslems did not dare raise their arms against India. Bhoja's death in about 1055 greatly weakened the strength of the Indians and the death of Karṇa in 1072 entirely broke down the barriers against the onrush of the Moslems. Sometimes between 1086 and 1094 A.D. the Moslems under their leader prince Māhmud launched an expedition against the Indian princes, and plundered Agra, Kanauj, Malwa, and Bundelkhand. Candradeva, a military adventurer, joined the Moslem in order to make his fortune. At the outset he accepted the service of the stable-keeper under Māhmud at Kanauj. But immediately after the departure of the Moslem army, he forcibly occupied the vacant throne of Kanauj, and made himself master of the country.

1. Ibid Vol. 68 n r

2. Ibid., Vol. IX, p. 72.

In almost all the Gāhaḍavāla records a kind of tax named *turuṣkadaṇḍa* is referred to as a source of revenue of the Gāhaḍavāla kings.[1] The word has been variously interpreted by the scholars. Dr. Smith thinks that[2] it was a tax imposed on the Indians to raise money to ward off the Muhammadans. Mr. C. V. Vaidya suggests that[3] it was a tribute paid to Ghazni by the rulers of Kanauj. According to Mr. Sten Konow[4] it was a tax on the Muhammadan settlers in the country about the Jumna. But many villages from which this particular tax was levied were far off from that river.[5] Besides that it is extremely doubtful whether the Hindus were aggressive enough to impose special taxes on the Moslems. There is a substantial agreement between the views of Dr. Smith and Mr. Vaidya. If their views prove to be true we will not be far from the truth if we assume that Candradeva got the sovereignty of Kanauj through the favour of Māhmud on his promise to pay an annual tribute to the Sultan of Ghazni. During the 12th century A. D. the Moslems made frequent incursions on the kingdom of the Gāhaḍavālas. They were launched obviously to force the successors of Candradeva to be regular in their payment of tribute to the Sultan.

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1. Cf. Chandrāvatī plate of Candradeva, dated 1090 A. D.; EI., Vol. IX, p. 302, and others.
2. EHI., p. 400 Fn.
3. MHI., Vol. III, p. 211.
4. EI, Vol. IX, p. 321.
5. Ibid., Vol. V, p. 115; Vol. IX, p. 303 etc

MAYŪRAŚARMAN, THE FOUNDER OF THE KADAMBA DYNASTY AND THE PALLAVAS OF KANCHI.

By Rev. H. Heras, S. J.

(Bombay.)

I. The Military vocation of Mayūraśarman.

The relations between these two dynasties commenced very early. Mayūraśarman, a Brahman youth, the founder of the Kadamba Kula, is said in the Talagunda inscription of Kākutsthavarman to have gone to Kāñchi to study Sanskrit literature. In this errand he was accompanied by his guru, Vīraśarman. After attaining some proficiency in his studies one day he had a heated quarrel with a Pallava horseman. Whether the latter was a member of the Pallava family or only a horseman of the Pallava army we do not know; the inscription calls him *Pallavāśvasaṁsthena.* In any case, the result of this quarrel seems not to have been favourable to him, for he realised that he, a Brahman, was weaker than a Kṣattriya. He was naturally enraged with fury against his opponent. Now this feeling, according to Hindu asceticism, cannot be conceived in a soul devoted to perfection. This made him exclaim: " Alas, that in this Kali-age, the Brahmans should be much feebler than the Kṣattriyas. For if for one, who has duly served his preceptor's family and earnestly studied his branch of the Véda, the perfection in holiness depends on a king, what can there be more painful than this ?"

The result of this reasoning was a practical one. He learnt military exercises and when he felt himself proficient in them "he unsheathed a flaming sword eager to conquer the earth." His subsequent military achievements were four:

1st. He defeated in battle the frontier guards of the Pallava Lords. For this enterprise he must have mustered

an army round him. Where these frontier guards were the the inscription does not say. They might have been either on the way to Śrīparvata where he established himself as the result of his victory, or in Śrīparvata itself.

2nd. He settled in the thick and inaccessible forest of Śrīparvata, as an independent chief. Śrīparvata is identified with the modern Śrīśailam in the Karnul District. Till now it is surrounded with very impenetrable forest.

3rd. He levied tribute from the kings situated in the neighbourhood by defeating them in battle. The most powerful among these kings was, according to the inscription, the great Bāṇa. This is the first time the Bāṇa king is mentioned in epigraphical records.[1] The result of all these defeats inflicted upon the neighbouring rulers was that the Pallavas themselves began to be afraid of the growing power of Mayūraśarman—" made the Pallava lords knit their brows," says the inscription. Accordingly the king of Kāñchī mustered a "powerful', army and marched against the Kadamba chieftain.

4th. Mayūraśarman defeated the Pallava army. According to the inscription Mayūraśarman won several victories over them. He seems to have realized that he and his soldiers were too few to defy the Pallava army in a pitch battle. He accordingly undertook a guerilla warfare. " In the night " as the inscription reads, "when they were marching or resting in rough country, in places fit for assault," he " lighted upon the ocean of their army, and struck it like a hawk full of strength."[2]

II. Mayūraśarman, King of Kuntala.

The Talaguṇḍa inscription goes on to say that this series of victories made the Pallava king realize that it was safer to have Mayūraśarman as a friend than as an enemy. Hence he offered Mayūraśarman a post in the Pallava army. "Then

1. Cf. Rāmachandran, The Bāṇas, J. O. R. v, p. 300.
2. Talaguṇḍa inscription of Kākutsthavarman, E. I., VIII, p. 34. 35. vv. 10-18.

entering the King's service (as *daṇḍanāyaka* according to Kielhorn) he pleased them by his acts of bravery in battles and obtained the honour of being crowned with a fillet, offered by the Pallavas with the sprouts of their hands. And (he) also (received) a territory, bordered by the water of the western sea which dances with the rising and falling of its curved waves, and bounded by the Prehara, secured to him under the compact that others should not enter it."[3] Such is the full account of this epigraph in connection with the foundation of the Kadamba Kingdom. Is it reliable ?

Our opinion is that the facts related in this second part of Mayūraśarman's life are not trustworthy. The reasons upon which we base our belief are the following:—

A. *The Account itself.* There is a great difference between the first part of Mayūraśarman's life and this second part. The former is quite definite and precise. The facts are there briefly mentioned in very few words but with doubtless accuracy: Mayūraśarman's going to Kāñchi, his purpose, his success, his fight with the Pallava horseman; his reasoning after the fight, clearly reveals the historicity of this portion in sincerely disclosing the pride of that young Brahman. His subsequent achievements are marked with definite data that cannot be easily mystified: his fight with the frontier guards, his settling in Śrīparvata, his victories over the Bāṇa and the other kings, and his finally defeating the Pallava army. But this second part is very vague and poetical. Let us examine it:

(a) v. 19: "The Pallava lords having found out this strength of his, as well as his valour and lineage, said that to ruin him would be no advantage, and so they quickly chose him even for a friend." Certainly the lineage could not be found in the battle-field, though his strength and valour could well be experienced there. It is moreover strange that the result of several defeats should be such a friendship between the two parties.

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3. *Ibid.* p, vv 19–21.

(b) v. 20: "Then entering the king's service, he pleased them by his acts of bravery in battles and obtained the honour of being crowned with a fillet, offered by the Pallavas with the sprouts of their hands." The subjection of the victorious Mayūraśarman to the defeated Pallava king is beyond comprehension. The natural consequence of those victories would be the enlargement of Mayūraśarman's territory and the strengthening of his power. It is then said that he won several battles, but these battles are not mentioned nor are the kings against whom he fought referred to. His being crowned by the Pallava king is another event which cannot be easily understood, unless the Pallava king were a powerful monarch, a *Mahārājādhirāja*, wishing to have other kings under him, which was not the case on this occasion. The conduct of the Pallava king in connection with Mayūraśarman's is totally incomprehensible; first, because of his victories over the Pallava, he is called to be a general of their army; then because of the victories obtained over the enemies of the king of Kāñchī, he is given by him a crown and a kingdom.

(c) v. 21. "And (he) also (received) a territory bordered by the water of the western sea which dances with the rising and falling of its curved waves, and bounded by the Prehara, secured to him under the compact that others should not enter it." About the donation of this territory to Mayūraśarman we shall speak shortly afterwards. There is here a definite datum, *viz.* the Prehara,[1] probably a river as the eastern boundary of the Kadamba kingdom. Yet the author of the inscription feels the need of filling up the natural gaps of this part of the inscription, with poetical phrases, and thus when mentioning the sea, the western boundary of Mayūraśarman's possessions, he describes its dancing "with the rising and falling of its curved waves." Such poetical descriptions are not found in the first part where historical facts were abundant.

B. *The main fact referred to in this account.*—We have already spoken of the absurdity of the donation of a territory

1. Other interpreters read Premara. Then it might mean Malvā that was ruled by the kings of the Premara Dynasty. Cf. Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula*, p. 16.

aśarman in the circumstances referred to in the in-
Yet another question arises here: Is it a fact or a
Some of the authors that have touched this subject
epted the statement of the inscription without any
. Thus Fleet states that the Pallava kings "gave him
arman) a territory on the shore of the western ocean."[1]
r Elliot says that "previous to the arrival of the
ukya in the Dekkan, the Pallavas were the dominant
And Cousens even affirms that before the advent of
kyas, Bādāmī "was an important stronghold under
vas"[3] Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar is still more
"The Pallavas of the Sanskrit charters," says he,
l authority over a far greater extent of territory
aps those of the Prākṛit charters, and their authority
have extended to take into it the whole of the
Mahratta country and the kingdom of Banavāsī or
."[4] Undoubtedly their opinion was confirmed by
s expedition of Vijayāditya Chālukya to the Deccan
was opposed by Trilōchana Pallava. But the
is that referred to this expedition[5] are of a much
od and the story of Trilōchana Pallava is now
y exploded.[6] Other authors do not dare to mention
ion. Thus Rice avers that the Pallavas "recognized
ūraśarman) as a king of a territory stretching from
rn Ocean to Premara."[7] Similarly Gopalan says:
ava kings had to admit his claims as a ruling power
o effect a temporary compromise."[8] Moraes seems
tle bolder when stating: "It is possible that in
time Mayūraśarman, who is also styled Mayūra-
vailed himself of the confusion prevailing in the

Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts, p. 286.
Journal of Literature and Science (N. S.) IV. pp. 78-79.
s, *Chalukyan Architecture*, p. 53.
ishnaswami Aiyangar, *Evolution of Hindu Administrative tions in South India*, pp. 101-102.
XIV, p. 49; *E. I.*, IV, pp. 48 and 239; *S. I. I.*, I, p. 58.
B. H. S., IV, pp. 82-84.
Iysore and Coorg, p. 22.
n, *The Pallavas of Kānchī*, p. 71.

country after the southern expedition of Samudra Gupta and established himself as an independent ruler."[1] In point of fact there is no contemporary evidence at all about the extension of the Pallava possessions to the western coast of India. The first Pallava inscription records a great victory[2] which seems to be the conquest of the city of Kāñchī from the Cholas.[3] The subsequent epigraphs do not give the impression of any enlargement of territory; just the opposite. Four generations later the Pallava kings lose their capital and seem to retreat to Āndhradēśa, whence they had originally come.[4] Kuntala was never a Pallava possession and consequently the Kadamba chief did not receive that territory from the hands of the Pallava king.

Why was then all this story related in the Talaguṇḍa inscription? To understand this well, one must know at what time this inscription was composed. Though it is commonly called the Talaguṇḍa inscription of Kākutsthavarman, it was really composed in the time of Kākutstha's son S'āntivarman. Now, at the time of S'āntivarman's reign the Pallava family exercised great influence in Southern India and the Kadamba king seems to have cultivated the friendship of the Pallava monarch. Both things are proved by the fact that when after S'āntivarman's death, his brother Kṛṣṇavarman I declared himself independent at Triparvata, a Pallava King called Nanakhasa waged war against him and routed him thoroughly.[5]

Now at the time when such great influence of the Pallavas was felt as far from Kāñchī as the plateau of Mysore, in the Devanagere Taluka, it is not strange that the Kadamba king would like to flatter the Pallava king by declaring that the Kadamba kingdom had been created by the ancient Pallava monarchs.

1. Moraes, *op. cit* p. 16.
2. Hirahadagalli Plates of S'ivaskandavarman, *E. I.*, VI, p. 87.
3. Cf. Heras, *Studies in Pallava History*, p. 12.
4. Cf. *ibid*, pp, 17–19.
5. E. C., XI, Dg, 161.

How then did Mayūraśarman take possession of the Kuntala country? After the fall of the Āndhra dynasty in or about 225 A.D., the Kuntala country seems to have been under the power of a Nāga dynasty. The Kadamba kings themselves were apparently connected with the old Nāga rulers. Kṛṣṇavarman I, of the Triparvata branch, is counted among "persons of Nāga descent" by his son Dévavarman.[1] Probably one of his ancestors—may be Mayūraśarman himself—married a Nāga princess; just as Vīrakurcha = Āśvatthāman of the early Pallava family had also married "a Nāga woman"[2] or "a daughter of the chief of serpents"[3] The Āllupas or Āllikas also seem to be related to the Nāgas.[4] Mayūraśarman, after his defeating the Pallavas in the forest of Śrīparvata, grew ambitious and thought of erecting a throne for himself in his own country, Karṇāṭaka. Thus leaving Āndhradéśa with the army he had gathered round himself, he defeated the Nāgas, the then rulers of Kuntala, and established his capital on the Western Ghats, probably at Banavāsi itself. An inscription of the 11th century found at the village of Talaguṇḍa records that Mayūraśarman performed 18 *āśvamedhas.* Even granting that there is a great exaggeration in this statement, we cannot but admit that he performed at least one *āśvamedha.*[5] Now this sacrifice is always performed after a series of victories over the enemies when the ruler who performs it may claim sovereignty over the defeated kings. Thus Mayūraśarman became the ruler of Kuntala.

III. *The Pallava King contemporary to Mayūraśarman.*

Who was the king of Kāñchi defeated by the Kadamba chief and in whose reign Mayūraśarman became an independent king? Mr. Gopalan settles this question thus: "As we have assigned Mayūraśarman to about A. D. 350, his Pallava contemporary must have been either Viṣṇugopa or his

1. Devagiri plates of Kṛṣṇavarman I, *I.A.*, VII, p. 34.
2. Rāyakota Plates of Skandas'iṣya, E.I. V, p. 52.
3. Velūrpālaiyam Plates of Nandivarman III, S. I. I. II, p. 510.
4. Cf. Fleet *Dynasties of the Kanarese Districts* p. 309.
5. Cf. Moraes, op. cit., p. 16.

immediate successors Virakurcha or Skandavarman."[1] Apparently this Viṣṇugopa is the "Viṣṇugopa of Kāñchī" defeated by Samudra Gupta. Mr. Moraes is more or less of the same opinion. "It is possible," says he, "that in course of time Mayūraśarman.........availed himself of the confusion prevailing in the country after the southern expedition of Samudra Gupta and established himself as an independent ruler."[2] Mr. Pires in his recent work on *The Maukharis* puts the reign of Mayūraśarman towards the end of the 3rd century[3] and therefore long before Viṣṇugopa.

Now since the conquest of Kāñchī by Vijaya-Skandavarman=Kumāraviṣṇu took place during the first half of the 4th century, probably in 325[4], and Mayūraśarman went to Kāñchī when this city was already under the Pallavas, he could not have gone prior to that date and therefore during the third century. Yet is it correct to make him contemporary with Viṣṇugopa of Kāñchī, the king defeated by Samudra Gupta, so as to put him in the second half of the 4th century? I sincerely think that this date would be too late; for at least nine generations in the Kadamba family must pass till this family is dethroned, a fact that took place in the time of Pulakeśi II of Badāmī, who was the contemporary of Mahendravarman I of Kāñchī. Now from Viṣṇugopa to Mahendravarman I there run only three generations. In order to have space for the nine generations of the Kadamba family, we must take at least seven generations of the Pallava line. This calculation carries us to Vijaya-Skandavarman=Kumāraviṣṇu, the first conqueror of Kāñchī.

A slight consideration of the dates seems to confirm this calculation. According to our calculation the first conquest of Kāñchī took place in about the year 325 A. D. Now the dates assigned to Mayūraśarman's reign by Mr. Moraes are

1. Gopalan, *History of the Pallavas of Kanchi*, p. 71. Who are these two immediate successors of Viṣṇugopa is difficult to say, for in the partial pedigrees given by this author in the preceding chapter these three names are never found in immediate succession.
2. Moraes, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
3. Pires, *The Maukharis*, p. 31.
4. Cf. Heras, *Studies in Pallava History*, p. 22.

345 to 370 A.D. The difference of 20 years between the year of the conquest of Kāñchī and the first years of Mayūraśarman's reign is necessary for the latter's studies in Kāñchī for his settling in the forest of Śrīparvata, for his battles against the Bāṇas and neighbouring kings, for his victories over the Pallavas and for his acquiring the kingdom of Kuntala for himself.

It is therefore beyond doubt that Mayūraśarman went to Kāñchīpura for his studies stortly after the conquest of this city, during the reign of Vijaya-Skandavarman=Kumāraviṣṇu, and that during the reign of the same king he settled as an independent king in the country of Kuntala.

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FORTS OF ANCIENT INDIA.

By Rai Saheb Manoranjan Ghosh, M. A.
(Patna.)

1. *Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra and ancient forts.*

It is a well known fact that in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra there is a chapter on '*Durga Vidhānam*'' or construction of forts. The chapter has been translated by Dr. R. Shamasastry (Mysore, 1923). It has also been annotated in Sanskrit by Mahamahopadhyaya T. Ganapati Sastri (Trivandrum, 1924). Mahamahopadhyaya T. Ganpati Sastri's Sanskrit annotation is a decisive improvement on the English translation of Dr. R. Shamasastry.

Kauṭilya first mentions four kinds of forts:—such as (1) island fort, (2) rock fort, (3) desert fort and (4) forest fort. Before going into details of the fort as described in Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra, let us study the history of fortifications in other countries.

The first elementary type of fortification is the thorn hedge. The next advance from the hedge is the bank of earth. The bank was often strengthened by a palisade of tree-trunks. After the bank the most important step in advance was the wall of masonry, sun-dried brick or mud. The first necessity was the height of the wall and the second was its thickness. Two walls were built with a filling of earth or rubble. The face of the outer wall was raised up a few feet and crenellated to give protection against arrows and other projectiles. The next forward step was the erection of tower at intervals along the wall. The fort of Ninevah was built more than 2000 B. C. The wall was 120 feet high and 30 feet thick and there were 1500 towers. Greeks advanced the science of fortifications. After Greeks, Romans perfected the system.

Later on the wall was re-inforced by a ditch. The enclosure walls were sometimes doubled and tripled. In middle ages castles were built on hill with steep sides.

With the advance of gunpowder, changes were made in defence fortification. Counter forts were built. There were vast changes as time advanced and firearms improved. Later on detached forts were the system. Then came the changes due to improvement in modern war.

Kauṭilya's description of four kinds of forts places India in an advanced stage in the development of military fortifications. Kauṭilya knew masonry walls, palisades, ditches and towers. He also knew of castles. We also find that he knew the use of other defence fortification and detached forts.

Let us study the history of fortifications in India previous to Kauṭilya. We have no detailed information how Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa were defended. From my personal knowledge it appears that the water of the river was utilised both at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa for defence. There is every chance of the two towns being defended by brick walls. If Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa were pre-Vedic towns we know from Ṛg Veda that there were in existence fortified towns during the Vedic period.

Before the time of Kauṭilya Rājagṛha fort was in existence. At Rājagṛha thick walls were constructed over hills. There were gates and at all weak points there were thick walls. Within the hill-girt town there was a citadel which had ditches and ramparts. Walls on hills had towers and observation posts.

Let us now study the general description of a fort as given by Kauṭilya. Kauṭilya always preferred to build a fort at a place which by nature was most suitable for the purpose. The shape of the fort was either to be circular, long or square. Kauṭilya's forts have ḍitches (परिखा). After ditches ramparts (वप्र) are to be built. The tops of the rampart were of various shapes. On the rampart (वप्र) there were towers अट्टालक or [illegible]. Between two towers structural gateways or प्रतोलि were built. At intervals there were covered seats or इन्द्रकोश for

archers with holes in walls for discharge of arrows. On the rampart there were covered passages for movement. There were also sloping ramps to get access to the tops of ramparts. Where gates are placed, ramparts are to be projected on both sides. The entrance gates had six pillars and were to be constructed three storied. The gates were to be protected by doors with nails. There are to be constructed in the ramparts canals or इल्गाः for keeping arms in concealment. The above description gives a good idea of an advanced type of fortification.

2. *Fortifications of Rājagṛha, Pāṭaliputra, Taxila, Nagarī, Basarh, etc.*

I have mentioned the fortifications of Rājagṛha. Pāṭaliputra excavation has not been carried extensively. The excavation has, however revealed a small portion of the ancient palisade. We know that Pāṭaliputra had ditches and wooden palisades; probably there were regular ramparts and towers behind that. By my personal study it appears that Pāṭaliputra had the Son on the south and on the west for defence and the Ganges flowed on the north and the Poonpoon river protected the town on the east. After the river there were built mud ramparts. We have traces of such mud ramparts along dried bed of the Son which was south of Kumrhar which is to the south of Patna (See Waddell's map). About a mile north of the mud rampart there was the second line of defence which consisted of ditches excavated by P. C. Mukherjee (unpublished report). After the drains or ditches there was the wooden palisade a portion of which was excavated by late Dr. Spooner and myself. After the wooden palisade there was a brick wall mentioned by Yuan Chwang.

Then there was the citadel containing the palace of kings called Saugāṅga in the centre of the town which (citadel) had ditch, palisade and masonry wall for the inner fortification. Some portion of the palisade of the inner citadel was visible at two places.

Basarh, the ancient Vaiśālī, had a wall and ditches but nothing is known of the detail of the construction. Ajodhyā was also fortified. So also Hastināpura. We read descriptions of them in epics.

The famous town of Madhyamikā (Nagarī) near Chitor had an outer and inner rampart. There was a citadel. No excavation has been done at Nagarī or Madhyamikā fortifications. This is written from my personal knowledge.

Alexander's invasion describes various towers on hill tops. Taxila is of later growth. The town of Sirkap at Taxila was fortified after the manner of Athens. "The walls of Sirkap vary in thickness from 15 feet to 21 feet 6 inches. They are strengthened at intervals by solid bastions which are probably rectangular in plan. In some cases the bastions are further supported by sloping buttresses which were apparently added at a later date. The height of the walls and bastions was probably between 20 and 30 feet, and it may be assumed that the bastions were built in two storeys, of which the upper was doubtless hollow and loopholed."

"The gate of Sirkap is interesting. It was masked on the outer side by a barbican and that barbican was pierced by a second gateway set at right angles to the main one. To the west of the gate and against the inner face of the wall is a range of substantially built rooms, which served as guard rooms, and on the opposite side of the high street are the remains of one of the ramps by which the defenders could mount on to the wall." (A Guide to Taxila, Calcutta, 1918, p. 65 and pp. 84–85).

On the southern gateway of Sāñchī Stūpa I there is the picture of a fortified town being attacked.

3. *Later Indian Forts.*

We have seen the beginning of the Indian forts at Mohenjo–Daro and Harappa. These two towns are pre-Vedic. The fort of Rājagṛha dates from the Vedic period. New Rājagṛha outside Rājagṛha was built later on.

The forts of Pāṭaliputra, Basarh, Besnagar, Madhyamikā, Ujjain are known by their existing ruins.

They give some idea of forts in ancient India. Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra gives an account of the fort of those days. The above picture can be supplemented by representation of forts at Sāñchī Stupa I and Ajantā.

The description of Arthaśāstra is partially supported t
the accounts of the historians of Alexander the Great and tl
account of Megasthenes.

The extensive excavation carried on at Taxila by tl
Archæological Department gives us the description of tl
fort of Sirkap and Sirsulkh but a full description of them h
not been written as the whole fort has not been excavated.

There were numerous forts in North India before tl
invasion of the Pathans but they have been all demolishe
Chitor in Mewar gives us an idea of a fort which dates fro
the mediæval times. Rohtas in Shahabad district has got
fort which also dates from the mediæval age. Gwalior
Central India is another fort which also dates from 10
century A. D. Aurangabad fort is also famous. All the abo
forts are situated on precipitous rocks. They have walls ai
bastions. They possess extensive land within fort. T
Chitor fort has got a regular road and a village on the t
within the fort. Gwalior fort has a road by which one c
ascend to the top of the hill.

The fort of Bijaygarh in the Mirzapur district of t
United Provinces is also very interesting. The walls a
existing. There are tanks on top of hills. The ascent
difficult. There are traces of a palace within it.

Next in order of development would be the forts of Ag
Fatehpur Sikri, Delhi, Attock, Allahabad and Lahore. Th
have been constructed by Moghul Emperors who used gu
They show much development.

The Marathas had very nice forts. Of them the Raiga
fort is very important. Dating from the end of the Mogh
period we have the forts of Seringapatam and the Shanva
fort of the Peshwas at Poona.

In Central India there is still existing the fortifi
palace of Datia. In Rajputana there are beautiful fortifi
towns of Udaipur, Jaipur, Jodhpur, Bikanir, etc. Plans ai
photos of the forts of India have not been studied careful
They are sure to throw light on the military genius of Ind
from the ancient time upto the end of the Moghul period.

GUJARAT IN MEDIÆVAL TIMES.

By V. R. Talwalkar, A.R.I. B.A.
(*Baroda.*)

Arrival of Parsis.

Parsis landed at Sanjan on the west coast about 775 A.D. The Parsis say that they arrived in India in 716 A. D. Probably there were two sections. Westergard says that it is trade that attracted Parsis to India and not their persecution in Persia. Probably there was an earlier stream which arrived in 641. Parsis spread to Vankaner, Broach, Surat and Cambay and to Chaul and Thana. At Cambay they settled between the year 900 to 1000 and they had a connection with Punjab as in 1323 they obtained copies of Vendidad, which was totally forgotten by the early settlers. In the 10th century there is a mention of Parsis in Kanheri caves in Pahlavi writings. Masudi writes in 916 that there were many fire temples and in 966 Misar-Bir-Muhalhil mentions fire temples in Chaul (Elliot). Parsis were chief traders in Cambay in the 12th century. Nawasari fire temple dates from 1142. In 1578 Akbar called Parsi priests to his court. In 1616 they are described as hardworking community living on husbandry, fruit-growing, planting palms and vines etc. (Terry). In 1620 they were the servants of the East India Company. In 1638 Mandelslo describes Parsi women prettier than women of other communities. According to Friyer the Parsis supplied in 1670 carts to mariners and water and fuel to ships. Later they took to boat-building (Bom. Gaz.).

Early arrival of Mahomedans in Gujarat.

Arab merchants came from Siraj and Ormuz in the Persian Gulf, and coasted along the mouth of the Indus and thence to Cambay and Sopara and other parts of Malabar.

Tidings of wealth and luxury in India inspired the zeal of the iconoclast. During the reign of Khaliph Omar in 637 Arabs made repeated descents on the Indian coasts (Stanley Lane Poole). From 637 to 712 Arabs trampled over the degenerate empires of Rome and Persia, Syria and Egypt. Valley of the Indus was invaded in 712 by Muhammad Kasim. In 730 Broach was attacked by Arabs and between 758–78 fleets were sent to Kathiawad. In 830 Sindan probably in Cuttch was captured. Suleman in 851 says that Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings of Malkhed were partial to Arabs. Mosques are mentioned as early as 943 at Anhilwad Pattan, Cambay and Sindan. Al-Idresi mentions that Mahomedans frequented Anhilwad Pattan between 1070 and 1100. Siddharāja Jayasiṁha Solanki king of Gujarat (1094–1143) punished Hindoos for molesting Mahomedans in Cambay. The Ruler of Somanath had a Mahomedan Naval Officer in his service in 1264 A.D. (Bom. Gaz.). In the 12th century Nur-ud-din Ismaili missionary more generally known as Nur–Satagar, a name adopted to be popular among the Hindoos, came to Gujarat during the reign of Siddharāja Jayasiṁha. Nur–Satagar was responsible for converting Kolis, Kharwas and Kunbis to Islam faith. Bohras are Hindoo converts. Abd–Allah from Yaman landed at Cambay in 1067, and he died in 1137 and was buried there. He was perhaps the first missionary in Gujarat (Religious History of Islam in India by Murray).

Tygra and Bulsar.

That the Mahomedans and Arabs arrived on the coast of southern Gujarat in the middle of the 7th century is certain. Tygra is the name of a small place near Nawasari. There is a custom in vogue at Nawasari to visit this place on Dasera-day in a ceremonial manner. Tygra near Nawasari appears to have some semblance phonetically to the river Tigris in Persia. Bulsar not far off appears similar to Bassora. Names like Tajpur, Malekpur are common in Nawasari district. Arabs were known as Tājikas. It would be worth enquiring whether these name-places are of Persian origin.

Copper–plate grants of India III–Raṣṭrakūṭa king.

Two sets of copper–plate grants were found in about the year 1890 at Bagumra, a village in Palsana Taluka of Na-

wasari District. To distinguish them from others these are called Bagumra copper plates. They were issued by Indra III of the main branch of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings dated A.D. 914.

In these grants Tenna and Umra are described as (कमणीजग्रामोपे). By this is meant that these two villages were situated near Kamaṇījja (कमणीज्ज) and they were included in Lāta Deśa. Boundaries of Tenna are defined in these grants by stating that Varadapallīka (वरडपल्लीक) was to the east, Nāmbhitadāga (नाम्भितडाग) to the south, Valīśa (वलीश) to the west and Vathian (वथियन) to the north. Similarly boundaries of Umra are defined by Tolajaka (तोलजक) to the east, Mogalika (मोगलिक) to the south, Sāṅkī (सांकी) to the west, and Javalakūpam (जवलकूपम्) to the north.

(1) Tolajaka is identified by us as Tājpur of which only the ancient site remains, (2) Mogalika as Malekpur and (3) Sāṅkī as Saṁkī; while (4) Javalakūpam appears to be split up into two villages, Javala and Parab. Obviously Parab and Kūpam both denote a well. All the places mentioned above except Bārdolī are in Palsana Taluka of the Baroda State and this fact establishes beyond doubt the great antiquity of these places.

It now remains to identify Kamaṇījja. On phonetical grounds as well as on account of vicinity of Kamrej to Ten and Bagumra Kamaṇījja of the copper plate grant may be identified with Kamrej in the Baroda State, situated on the southern bank of the river Tāptī. Ptolemy also referred to this place at a much earlier date as stated elsewhere. Indra III travelled a great distance to Chorandaka from Mānyakheṭa to perform Paṭṭabandha ceremony. We shall deal with this elsewhere.

Nawasari copper plate grant.

A Nawasari grant was edited by Pandit Bhagawanlal Indraji and published in J. R. A. S. Bom. XVI. Pulakeśi Vallabha of this grant was the son of Kīrtivarman and his full titles were Satyāśraya Pṛthvīvallabha Mahārāja. He came to the throne in 608 A. D. He extended his territory

in the south as far as Banawāsī, the northern extremity of Mysore territory and subjugated the Kadambas. He also defeated Appayika and Govinda, the latter perhaps a Rāṣṭrakūṭa king. He vanquished Alupai on the Malabar coast and the Maurya king of Koṅkana. He then sent 100 ships to Purī, which was called residence of Lakṣmī of western India. This appears to be Sudāmāpurī now known as Porbunder. Thus Pulakeśin was a mighty ruler. This view is supported by the paintings in Ajaṇṭā caves wherein the Persian embassy is shown to arrive at his court.

In later days the ports of Gujarat and Kathiawad were useful not only for trade purposes but also for going to and coming from Mecca and Medina, which are the places of pilgrimage for the Mahomedans. Consequently these ports became an integral part of the Mahomedan Empire, since the beginning of the 13th century if not earlier. These pilgrims established an additional contact besides that of trade and the east and the west met on the coasts of Asia Minor.

The Turks occupied Constantinople and were masters of the east coasts of the Mediterranean. These political changes happened in the 15th century and they had far-reaching effects on the history of the world due to expansion of European sea-faring nations by way of colonisation in distant parts and domination over foreign lands. A reference to the voyages for exploration described by Hakluyt Society publications will give an idea of the adventures, sufferings, privations, indomitable courage, self-sacrifice and determination which were at the back of the discovery of the two continents of America and a route to India all the way by sea round the Cape of Good Hope, especially to avoid the coast of Asia Minor, Red Sea and the Persian Gulf, over which the Turks exercised a monopoly and completely shut out other nations from the use of this route.

The hilly tracts which border, on the east of Gujarat throughout her length reared very thick forests, rich in building materials such as timber, bamboos, etc. These

were easily transported to the coast by the rivers during floods and they encouraged industries such as building houses and boats. Further they encouraged trade and commerce by exporting surplus building materials to distant parts of the world among which Asia Minor was one. The industry of boat-building was going on immensely. It may be stated that the Parsis of Surat served as Marine Architects to the East India Company, until the advent of steamships.

The craft of boat-building is still alive along this coast, as was noticed during the Great European War. Gujarat is well-known since the long past for its cotton fabrics, which went to the distant parts of the world. Her cotton weaving industries provided tough fabrics suitable for the sails of the sea-faring ships.

Foreign Traders.

Pelsaert, an inhabitant of Antwerp, reached Surat in December 1620 and remained at Agra till 1627. He came to the east second time and died at Batavia in 1629. The Dutch made an effort to obtain a footing on the west coast of India in 1607. A second attempt was made in 1616 as it was found that the supply of cotton goods of Gujarat was indispensable for the success of their commercial enterprise. Pietor Von deu Brocke arrived in 1620, who superseded the English merchants who had arrived earlier. No European merchants could afford to loose trade in Indigo which used to be grown at Agra where they sold spices, in demand at Mogal courts. Thevenot's Remonstran tieu was written in 1627 from which following extracts are taken:—

"The Portuges brought spices, lead, tin, quick-silver and purchased white cotton, cloth, Bengal-silk and muslin etc. Indigo used to be grown and manufactured at Sarkhej in Gujarat and Bayana near Agra. Ahmadabad received from Agra Patna-silk; carpets are also woven there (Ahmadabad) with an intermixture of silk and gold thread. Imports include Sprinkenard-asafœtida and numerous drugs, besides muslins and shawls from Kashmere". From other sources were brought turbans, girdles, head-dress worked with gold thread.

The Dutch had agents in Baroda as stated by Mandelslo. Baroda must have been then an important trade centre. It was well-known for its cotton goods and printed cloth.

Following is taken from 'Commercial Policy of Moghals' by Pant:—

(1) Geonese Hieronimo de Santo Stifano who came to India at the close of 15th century describes trade in lac and indigo at Cambay.

(2) Indigo on a large scale was manufactured at Sarkhej (Briggs).

(3) Suba of Gujarat was the premier industrial province of Moghal Empire and Cambay, Broach and Surat were the main ports.

(4) Nawasari was well-known for its perfumed oils.

(5) Silk-goods went from Surat to Africa according to Barbosa who visited Gujarat in 1575.

(6) Tobacco was first introduced in Akbar's time.

(7) Taffeetas were made in Gujarat so also good cotton cloth.

(8) In the 16th century India was not in need of European goods. She wanted precious metals of which she could absorb any amount.

(9) Niccolo Manucci describes Cambay as the largest port where a great number of ships lie in anchor. Cæsar Fredrick describes trade in Cambay in 1563 and mentions among other articles sandal-wood, elephant-teeth, carnellians, granites, agates, opium etc.

Guns and Rifles.

Guns arrived in Gujarat first with the Portuguese, the early traders from Europe trafficked in guns always taking care to retain those of bigger bore for themselves. Even a patriot like Shivaji bought his guns from these merchant settlers. Heavy guns were obtained by Sultan Bahadur Shah of Gujarat from Turkey and one was found at Surat and another at

Junagad by Akbar. Bahadur Shah was fighting with the Portuguese and drove them out of Gujarat. The Arabs brought rifles. Gun-powder was known to Hindoos long before the guns and rifles arrived in India and in the 16th and 17th centuries it was manufactured in Gujarat and Bengal and exported to Europe. The fire-works of Baroda and Junagad are well-known even now and this may be due to the fact that the gun-powder was manufactured here. Gujarat used to produce salt-peter, borax etc. and owing to this the rulers of this country in the 1st century A. D. were probably called kings of the Salty-Regions i. e. क्षहरात derived from क्षारराष्ट्र.

Form of Government during the reign of the Sultans of Gujarat.

"Mirat-i-Ahmadi" by Mr. Seddon and Prof. A. Nawab Ali gives the administrative divisions of Gujarat during the rule of the Sultans. The same divisions were more or less followed by Raja Todarmal, the famous minister of Akbar. Trade grew and cities prospered and expanded in Gujarat, the evidence of which we find in the magnificence of Ahmedabad and other towns such as Broach and Surat, mentioned by early European travellers. Akbar was a mere lad of 14 when he came to the throne. In 1573 when he came to conquer Gujarat he was of an impressionable age and the culture of Gujarat, that he must have already seen, is likely to have influenced him to some extent in establishing a good government throughout his vast empire. This influence is perceptible in building one of the finest country palaces in the world such as that of Fatepur-Sikri. Fatepur-Sikri owes its inception to the conquest of Gujarat. Art in Gujarat was still alive and at its zenith side by side with industry and trade. Gujarat was not backward in craftsmanship – mechanical or artistic. (1) Breeding of good horses and bullocks, (2) rearing fine gardens as mentioned by Mandelslo and James Forbes, (3) erecting architectural monuments of Ahmedabad, Champaner, Baroda and other towns such as Pattan, Dholka, Cambay etc. amply testify to a higher form of artistic development in Gujarat. (4) The cotton and silk fabrics of Gujarat were well-known and in weaving industry Gujarat still leads.

Ancient monuments in Baroda.

A mosque in L. V. Palace compound Baroda, Hindoo in style and originally meant for a shrine now known as Pir Ghoḍā is of the middle of the 15th century. This seems to be converted into a mosque before completion. The tomb therein, dated 1411 A. D. is of Sultan Sayad Azam Khan. It has an inscription in Persian character which states that the well and the tomb were built by the son of Sayad Azam Khan.

Feroz Shah Tughlak of Delhi had been to Gujarat and Zaffer Khan was his favourite. Zaffer Khan came from Kaira District of Gujarat, born of a Rajput consort descending from Tank Rajputs. Feroz built several works of public utility among which there were 150 bridges alone. The Moghals who came to power later had little time or rare occasions to build bridges in Gujarat. What buildings the Sultans of Gujarat built already bear their mark and in addition their memorial tablets. Mr. James Forbes who travelled widely in India in the last quarter of the 18th century states that the old bridge in Baroda was unique, the like of which he had not seen anywhere else during his extensive travels. He makes no mention of any inscription on this bridge, though he found one in the Nawalakhi well.

Zaffer Khan who afterwards styled himself as Muzzaffer and who declared himself an independent Sultan of Gujarat in 1397 A. D. might have built the city bridge of Baroda on the river Vishwamitri, in all probability while he has Viceroy of Gujarat under Firoz Tughlak i e. prior to 1397. This very Zaffer Khan afterwards Sultan Muzzaffer visited Baroda in 1407 and put a tablet on Nawalakhi well which is still to be seen there. In spite of this we hold that the well–at least the major part of it upto ground level–is of a much earlier date and may have been actually constructed by Śaṅkaragaṇa or his successors mentioned in Saṅkhedā copper plate of 600 A. D. Probably Muzzaffer Khan might have added the columnar structure and the small domes at the corners of this well. And this accounts for the inscription in his name.

These columns too appear to belong to some other old structure and we have collected some relics which indicate its existence.

Sultan Mahamad Begada visited Baroda before capturing Champaner and he passed through Baroda more than once. A mosque known as Pir Amitar in Dandia Bazar belongs to the middle of the 15th century.

Baroda city proper within the four walls appears to have been built by Sultan Bahadur Shah in the first quarter of the 16th century and the fort probably existed when Humayun invaded Gujarat in 1536. Akbar also stayed in Baroda within two miles of the limits of Baroda in the winter of 1572-73 and his camp must have been to the west of the city near Bhimnath tank. He left his camp here for three months when he proceeded to Surat and subjugated it. At Surat the petty Raja of Salher in Baglan paid homage to Akbar in 1573. Akbar thus extended his power and influence to the farthest corner of Gujarat which subsequently helped him in conquering Khandesh and Deccan. Sultan Bahadur Shah of Ahmedabad had to fight with Portuguese intruders. He built the fort of Surat.

He left Gujarat in the most prosperous conditions. When Humayun plundered Bahadur Shah's camp he is said to have been dazzled with the splendour of his tents when he realised what the ports of Gujarat meant for the Sultans. Before proceeding to Broach and Surat, Akbar won a battle on the bank of the river Mahi over the Mirzas near Sarnal not far from Ras, where subsequently Pilajirao Gaekwad defeated the Babees in 1720, and where the army of Maratha confederacy met Raghoba and his British allies in 1780. Akbar gave to his favourite town Sikri, the name of Fatepur owing to his conquest of Gujarat and in all probability for similar reasons he might have called that part of Baroda Jetpur where he camped while coming from Cambay within about two miles from Baroda to commemorate his victory on the Mahi. Jetpur might have become Jetaipur. In this battle Akbar had taken part and was saved from being killed by the enemies through the valour of Raja Bhagawandas.

In 1581 Ralph Fitch, one of the earliest travellers, passed through Baroda on way to Agra and then found Baroda a small town with pretty buildings. Sir Thomas Roe the well-known ambassador to the court of Jehangir passed through Baroda on his way back from Ajmer to Surat in the beginning of 1616 A.D. Mandelslo visited Baroda in 1638 A. D. He makes mention of the magnificent mausoleum near the fort with its five gates. James Forbes visited Baroda in 1780 A. D. and made sketches of the bridge in Baroda by which we pass everyday when reaching the city proper from the Baroda Railway Station.

Kutub-ud-din's Tomb at Baroda.

A tomb at Baroda near the 2nd Lancers on Makerpura road is an old ornate edifice, monumental in scale, elegant in appearance, pleasing in proportions, ingenious in planning and bold in construction. To all appearances it strikes as an edifice belonging to a period of prosperity and is similar to the buildings constructed by the Moghals. Buildings in this style are rare in Gujarat. We have already stated elsewhere the history of Atgah Khels and their relations with Akbar the Great. From this it will be clear beyond doubt that Atgah Khels were in Gujarat after its conquest by Akbar in 1573 and that Kutbuddin Muhammad who was the (1) Governor of Baroda was treacherously killed in a battle in 1583 A. D. near Baroda by Muzaffer the last of the Gujarat Sultans; (2) that Kutbuddin was one of the uncles of Mirza Aziz Azamkhan Koka, foster brother of Akbar and Governor of Gujarat between 1573 and 1594 off and on. Azamkhan Koka died much later at Ahmedabad in 1624-25 during the reign of Jehangir when he was out of favour at the Royal Court owing to an intrigue in which Azamkhan Koka was involved in a plot against Jehangir's succession to the throne. The foster mother of Akbar died at Asir and it is unlikely that she would have been buried at such a distance as Baroda.

Documentary evidence available from Imperial Firmans now in the possession of Sayad Badruddin of Baroda who is the present keeper of the Hajira shows that this monumental

mosque was erected in memory of Kutbuddin Muhammad. Taking these Firmans as genuine and in their serial order according to date, the earliest is dated 1598 A. D. and directs that the Makabara of Shah Muhammadkhan should be looked after carefully. The 2nd Firman is dated 1670 A. D. i. e. 12 years after the accession of Aurangzeb and is as follows:—

> "The Makabara is in memory of Kutbuddin as well as of Shah Muhammadkhan, that Nizamuddin Ahmad, grandson applied for granting half the proceeds of the village Danteshwar for the upkeep of the Hajira and that Emperor Aurangzeb issued a Firman to the local officers."

Firman No. III is dated 1703 A. D. and is in support of the statement to the effect that the Hajira is in memory of Kutbuddin, and Navrang Khan his son and his successors. Serial No. IV dated 1748 A. D. is the renewal of the grant by the famous Damajrao II Gaekwad, Samsher Bahadur and his brother Khanderao Himat Bahadur, the former being the founder of the present ruling family.

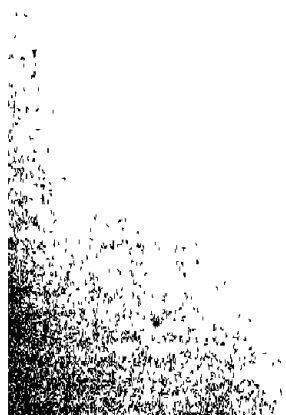
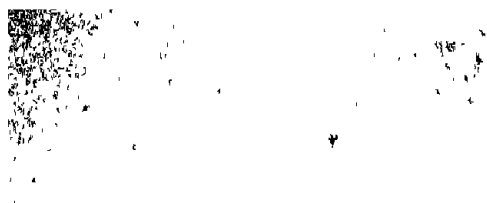
From what has been stated already, there are reasonable grounds to hold that the mosque is in memory of Kutubddin and Navrang his son. The identity of Shah Muhammadkhan cannot be made out unless he be the father of Kutbuddin himself. Other historical facts collected from various sources show that Navrang was present at the war of Kabul which Akbar waged against his step brother Muhammad Hakim Mirza. Navrang was also Governor of Surat. He belonged to the Atgah Khels and succeeded to the Jahgir of the family in Gujarat. It has been so often stated in the history of Akbar's reign that Kutbuddin Muhammad and his son Navrang had distinguished themselves during the reign of Akbar in the wars of Gujarat in 1573 and the latter at Kabul in 1585 and they were entrusted with the administration of Gujarat to the south of the river Mahi. Kutbuddin was appointed tutor of Prince Salim who subsequently became Emperor Jehangir. Akbar had a great regard for

Atgah family and specially towards Mirza Aziz Azamkhan Koka and towards Kutbuddin Muhammad, nephew and uncle respectively. The former was foster brother of Akbar and the Governor of the whole of Gujarat and stationed at Ahmedabad while the latter was a Naib at Baroda and under him.

This mosque according to popular belief passes as that of the foster brother of Akbar or his foster mother. But this popular belief has no foundations. Mirza Aziz died in 1624 when he was out of favour at the Imperial Court. He must have been then in Ahmadabad and his tomb is stated to be at Sarkhej (vide गुजरातनुं पाटनगर: रत्नमणीराव भीमराव p. 59). Akbar's foster mother died at Asir. Abul Fazal states nowhere in Akbarnama that she was carried to Baroda for burial.

Town Planning.

The cities of Ahmedabad, Baroda, Surat and probably Broach and Cambay were built by the Sultans of Ahmedabad. Champaner was built by Mahammad Begada. That of Baroda was the last to be built by them; soon after the death of Bahadur Shah the decline of the Sultanate set in first by the intrusion of the Portuguese and then by the advance of the Moghals. The intrigues between Sultans of Gujarat and Mirza brothers brought their final destruction at the hands of Akbar. Bahadur Shah who founded Baroda and built the four walls round it called it Daulatabad. It was well planned and shows the influence of Roman town planning particularly in the crossing of the streets and the magnificent arched structure in the middle, known as Mandvi, which probably was an old market place. The Roman planning of the city may be due to one Rumikhan who was then at the court of the Sultan. He came from Asia-Minor and was indispensable owing to the heavy guns, which required experience in handling. Rumikhan must have been well acquainted with the Roman town planning. From an old map of Baroda dated 1675 A. D. we are able to trace the existence of a Turkish garrison at Baroda and it is highly probable that Baroda,

which was the last city built by the Sultans, had the benefit of the experience of the Turks. The old bridge of Baroda mentioned above, is in two tiers like the famous Roman aqueduct and this too may be due to Roman influence through the Turks. The bridge may have been built by Bahadur Shâh in the third decade of the 16th century, if not by Firoz Tughlak at a still earlier date.

SIDELIGHT ON THE HISTORY OF THE MAUKHARĪS.

By Sant Lall Katare, M. A.

(*Benares.*)

After the fall of the Imperial Guptas, four dynasties viz: the Maukharīs, the Later Guptas, the Puṣpabhūtis and the Maitrakas of Valabhī emerged out on the political platform of the North India as suzerain powers. The founder of the Maukharī dynasty was Harivarman.[1] The Maukharīs in their palmy days extended their dominions upto Bengal in the east and Kanauj on the west.[2] Harivarman was followed by Ādityavarman and Īśvaravarman in succession.[3] They seem to have been local rulers and not independent kings, but it was Īśānavarman, the son and successor of Īśvaravarman who raised his dynasty to Imperial rank.[4] His only known date is 554 A. D.[5] He was a powerful king and is said to have defeated the Āndhras, the Sūlikas and the Gauḍas,[6] but he was himself defeated by Kumāragupta III of Kṛṣṇagupta's family.[7] He had two sons Sūryavarman and Śarvavarman.[8] He was succeeded by Śarvavarman on the throne.[9] *Śarvavarman seems to have defeated and killed* Dāmodaragupta of the Later Gupta family.[10] The names of these kings are known from the Asirgarh Copper Seal of

1. *CII.*, Vol III, p. 221.
2. Jaunpur Ins. of Īśānavarman, ibid, p. 228.
3. Asirgarh Copper Seal; *Ibid*, p. 219.
4. Harhā Ins., *E. I.*, Vol XIV, p. 119.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Aphsad Ins., *CII.*, Vol III, p. 201 ff.
8. *E. I.*, Vol XIV, p. 119 ff; Asirgarh Seal, *CII.*, Vol III, p. 221.
9. Asirgarh Seal, *CII.*, Vol III, p. 221.
10. Aphsad Ins, ibid, p. 201.

Śarvavarman.[1] Two names of the same line are again given in Bāṇa's Harṣacarita[2] viz: one Avantivarman and the other his son Grahavarman. But we have no evidence suggesting any connection between Śarvavarman and Avantivarman. Bāṇa also does not furnish us with any information to that effect. Some scholars[3] on the basis of a passage in the Deo–Bārānak Inscription,[4] are inclined to believe that Avantivarman was the immediate successor of Śarvavarman.[5] The Deo-Bārānak Inscription, in course of giving information about the restoration of certain villages to Bhojakas, states that "the village was formerly bestowed by the glorious Bālāditya, by (his) own charter...........the divine (god) the holy and sacred Varuṇasvāmin by restoration to the Bhojakas Haṁsamitra, by those who presided at different times viz : Parameśvara, the glorious Śarvavarman...........to the Bhojaka Ṛṣimitra.........by the Parameśvara Avantivarman. In accordance with the practice...........assent to its enjoyment" was given by another king and then by Jīvitagupta. It will not be proper to infer on the basis of the above evidence that Avantivarman immediately followed Sarvavarınan on the throne. The Daulatpur Inscription[6] of Pratihāra Bhoja states that the "Bhaṭṭa Harśuka has apprised (us) that the above written *agrahāra,* with every income from it excepting previous gifts to gods and Brāhmaṇas, by means of a charter, was granted by our great grand father the Mahārāja Vatsarājadeva for as long as the moon and the sun and the earth endure, to his grand father, the Bhaṭṭa Vāsudeva and was possessed (by the latter) and that by him (the Bhaṭṭa·Vāsudeva) the sixth part of it was given by a deed of donation to the Bhaṭṭa Viṣṇu; that our grand father, the Mahārāja Nāgabhaṭṭadeva signified his consent; but that in our own reign that charter and the consent have fallen into abeyance." It will be quite wrong to infer on the above evidence that

1. *Ibid.*
2. Cowell, *Harsacarita*, ch. IV, p. 122.
3. Mr. H. Sastri, *E. I.*, Vol XIV, p. 119.
4. *CII*, Vol III, p. 213.
5. *E. I.*, Vol XIV, p. 119 ff.
6. *E. I.*, vol. V, p. 208.

Pratihāra Bhoja was the immediate successor of Nāgabhaṭṭa. The epigraphic records tell us that Bhoja was preceded by Rāmabhadra who succeeded Nāgabhaṭṭa.[1] So taking these things into consideration it cannot be definitely stated that Śarvavarman was immediately followed by Avantivarman on the throne.

Bāṇa tells us that "a base-born general Puṣpamitra, pounded his foolish Maurya Master Bṛhadratha having displayed his own army on the pretext of manifesting his power[2] ....carried away by fondness for tourbadors, the Maukharī fool Kṣatravarman was cut down by bards, his enemy's emissaries, with a cry of 'victory' echoing on their lips. In his enemy's city the king of the Śakas while courting another man's wife, was butchered by Candragupta concealed in his mistress's dress."[3] From the nature of the above statement it appears almost certain that Kṣatravarman was a regal personage. Evidently he must have been enjoying a kingdom.[4] The Maukharī line begins from Harivarman, and as has been seen above, we have connected genealogy of the Maukharī dynasty upto Śarvavarman.[5] Now Bāṇa tells us about two more kings of the Maukharī line viz: Avantivarman and Grahavarman, who flourished in the later part of the 6th and early part of the 7th century A. D. It is evident from the statement of Bāṇa that Kṣatravarman was a ruler who at least preceded Avantivarman. Under this circumstance, it is highly possible that Kṣatravarman ruled his kingdom after Śarvavarman and before Avantivarman. It is quite possible that he was the immediate successor of Śarvavarman on the throne of the Maukharīs, who seem to have killed Dāmodaragupta.[6] It is known from the Aphsad Inscription[7] that Dāmodaragupta's son Mahāsenagupta, the

1. KNI.
2. Cowell, Harṣacarita, ch IV, p. 192.
3. Cowell, Harṣacarita, ch IV, p. 193.
4. Bāṇa cites the name of Kṣatravarman among other independent kings like Candragupta and Bṛhadratha.
5. A number of Inscriptions tell us about three Maukharī chiefs. But we know that they were only local chieftains of minor importance.
6. Aphsad Ins, *CII.*, vol III, p. 201 ff. 7. Ibid.

king of Malwa,[1] reached upto the banks of the river Lauhitya e. i. Brahmaputra in course of military expedition.[2] Evidently he must have forced his way through the kingdom of the Maukharis, who killed his father.[3] He was a contemporary of Kṣatravarman. It is not unlikely to think that it was he who was killed by the emissaries of Mahāsenagupta.[4] After this disaster Avantivarman came to the throne. He was followed by Grahavarman[5] who married Rājyaśrī, the daughter of Prabhākaravardhana and sister of Harṣavardhana.[6] He was killed by Buddharāja, son and successor of Śaṅkaragaṇa, ruler of Malwa.[7]

After the death of Grahavarman Rājyaśrī ascended the throne of Kanauj. Harṣa conducted the administrative affairs of her kingdom on her behalf. Mañjuśrīmūlakalpa states that Harṣa and Rājyaśrī ruled conjointly the kingdom of the Maukharis. This statement is supported by a Chinese authority.[8] Rājyaśrī was certainly living in the forties of the 7th cen. A. D. as we know that she participated in the quinquennial festival organised by Harṣa at Prayāga. The Chinese authorities give no hint about Arjuna holding sway over Kanauj. According to the modern scholars the history of Kanauj from 650 A. D. till the rise of Yaśovarman is blank.

An inscription[9] of Śivadeva II the Ṭhākuri king of Nepal states that "The prince respectfully took the illustrious Vatsadevī to be his queen, as if she were fortune, here the daughter of illustrious Bhogavarman who was the crest-jewel of the illustrious Varmans of the valorous Maukharī race, and who by his glory put to shame (all) hostile kings, and

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1. *Malwa in 6th & 7th cen. A. D.* by Dr. D. C. Ganguli, JB & ORS, Dec. 1933.
2. *CII*, Vol. III. p. 206.
3. *Ibid*, p. 201 ff
4. Cowell, Harṣacarita, ch IV, p. 193.
5. Ibid, p. 122.
6. Ibid.
7. *Malwa in 6th & 7th cen. A. D.* by Dr. D. C. Ganguli, JB & ORS, Dec. 1933.
8. Smith, EHI.
9. I. A. vol IX, p. 181, No. 15.

the grand daughter of great Ādityasena the illustrious Lord of Magadha." We know Ādityasena is the king of the same name belonging to the Later Gupta family whose known date is 671 A. D.[1] It appears from the above statement that there was a Maukharī king Bhogavarman who ruled over a kingdom in the second half of the 7th cen. A. D. We do not know any other Maukharī king ruling over any other locality except Kanauj in that age. Needless to say that a scion of the Maukharī family was the lawful owner of the throne of Kanauj after the death of both Harṣa and Rājyaśrī. In this circumstance it would be quite reasonable to accept that Bhogavarman was the successor on the throne of Kanauj after the death of Rājyaśrī. It was from him or one of his successors that Yaśovarman wrested the throne of Kanauj in the early part of the 7th cen A. D.

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1. Sāhpur Stone Image Inscription, E. I. Vol V, p. 208.

EARLY INDIAN HISTORY WITH CORRECT DATES FOUND IN SKANDA PURĀṆA.

By Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya, M.A., LL B.

(*Bombay.*)

It is not generally known that Skanda Purāṇa, in the usual fashion of Purāṇas, predicts the kings who will reign in India in the Kali age and gives even their dates.

Pargiter's book on the Purāṇa dynasties does not refer to Skanda Purāṇa at all, which is really very strange. Other European or Indian scholars also do not seem to know that Skanda Purāṇa gives very interesting information in this connection. We wrote a paper a few years ago and published it in the Marāthī magazine विविधज्ञानविस्तार. But being in Marāṭhī it has not attracted the notice of orientalists. We think it, therefore, necessary to read this appear in English before the 7th Session of Indian Oriental Conference held at Baroda.

It is well known that Vāyu, Matsya, Viṣṇu and Bhāgavata give these future kings from Parīkṣit down to the end of the Āndhra dynasty. They all contain this śloka regarding the period from the birth of Parīkṣit to the coronation of Nanda, viz.

' यावत्परीक्षितो जन्म यावन्नन्दाभिषेचनम् ।
एतद्वर्षसहस्त्रं तु ज्ञेयं पञ्चदशोत्तरम ' ॥

The last quarter is variously read as शतं पञ्चदशोत्तरम् or ज्ञेयं पञ्चदशोत्तरम् etc. But all agree in assigning exactly 1000 years to the Bārhadratha dynasty of Magadha born of बृहद्रथ son of Jarāsandha, who took part in the Bhārata fight. These Purāṇas appear to have thus put in their present form after the end of the Āndhra dynasty, presumably in the beginning of Gupta period, as they usually last contain a reference to the

Guptas reigning in Magadha and the Gaṅgā-Yamunā doab. This fixes their date about 320 or 335 A. D., as shown by Pargiter (with the exception of Bhāgavata whose date is certainly later than Śaṅkara of 800 A. D. as shown by us in our paper on the subject published in B. B. R. A.S. Vol. I, New series.)

The Skanda Purāṇa account is entirely different. It does not mention the birth of Parīkṣit or the Bārhadratha dynasty and it gives dates from the beginning of Kali age, which is clearly taken as 3101 B. C. as assigned by noted Indian astronomical Siddhāntas. We extract below the relevant verses from Skanda Purāṇa, कौमारखण्ड as published by Khemraj:—

अष्टाविंशे कलौ यच्च भावि तत्त्वं निबोध मे।
त्रिषु वर्षसहस्रेषु कलेर्यातेषु पार्थिव।
त्रिशतेषु दशन्येष्वस्यां भुवि भविष्यति ॥ १ ॥
शूद्रको नाम वीराणामधिपः सिद्धिमत्र सः।
चर्चितायां समाराध्य लप्स्यते भूभरापहः ॥ २ ॥
ततस्त्रिषु सहस्रेषु दशाधिकशतत्रये।
भविष्यं नन्दराज्यं च चाणक्यो यान् हनिष्यति ॥ ३ ॥
ततस्त्रिषु सहस्रेषु विंशत्या चाधिकेषु च।
भविष्यं विक्रमादित्यराज्यं सोऽथ प्रलप्स्यते ॥ ४ ॥
सिद्धिं प्रसादाद्दुर्गाणां दीनान् यो ह्युद्धरिष्यति।
ततः शत (त्रिषु) सहस्रेषु शतेनाप्यधिकेषु च।
शको नाम भविष्यश्च योऽतिदारिद्र्यहारकः ॥ ५ ॥
ततस्त्रिषु सहस्रेषु षट्शतैरधिकेषु च।
मागधे हेमसदनादञ्जन्यां प्रभविष्यति ॥ ६ ॥
विष्णोरंशो धर्मपाता बुधः साक्षात्स्वयं प्रभुः।
ज्योतिर्बिन्दुमुखानुग्रान् हनिष्यति स कोटिशः ॥ ७ ॥
ततो वक्ष्यन्ति तं भक्त्या सर्वपापहरं बुधम्।
चतुर्षु च सहस्रेषु शतेष्वपि चतुर्षु च ॥ ८ ॥
साधिकेषु महान्राजा प्रमितिः प्रभविष्यति।
गोत्रेषु वै चन्द्रमसो × × × गंगायमुनयोर्मध्ये ॥ ९ ॥

In the above, six kings are given in order of time (as shown by the word ततः everywhere), viz:—1. Śūdraka 2. Nanda. 3. Vikramāditya 4. Saka 5. Budha and 6. Pramiti.

The date of Vikrama comes to 3101 B. C.-3020 or 81 B. C. and of Śaka 3101 B. C.-3100 or 1 B. C. (the word शत here is clearly wrong; it ought to be त्रिषु as this is followed by ततःत्रिषु, सह for युध and चतुर्षु for प्रमिति).

These two kings are, therefore, clearly Vikrama who started the era of 57 B. C. and Śaka who started the era of 78 A. D. This also shows that the Kali era used here is that given by the Indian Astronomical Siddhāntas. There were before these, two other views about the beginning of the Kali age which was supposed by all to be the same as the birth of Parīkṣit which followed the great Bhārata fight. The Mahābhārata and all Purāṇas agree in this point. While the Mahābhārata gives no date for Bhārata fight, the Purāṇas assign it to about 1500 B. C. according to the well-known śloka given in the beginning "From Parīkṣit's birth upto Nanda's coronation there elapsed 1015, or 1050 or 1115 years. Now Nanda's date is 100 years before Candragupta whose date is now certain viz. 312 B. C. Thus Nanda's date is 412 B. C. and the date of the Bhārata fight according to the Purāṇas is 1015 plus 412 or 1427 B. C. or at the utmost 1115 plus 412=1527 B. C. Varāha Mihira and Kalhaṇa gave the date of Yudhiṣṭhira as 2566 before Śaka era or 2566 plus 78 B. C. (2646 B. C.) Now Indian Astronomical Siddhāntas from Sūrya Siddhānta onwards assign the Bhārata fight to Mārgaśirṣa 3102 B. C. and the beginning of Kali age to 3101 B. C. Caitra Śuddha. This date was accepted almost all over India hereafter and even inscriptions give this date as well as the Śaka date. Thus the Aihole rock inscription of Cālukya Pulakeśin gives its date as follows:—

त्रिंशत्सु त्रिसहस्रेषु भारतादाहवादितः ।
सप्ताब्दशतवर्षेषु गतेष्वब्देषु पंचसु ॥
पंचाशत्सु कलौ काले षट्सु पंचशतासु च ।
समासु समतीतासु शकानामपि भूभुजाम् ॥

viz. " When 3735 years from Kali or Bhārata fight and 556 years of Śaka kings had elapsed." This gives year 3179 before S'aka or 3101 B. C. for Bhārata fight or the beginning of Kali. It follows that the above passage in Skanda was

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written after Sūryasiddhānta, the date of which is fixed by Śankar B. Dixit, author of 'History of Indian Astronomy' at about 500 A. D.; for it is later than Varāha-Mihira of 427 Śaka and earlier than Brahmagupta whose work mentions Sūryasiddhānta and is dated 550 S'aka or 628 A. D. (p. 216.) We are also certain that the above passage must have been written before Harṣa of Kanauj; for had it been written after him, it could not have omitted this almost greatest emperor of India. Consequently, we can fix, with tolerable accuracy, the date of the above passage as lying between 550 and 640 A. D. Indeed while the other Purāṇas were put in their present form in the beginning of the Gupta period, Skanda Purāṇa was enunciated towards its end.

Note :—The date for Bhārata fight given by the Astronomical Siddhāntas is more reliable and correct than that given by the Purāṇas as shown by us in detail in our 'Mahābhārata: a criticism' and in Kesarī; and it is based on a more ancient tradition, as it tallies with the statement of Megasthenes quoted by Pliny that there were 153-18=135 generations between Herakles and Candragupta. This means that Hari or Herakles preceded Candragupta by about 2760 years and his date was thus 2760 plus 312 B C.=3072. Śrī Kṛṣṇa died 36 years after the Bhārata fight of 3102 B. C.)

The most prominent fact apparent from the Skanda Purāṇa history is the existence of a Vikrama of 57 B. C. and this is thus an additional argument against the current theory that Candragupta II of about 480 A. D. was the first Vikramāditya. The first argument against the theory is supplied us by Hāla's Saptas'atī which clearly mentions Vikrama in the following verse, viz.—

संवाहनसुखरसतोषितेन ददता तव करे लाक्षाम् ।
चरणेन विक्रमादित्यचरितमनुशिक्षितं तस्याः ॥

The existence of this Vikrama is further evidenced by an inscription of Gandapheres found in the Punjab which gives the year 103 and which must refer to the Vikrama era of 57

B. C. as shown by us in our paper in Indian Review. This statement of Skanda Purāṇa made about 600 A. D. i. e. about 200 years after Candragupta II mentions Vikrama of 57 B. C.

The description given here of Vikrama is almost inexplicable, though we detect in it the tradition current in Ujjain that Vikrama became great by the favour of Durgās (64 in number) and दीनान् यो मुद्धरिष्यति may refer to his freeing the Bhārata land from the oppression of Sakas. His title Śakāri has thus great antiquity. The description in Saptaśati of Hāla refers probably to one of these many stories which were told from ancient days about Vikrama down to सिंहासनबत्तीसी.

The description of Śaka given by Skanda refers to the tradition that he, when promulgating his era paid off the debts of all debtors in his country (योऽतिदारिद्र्यहारकः). Whether this Śaka is a Satrap of Ujjain or a Śātavāhana is not made clear; but the probability is that a Satrap of Ujjain is referred to here. The Śaka era was undoubtedly started by a Satrap as inscriptions and works before 1200 A. D. (Peep into early History-Bhandarkar) always describe it as the era of Śaka kings and not of Śātavāhana. Even Bhāskarācārya calls it era of Śaka kings in his Siddhānta Śiromaṇi dated 1072 Śaka (see S. B. Dixit's History of Indian Astronomy p. 246). The date of Śaka given by Skanda Purāṇa is 3100 Kali or 1 B. C. and we may believe that Śakas overthrew the Vikrama family in Ujjain about the beginning of the Christian era and that Chaṣṭana (Tiastenes) of Periplus of this family ruled in Ujjain about 132 A. D. This era is chiefly used by the Astronomical Siddhāntas, because their theory was developed at Ujjain from the amalgamation of Vedāṅga astronomy with Greek astronomy under Śaka rule at Ujjain. These Śakas were mixed with Yavanas (शकयवनम्) but they all became Hindus and worshippers of Śiva. This dynasty of kings ruled in Ujjain for three centuries and Ujjain has become the astronomical Greenwich of India from their time. The Śātavāhanas of Paiṭhan never used this era in their inscriptions.

We will now proceed to discuss the historicity of the other kings. Budha is next mentioned as ruling in Magadha in 3600 Kali or 3600-3101=499 A. D. He is described at length and as having destroyed the fierce Huns with shining faces (ज्योतिर्बिन्दुमुखान्हूणान्). He is said to be born of Añjanī from Hemasadana. We have an inscription of Budhagupta printed in Gupta Inscriptions Plate XIIA. The date of the inscriptions is 165 of Gupta era equivalent to 485 A. D. which comes very near our Budha date. Budhagupta is mentioned by Hiuen Tsang (Yuan Chwang) as having defeated the Huns. Nṛsiṁha Bālāditya is also mentioned and this Budhagupta may be his successor or Nṛsiṁha himself, for in the Skanda verse, Budha seems to be his other name (ततो वक्ष्यन्ति तं भक्त्यासर्वपापहरं बुधम्).

The next king mentioned is Pramiti who is described as ruling in Gaṅgā-Yamunā doab in 4400 Kali or 1299 A. D. This is certainly an imaginary king, for in 1300 A. D. the whole of this part of India was under Mahomedan rule. This makes it certain that the Skanda Purāṇa account was formulated after Budhagupta and had no idea of Harṣa and other great kings (Bhoja etc.) of the Pratihāra and Gāhaḍavāla dynasties of Kanauj. After Pramiti, the Skanda account goes on to mention the usual Kalki who will appear according to all Purāṇas at the end of Kali age and destroy all degenerate kings. Pramiti is then as fictitious as Kalki.

Going on to the two kings mentioned before Vikrama, we have first Nanda whose date is given as 3000-310=2690 Kali or 3101-2690=411 B. C. As described in other Purāṇas also, this is correctly the date of Nandas who preceded Candragupta by about 100 years. They (nine in number नवनंद) are also correctly described as "being uprooted by Cāṇakya." Before him is mentioned Śūdraka whose date is somewhat obscure owing to wrong reading. But we may take him as preceding Nanda by twenty years. Who he was and where he ruled is not mentioned. None of the Purāṇas mention Śūdraka among Kali kings ruling the Magadha before Nanda. If he is the author of Mṛcchakaṭika, he must have lived some time after Buddha when his religion had just spread to Ujjain and when Buddhist Bhikṣus were still held in contempt.

To conclude, the following topics are suggested by Skanda Purāṇa account for research.

(1) Where did Śūdraka rule ? Does चर्चिता mean Ujjain ? He is represented as having obtained rule by worship of some deity. Or do the words सिद्धिमवाप refer to the fact noted in अग्निं प्रविष्टः of मृच्छकटिक ?

(2) Who was the Śaka king, who founded the era of 78 A. D. ? He cannot be Kaniṣka who is assigned to the second century A. D. Vikrama of Ujjain drove away the Śaka invaders from the Punjab. The second batch of Śakas conquered Ujjain and destroyed a weak successor of Vikrama in 78 A. D. Thinking it necessary to reconcile the people to a foreign rule, he distributed riches among the people of Malwa. He must have been a predecessor of Chaṣṭana whose date is 132 A. D (see A Peep into Early History of India by Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, p. 36). He cannot be Nāhāpaṇa also, who tried to conquer Deccan but was driven away by Gautamīputra. His date as given in the inscription of Uṣavadāta is 40 S'aka or 118 A. D. (Ibid). He might probably be Ghsamotika father of Chaṣṭana.

(3) Who is Añjanī and who or what is Hemasadana mentioned in connection with Budha ? He was a great worshipper of Viṣṇu and a supporter of Buddhists also. Buddha soon became an Avatāra of Viṣṇu and Buddhists became Vaiṣṇavas.

Their coins exhibit Greek letters and Prākrit also, thus showing how Greek and Indian cultures, especially astronomies, were being fused under the rule of these Śaka Satraps at Ujjain.

Addendum.

Prof. Kulkarni in his preface to the Mṛcchakaṭika edited by him refers to the Skanda Purāṇa's mention of Śūdraka but he is evidently mistaken when he gives his date as 3000+295 Kali (or 194 A. D.). Skanda verse properly interpreted gives the date as 3000–295=2705 Kali or 396 A. D. especially because he precedes Nanda and Vikrama and Śaka, all given

in order as indicated by the word कत: (Nanda's date should be taken as 371 A. D. he being that Mahāpadma Nanda whom Cāṇakya killed and who preceded Candragupta by about 50 years. Śūdraka however may still be the author of मृच्छकटिक which lays its plot at a time when Buddhist nuns were still unpopular, say about a hundred years after Buddha.

YAVANAS IDENTIFIED IN THE LIGHT OF A GRAMMATICAL ILLUSTRATION.

By Pandit Lachhmidhar Kalla Shastri, M.A., M.O.L.

(*Delhi.*)

Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra in his learned disquisition on the supposed identity of the Greeks with the Yavanas of the Sanskrit writers comes to the conclusion-(1) that originally the term Yavana was the name of a country and its people to the west of Kandahar-which may have been Arabia or Persia or Media or Assyria-probably the last; (2) that subsequently it became the name of all those places, (3) that at a later date it indicated all the casteless races to the west of the Indus including the Arabs and the Asiatic Greeks and the Egyptians, (4) that the Indo-Greek kings of Afghanistan were also probably indicated by the same name, (5) that there is not a tithe of evidence to show that it was at any one time the exclusive name of the Greeks, (6)-that it is impossible now to infer from the use of the term Yavana, the exact nationality in Sanskrit works.

The learned doctor adduces many proofs in support of his contention, but, in the light of the proof given below, I cannot agree with the view that originally the term Yavana was the name of a country and its people to the west of Kandahar—which may have been Arabia or Persia or Media or Assyria—probably the last, and that there is not a tithe of evidence to show that it was at any one time the exclusive name of the Greeks. I submit that originally the term Yavana denoted the Greeks, and in support of my view, I refer to the famous grammatical illustration-that has escaped notice of the learned doctor—on the Pāṇini Sūtra III. 2. 126—लक्षणहेत्वोः क्रियायाः—which signifies that the affixes शतृ and शानच् are

the substitutes of लट् and come after a verb in expressing an attendant circumstance or characteristic and the cause of an action. Now the grammarians tell us that the word लक्षण in the above Sūtra means that by which a thing is recognized or known, that is an attribute; and Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita in the Siddhānta Kaumudī illustrates the point by quoting the example—शयाना भुञ्जते यवनाः—'the Yavanas take their meals reclining'. It cannot be argued that since Bhaṭṭoji lived in the latter half of the 16th or beginning of the 17th century A. D., the term Yavana here may indicate the Musalman invaders for whom the term is generally employed by the later Sanskrit writers, such as Jagannātha Paṇḍita who is said to have composed verses in praise of a Mahomedan lady यवनी नवनीतकोमलाङ्गी etc. for the simple reason that the Musalmans do not take their food reclining. Bhaṭṭoji therefore must have copied the illustration from some earlier writer. We find Rāmachandra-who lived in the first half of the 15th century-quoting it in his Prakriyā Kaumudī; further back, it is quoted by the author of the Kāśikā who lived in the latter half of the sixth or the first half of the 7th cent. A. D. when the question of the Mahomedan invaders does not arise. We expect the illustration further back in Patañjali's Mahābhāṣya but fail to discover it. In this connection we must remember the tradition recorded in the Rājataraṅgiṇī (1.176) that the text of the Mahābhāṣya had become so hopelessly corrupt that only one manuscript was left that was assumed to be correct from which subsequent copies were made in the reign of King Abhimanyu of Kashmir. But the term Yavana, whatever its signification may be, is known to Patañjali in 150 B. C. as in अरुणत् यवनः साकेतम्। अरुणद् यवनो माध्यमिकाम्। (vide commentary on अनद्यतने लङ् 3. 2. 111) and Kātyāyana in the 5th cent. B. C. is aware of the name Yavana as is evident from his Vārtika on कम्बोजाल्लुक् (4. 1. 175) as well as his Vārtika यवनाल्लिप्याम् on the Pāṇini Sūtra 4. 1. 49. Pāṇini in the 7th cent. B. C. is himself aware of the term Yavana as mentioned in the Sūtra 4. 1. 49—इन्द्रवरुण-यवनमातुलाचार्याणामानुक्. Now the term Yavana having been traced to 7th cent. B. C. in the Sūtras of Pāṇini, the writing of Yavanas to 500 B. C. in the Vārtikas of Kātyāyana and the invasion of a Yavana to the 2nd

cent. B. C. in the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali; no clue of Yavanas taking their meals in a reclining position is available in Sanskrit works before the date of the Kāśikā that is the 6th or the 7th cent. A. D. But no people belonging to the age of Kāśikā are known to Indian history, taking their meals in a reclining position, and the authors of Kāśikā could not invent the illustration. They are expected to offer an example on Sūtra 3. 2. 126, which was known to illustrate the characteristic manner of the people concerned. Therefore they must have drawn on tradition which is perhaps accidentally not recorded in previous Sanskrit works. That the tradition is ancient and well-founded is borne out from the history of Greek peoples namely Cretans and Laconians, about whom it is stated that at one time they used to take their meals in a reclining posture. (Vide Mommsen's History of Rome Vol. I, p. 24). Thus Mommsen writes, 'the ancient Romans agreed with the Cretans and Laconians in taking their meals not, *as was afterwards the custom among both peoples,* in a reclining but in a sitting posture'. I therefore conclude that it is the Cretan and Laconian Greeks, who of all other people took their meals in a reclining posture, that have been characterized by the term Yavana in the famous line शयाना भुञ्जते यवनाः ।

We all know that history of Greece is the history of numerous petty states occupied by Greeks. These states may have been warring with each other, yet there was a spirit of Pan-Hellenism among them. It appears that towards 800 B. C. Greeks had settled down and established commercial centres in Asia Minor, one of which was Ionia that attained pre-eminence in luxury and wealth. It was after the name of this famous centre of trade from Asia Minor to the coast, that the Greeks of various tribes including Cretans and Spartans of Laconia who occupied Ionia, were, all of them, described by the Asiatic people as Yavanas, Yunānis, or Javanas. Greeks were called Greeks by the Romans. They called themselves Hellas. There is no difficulty in assuming that the fame of the Ionian Greeks who were in a flourishing condition in 800 B. C. had reached India so as to enable Pāṇini to include the term Yavana in his list of words in the Sūtra 4. 1. 49.

Dr. Rajendra Lal Mitra appears to be wrong in assuming that the term Yavanānī, as derived by Pāṇini, cannot mean Greek writing. I see no difficulty there. For it is stated by Greek historians that even in 3000 B. C. the Cretans had their system of writing with conventional pictures which was later on developed into a system of letters composed of lines. The Cretan writing, adopted by the Greeks after their occupation of Crete, and carried to different centres of Greek trade such as Ionia, appears to have been known to ancient India as Yavanānī. The Cretans took their meals in a reclining posture, so did the Laconians. We do not know of any other people who are noted for this characteristic habit. We have the tradition–शयाना भुञ्जते यवनाः । We may therefore conclude that at one time Yavana was the exclusive name of Greeks, which was later on generalized so as to include people of other nationalities also.

THE ŚIVAYOGASARAMU AND ITS HISTORICAL VALUE.

BY M. RAMA RAO M.A., B.ED.
(Rajahmundry.)

Of the Telugu manuscripts recently brought to light in the Andhra country, the Śivayōgasāramu occupies an unique position. It is the only literary source that contains many valuable facts which are otherwise unknown, about the history of the Andhra country from the 11th to 14th centuries. It is of special importance to the history of the Kākatiyas of Warangal. The first complete copy of the first part of this rare Śaiva work was recently found and is now deposited in the Gautami Library, Rajahmundry.

Kolani Gaṇapatidéva of the 14th century, a member of the famous Brahmin family of Kākatiya subordinates was the author of this work. The avatārikā or the introductory portion of the manuscript, containing about a hundred Telugu verses is the subject of this paper.

The Śivayōgasāramu brings to light many new facts which either confirm or add to our knowledge of the history of the Kākatiyas. The new information available from this manuscript may be summarised under the following heads:-

(1) Pedamallana and Pinamallana were two officials of Kākati Rudra and lived at Orugallu (Warangal).

(2) Sōmaya of the Indulūri family conquered the city of Kolanu on behalf of Kākatiya Gaṇapatidéva.

(3) Pedaganna and Manmaganna of the same family were the generals of Rudrāmbā.

(4) Annayadéva and Rudra of the Kolani family served as generals under Pratāparudradéva and the former married the king's maternal aunt Ruyyammā.

(5) Contemporaneous with the Kākatiyas, another line of kings ruled at Nidudavōlupura.

In the avatārikā the author narrates the exploits of his ancestors who were all subordinates and generals of the Kākatiyas. Of these three individuals deserve special mention here. Sōmaya of the third generation was a great scholar of the Śāstras and the Vedas. He is said to have conquered the enemy's territory lying to the east of Ekaśilāpurī, annexed Gogulanāḍu and laid siege to the city of Kolanu. It is known that the Kākatiya king Gaṇapati invaded the Velnāḍu country about the year 1218 A. D.[1] and conquered the southern part of Kaliṅga at a subsequent date. That monarch's inscriptions are found round modern Ellore (which is identified as the site of ancient Kolanipura) immediately after those of Keśavanāyaka the last of the rulers of Kolanipura. Evidently Sōmaya of the Indulūri family took the leading part in Gaṇapati's campaigns against Kolanu. We learn for the first time from the Śivayogasāramu that the area known as Gogulanāḍu lay to the south of the Gōdāvarī. Next the attention of the general Sōmaya was turned towards the twelve Manyams on the other side of the river. This exploit was evidently part of the Kākatiya conquest of Kaliṅga.[2] Thus the Śivayōgasāramu gives us interesting details regarding the Velnāḍu and Kaliṅga campaigns of Kākatiya Gaṇapatideva.

From the Śivayōgasāramu it appears that Annayadeva of the fourth generation of the Indulūri family was perhaps the greatest of all and one of the leading personalities of the time in the Kākatiya Empire. Though a few inscriptions of this Brahmin general are available, this manuscript work gives us the fullest account of his exploits and greatness. He was the commander of 12000 cavalry and 55 lakhs of infantry under Pratāparudra, and was the Viceroy over the vast territory lying between the eastern gateway of the Warangal fort and Simhāchalam on the coast. Among the chieftains defeated by Annaya were the rulers of Mōpūr, the Gajapati of Kaliṅga,

1. See my "Political history of the Kākatiyas" in J. A. H. R. S. vol VI, pt 1, p. 35.
2. See Ibid vol. VI, pts. 3 & 4, p. 159.

the five Pāṇḍyas and the *Mussalmans*. This shows that this general's activities extended to the very end of Pratāparudra's reign. He is said to have conquered 72 fortresses like Sūrapuramu and Olacherla. Annaya stationed his trusted relatives in all the important forts on the east coast. Ultimately he married Ruyyambā the maternal aunt of his overlord and this perhaps explains his enjoyment of rare symbols of authority like the five-colored parasol, vinjāmaralu, the elephant and lion banners, the five bells, etc He also had many high-sounding titles like Mūrurāyara-jagadādigaṇḍa, Jagamartyagaṇḍa, Sammeta-nārāyaṇa, Kaliyuga-bhīma, Rāyachauhaṭṭamalla, etc.[1] The S'ivayōgasāramu also describes the innumerable gardens, tanks and wells erected by this Brahmin general in the country lying between the Mahendragiri in the north and the river Kṛṣṇā in the south.

Annaya's nephew Rudra was equally great. He held the fortresses .of Chebrōlu, Padinapuramu, Kancherla, Nujella, Rājamahendramu, Chāmarlakota Piṭhāpuram, Bōdasakurru, etc. He is also credited with having defeated the five Pāṇḍyas and the king of Kaliṅga. Rāyachauhaṭṭamalla, Bāhaṭṭāridurganāyaka, Iruvettugaṇḍa were some of his titles. Rudra's scholarship was as great as his valour. He was considered an authority on the S'aiva and Vaiṣṇava faiths, and the Dars'anas and was renowned as "Vyākaraṇa-brahma".[2] This point is of special importance. Among the Mss. of the Government Oriental Library, Madras, there is a grammatical work known as "Kās'ikāvṛtti-vyākhyāna" written by 'Rājā Rudra'. Scholars have identified this Rudra with the Kākatiya king Pratāparudra. But another copy of the same work proves that this identification is wrong. Its colophon mentions that the book was written by son of Gannaya the Seal-bearer of king Pratāparudra. The avatārikā of the S'ivayōgasāramu tells us that Rudra was the son of Manma Gannaya and Mallāmbikā. Obviously the grammatical work has to be attributed to the authorship of this general Rudra.

Lastly, one more point of interest brought to light by the S'ivayōgasāramu has to be discussed here. The avatārikā tells

1. See verses 23-27 & 42-49. 2. See verses 50-58.

us that the ancestors of Nūkanārādhya, the teacher of the author and the patron of the work, were serving under the rulers of Niḍudavōlupura as ministers. Niḍudavōlupura has to be identified with the modern Niḍadavōl a railway station on the Madras–Calcutta section. A number of inscriptions in the modern west Godāvarī district brings to light a Mahādevarāja ruler (Chakravartī) of Niḍudaprōlu.[1] From these records it is known that this Mahādeva died by the year 1306 and that his daughter was married to Gaṇapati of the Kona family.[2] Many other scions of the Chālukyan family ruled in the Veṅgī country in the neighbourhood of Niḍadavōl.[3] It is not yet possible to determine the relation between these families. One thing is however certain, that Mahādeva and possibly his ancestors ruled at Niḍudavōlupura as the inscriptions of the neighbourhood and the Sivayōgasaramu tell us.

Thus, this Telugu work recently brought to light reveals many interesting and important facts about the history of the Kākatiyas and deserves the attention of scholars.[4]

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1. E. R. no. 511 of 1893 and S. I. I. no. 735.
2. S. I. I. vol. IV, Pālakol inscriptions.
3. See nos. 138, 141 and 147 of S. I. I. IV.
4. I am editing the avatārikā of the manuscript in the "Kākatiya sañchikā" to be published by the Andhra Historical Research Society, shortly.

THE ANCIENT LATTALŪRA AND MODERN LĀTŪR.

By G. H. Khare.

(*Poona*).

In the mediaeval age there flourished many dynastics in South India, several members of which had epithets of various kinds. Among these there was one which generally gave the name of the original place from which they claimed to have emigrated. Thus the Śilāhāras of Northern Koṅkaṇ and Kolhāpur took the biruda Tagarapura-Parameśvara or Tagarapuravarādhīśvara, meaning thereby that they originally hailed from Tagara. The Kādambas of Hāugal and Goa had the biruda Banavāsīpuravarādhīśvara. Kalachuryas of Kalyāṇī called themselves Kālañjarapuravarādhīśvara. The Western Gaṅgas had the epithet Kovalālapuravaieśvara. In the same way Rāṣṭrakūṭa Amoghavarṣa I and some Raṭṭa princes of Saundatti bore the biruda Lattalūrapura-parameśvara or its variant meaning that they emigrated from Lattalūra. That this was what really was meant by the phrase is shown clearly by the Sitābaldī inscription where a prince belonging to a great Rāṣṭrakūṭa lineage and his officer are both given the epithet Latalauravinirggata.[1]

Different records supply different forms of this place-name, Lattalūra. Thus Nīlgund[2] and Sirūr[3] (both of Ś. 788) inscriptions give the form Lattalūra, while Maṇṭūr[4] (Ś. 962), Saundattī[5] (undated) and Saundattī[6] (Chā. Vi. 18=Ś. 1018)

1. For a full discussion of all these phrases and their meaning see Epigraphia Indica, Vol VII, pp. 223,224,225.
2. E. I. Vol VI, p. 103.
3. Indian Antiquary Vol XII, p. 218.
4. I. A. Vol. XIX, p. 164.
5. Journal of the Bombay branch Royal Asiatic Society Vol. X, p. 213.
6. J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. X, p. 196.

inscriptions have Lattalūr i. e. the last r consonant. The Terdāl[1] (ś 1045) inscription records the form Lattanūra. But the Kalhole[2] (ś 1127), Bhoj-copperplate[3] (ś 1131) and Saundatti[4] (ś 1151) inscriptions give the variant Lattanūr i. e. the last r consonant. And lastly Sitābaldi[5] inscription has the variant Latalaura. So in all there appear five variants for the place name Lattalūra and they are Lattalūra, Lattalūr, Lattanūra, Lattanūr and Latalaura.

Scholars have suggested more than one identification[6] of this place only two of which deserve notice here. The late Dr. Fleet once suggested-to quote his words-that " It might not impossibly be found in the town known as Ratanpur, in the Bilaspur district, Central Provinces; because the letters *l* and *r* are often interchanged, and so it would not be difficult to derive the name Ratanpur from the full form Lattanūr-pura." That suggestion, however, was based chiefly on the fact that we find traces of rulers calling themselves Rāṣṭrakūṭas in various parts of India far to the north of the territories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malkhed.[7] But subsequently he dropped the suggestion for "it was not really in any way sustainable[8] ". Afterwards he made a new suggestion in respect of which he remarked 'while not asserting a final identification of Lattalur,

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1. I. A. Vol. XIV, p. 18.
2. J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. X, p. 221.
3. I. A. Vol. XIX, p. 247.
4. J. B. B. R. A. S. Vol. X, p. 268.
5. E. I. Vol. III, p. 306.
6. For suggestions other than those noticed here see E. I. Vol. VII, p. 225, 4 n. and गोयकारांची गोयाभायली वसणूक, पैलें खंड, पृ. ३४-३५.
7. E. I. Vol VII, p. 225.
8. E. I. Vol. VII, p. 225. The real cause why he did so appears to be (as shown on p. 36 of गोयकारांची गोयाभायली वसणूक, पैलें खंड.) this: The inscription which mentions Ratanpur, also states that it was founded by Ratnarāja or Ratnes'vara, the grand father of Jājalla-deva in whose time the record was engraved. As the inscription is dated in Kalachuri-Chedi era 866 i. e. in A. D. 1114, the earliest date for the foundation of Ratanpur cannot be far earlier than A. D. 1064 i. e. fifty years before the date of the inscription. But as shown above S'irūr and Nīlgund inscriptions dated in S' 788 i. e. A. D. 866 mention Lattalūra. Thus Lattalūra was in existence for about two hundred years before the foundation of Ratanpur for which reason the two cannot be identified.

I would indicate a place in respect of which it seems worth while that some precise inquiries should be made.[1] That place was Lātūr[2] about which he has also remarked "I strongly suspect that local inquiries would result in finding that Lātūr is the ancient Lattalūr, Lattanūr[3] " Neither precise and local inquiries seem to have been made nor the subject appears to have been pursued further seriously and consequently the place remained unidentified.

Recently Mr. V. R. Varde has suggested that Lattalūra should be identified with Loṭalī, a small village in the Sashti subdivision in the Portuguese territory of Goa. His only argument in favour of this identification seems to be that the village is very rich in archæological remains. But I am sorry to note that Mr. Varde has not taken care either to bring to light any convincing proof in support of his assertion or show the fallacy in Dr. Fleet's new argument. On the contrary he has tried to show the inconsistency in the old suggestion of Dr. Fleet which he himself dropped.[4]

Subsequently in a note published in the fourth number of the fourth volume of Mahārāṣṭrasāhityapatrikā p. 265 I, supporting the late Dr's suggestion, showed the weak-points in Mr. Varde's argument and asserted that even the etymology of the word Lattalūra shows that it was the place of Raṭṭas or Rāṣṭrakūṭas. In my opinion the original form of the word was Raṭṭanūru which in Kanarese means the village of Raṭṭa (Raṭṭana+Ūru). In course of time the form was modified to Lattanūra, Lattalūra, Lattalūr, Lattanūr and even to Latalaura shown by the late Dr. Fleet elsewhere.[5]

Recently with a view to verify the late Dr. Fleet's and my statements and see if I could get any local inscriptional evidence, I visited the place and am glad to announce that I

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1. E. I. Vol. VII, p. 225.
2. Now the headquarters of a subdivision of the same name in the Usmanabad district, Nizam's territory and a terminus of the Barshi Light Railway.
3. E. I. Vol VII, p. 226.
4. गोयकारांची गोयाभायली वसणूक, पैलें खंड पृ. ३६, ३७, ३८.
5. E. I. Vol. VII, p. 226.

actually got there an old inscription which clearly states that the town was called Lattalaura in ancient times. We can, therefore, safely say that Lātūr was the place meant in the above inscriptions. It would not be out of place, then, to give here a short description of the record and the reading of the relevant part of it.

To the north of the town there is a big well called 'Pāpanāśi', the destroyer of sin. Near it there is a crude and simple temple of Śiva called the Bhūtanātha. In the maṇḍapa or the hall of the temple there is a stone resting against the western wall which divides the hall and the sanctuary. Its three sides are inscribed while the fourth shows some faint traces of pictures of men, trees and birds. As the stone was originally lying in the well and open to the effects of weather, the writing is worn out. I cannot give, therefore, the text of the whole inscription. But the part which I have tried to decipher contains the most important information. The inscription is in Nāgari characters and Sanskrit language. It first gives the names of three consecutive ruling members from the genealogy of the Chālukyas of Kalyāṇi namely Āhavamalla, his son Parmardi and his son Bhūlokamalla in whose reign the record was inscribed. Then in the following two verses occur the names of the town and the god to whom grants are made (lines 12 to 16) :—

अस्ति दिव्यं पुरस्रेष्टं लतलौराभिधानकं ।
महाजनैः पंचशतेर्व्वेदविद्भिर्निषेवितं ॥
देवोस्ति प्रथितस्तत्र नाम्ना पापविनाशनः ।
यं दृष्ट्वा देवदेवेशं सिध्यंति मनुजा भुवि ॥

From the above extract it becomes quite apparent that Lātūr is the very place mentioned in the inscriptions variously.

The date given on the second face of the stone is S'aka [1] 1049, Plavaṅga saṁvatsara, the month Phālguna, śuddha 8, Friday. According to the southern reckoning of saṁvatsaras, Plavaṅga coincides with S'aka 1049 expired and the bright 8th of Phālguna falls on Friday. The corresponding Christian date is A. D. 1128 February 10.

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1. The s'aka year is also given in words but the text is not quite clear.

Additional Notes.

(1) Iṭṭagī inscription (Ś 1034) has the form Lattalūr (Epi. Ind. Vol. XIII, p. 47)

(2) Dr. Barnett has expressed, in two places, that Lattalūr or Lattanūr is to be identified with modern Lātur (Epi. Ind. Vol XIII, p. 41 and Antiquities of India, p. 262). Dr. Altekar in his recent work 'Rāṣṭrakūṭas and their times' also opines the same way (pp. 22-24).

(3) The name Lattanūr or Lattalūr can be derived either from Raṭṭanūru or Raṭṭarūru. Both the words are Kanarese, the former meaning the village of Raṭṭa (Raṭṭana-ūru) and the latter meaning, the village of Raṭṭas (Raṭṭara-ūru). This derivation is based on the supposition that *ṭ* is changed to *l* and *n* and *l* are interchanged. The changes in the supposition being quite familiar, it is not required to cite examples in support of them.

(4) The date of the inscription is expressed both in words and numbers thus:—

शकनृपकालात् एकोनपंचाशदुत्तरे वत्सरसहस्रे अतीते १०४९ ॥
प्लवंगसवत्सरे फाल्गुने मासि शुक्लाष्टम्यां सुक्रवारे

(second face, ll. 7-11)

(5) I read the inscription thus:—

(1) ....
(2) ....
(3) ....[1] स्वस्त्यस्ति विस्तुतगुणे
(4) कनिधिश्चलुक्यवंशो यशो (शः) कुसुमवासि
(5) तडि—काय: ॥ शंभोरवाप्तजननो जनरं
(6) जनश्रीभूकामिनीविपुलकुंतलमंड
(7) लाभ (भः) ॥१ [॥ *][2] तस्मि (स्मिन्) आहवमल्लदेवनृपति
(8) र्जातो पृथिव्या (व्याः) पतिः ॥ तत्सूनुः परमर्दि

1. Metre वसंततिलका

2. Metre शार्दूलविक्रीडित

(9) देव इति या (यः) ख्यातो महेंद्रप्रभः [। *] तस्या

(10) त्मप्रभवे जयांकिततनौ भूलोकमल्ले

(11) नृपे [। *] राज्यं शासति रामवस्तुविपुलं

(12) धर्म्या—भूसुप्रजाः ॥ [२ ॥ *][1] अस्ति दिव्यं पुरस्त्रे

(13) ष्टं लत्तलौराभिधानकं । महाजनैः पं

(14) चशतैर्व्वेदविद्भिर्न्निषेवितं ॥ [३ ॥ *][1] देवो (ऽ *) स्ति

(15) प्रथितस्तत्र नाम्ना पापविनाशनः । यं

(16) दृष्ट्वा देवदेवेशं सिध्यंति मनुजा भुवि ॥ [४ ॥ *][2]

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1. Metre अनुष्टुभ्.

2. This much portion of the inscription, engraved on the first face of the stone, is legible; but the second and the third faces of the stone are so hopelessly abraded that, except the text of the date and some words here and there, it is not possible to decipher them.

A NOTE ON URAGAPURAM.

By T. N. Subramaniam.

(*Madhuıantakam.*)

The Gadval plates of Chālukya Vikramāditya I whic bears the date, full moon *tithi* of *Vaiśākha* in the twentieth yea of his reign which was current after 596 Śaka, equivalent t Tuesday, the 25th April, A. D. 674, record the grant of lan at the time when the king was encamped at Uragapuram o the southern bank of the Kāverī river, his army havin invaded the *Cholikaviṣaya*, i. e., the Chōla province.[1] Scholaı were not, at first, unanimous in their identification ‹ Uragapuram. Mr. Venkayya was inclined to identify it wit Uraiyūr near Trichinopoly[2] while Dr. Hultzch identified with Negapatam.[3] Attempts have also been made to identif it with Madura[4] as well as Tirunāgeśvaram.[5] In the yea 1917, Dr. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil of Pondicherry spotted th village of Peruvalanallūr, where was fought the battl between Parameśvara-varman and Vikramāditya and where from Vikramāditya, whose army consisted of several lakṣa: had to flee "covered only by a rag."[6] This village is in th Trichinopoly district on the left of the river Kāverī and at distance of ten miles north-west of Trichinopoly. He there fore asserted: "it is not possible to doubt that the town Uraga puram where Vikramāditya I was encamped is any othe place than Uraiyūr (Trichinopoly)". This identification ha been subsequently accepted by scholars.[7]

1. *E. I.*, x, pp. 100–106.
2. *Ibid.* p. 102.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *J. O. R.*, ii, p. 112, n.
5. *Q. J. M. S.*, xi, p. 176.
6. The Pallavas (Pondicherry), p. 4
7. cf. Gopalan, *History of the Pallavas of Kanchi*, p. 104. n. 4
Heras, *Studies in Pallava History*, p. 42.
Aravamuthan, *The Kaveri, The Maukharis and the Sangam ag* p. 32 note.

But the *Mey-k-kirtti* or the Historical Introduction to the inscriptions of the Chōla king Rājakesari Rājarāja (III) has the following passage:

> "Maṇṇaracar vantiṟaiñca makuṭampunai valavanuṭaṉ
> Peṇṇaracum peruntāyamum peṟṟarulum peṇperumāl
> Uṟaiyūrum Per Urakaiyum Utakaiyum maturāpuriyum
> Muṟaimuṟai-y-āṇṭaruli mularinakar tuṟantavaṉ-ṉam"[8]

This clearly shows that Uṟaiyur and Urakai (shortened form of Uragapuram in Tamil)[9] are two different places over which the king was reigning. This makes the identification of Uragapuram with Uṟaiyūr untenable.

Attempts have been made to identify it with Madura, the capital of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom on the authority of the two well known stanzas in the sixth sarga of *Raghuvaṁśa* of Kālidāsa concerning the *svayamvara* of Indumatī. The context is where the princess is introduced into the durbar where are assembled all the princes who aspire to the hand of the princess. Indumatī is led by her lady-in-waiting from prince to prince introducing each prince to her mistress in suitable form. The Pāṇḍya was introduced as the Lord of Uragapuram who wears "the long garland" and " whose chest carries on it the paste of sandal"[10], two features that are supposed to be peculiar to the Pāṇḍya. The garland here has a reference to the garland that at one time was supposed to have been thrown on the neck of a distinguished early Pāṇḍya by Indra. The sandal tree is always regarded as the tree peculiar to the Pāṇḍya country. Uragapuram, on the analogy therefore, and on the express statement of the author, was the capital of the Pāṇḍya. Kālidāsa's reference is

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Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar, *Alvarkal Kalamlai* (Tamil) (The age of the Ālvārs), p. 123-4. (I ed.)

8. Gopinatha Rao, *Colavamica-carittira-c-curukkam* (Tamil) (A short history of the Chola dynasty), 2nd Ed. p. 109.

9. Such usage is very common in Tamil: Mayilāppūr is known as Mayilai, Koyamputtūr as Kovai, Putucceri as Putuvai, Tañcāvūr as Tañcai, Nākapaṭṭinam as Nākai, Karuntiṭṭaikkuṭi as Karantai etc.

10. The original word is *"Uragakhya pura"* i. e., city named Uraga. Mallinātha comments that Nāgapura stands on the Kanyā-kubja in the Pāṇḍyan country.

obviously to the permanent capital, not only of the particular Pāṇḍya under reference but of the Pāṇḍyas in general. He speaks of Uragapuram as the capital of the Pāṇḍya much as we would speak of Pāṭaliputra as the capital of Chandragupta or Ayodhya as the capital of Rāma. Uragapuram as the capital of the Pāṇḍyas must refer to the Pāṇḍya capital, Madura[11].

In fact, Uragapuram is a synonym of one of the names of Madura, i. e., Hālāsya, which in Sanskrit would mean "the mouth (of the snake) Hāla." Among the various *līlās* of Śiva, as the Lord of Madura, there is a story which shows how the city got this name. In legend 47 of the *Tiruvilaiyāṭalpurāṇam* of *Perumparra-p-puliyūr-nampi* the story is told as follows :-

"At the close of the Brahmakalpa, the whole world was in deluge. On the dawn of a new age, the new Pāṇḍyan prince, finding the temple unscathed by the incidents of the change from one kalpa to another, appealed to the Lord to discover to him the ancient limits of the city. By His favour a snake appeared winding itself along the ancient bounds of the city, which since then came to be called *Ālavāy* (*Hālāsya*)". This identification also is untenable as the Gadval plates locate Uragapuram, in the Chōla country, on the southern banks of the river Kāverī.

There are some references to Uragapuram in literature. *Kulottuṅkan-pillai-t-tamil*, a work by Oṭṭakkūttan, the poet laureate of the court of the Chōla king, Kulōttuṅga II, refers to the king as "the Lord of Uragapuri"[12].

Abhidhammāvatāra, the Pāli work of the greatest South Indian Buddhist monk, also contains some references to Uragapuram. His own words lead us to think that he was

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11. Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya, accepting the identification of Uragapuram with Uraiyūr, tries to prove that it was the capital of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom in the first century B. C. (A. B. I., ii, pp. 63-8) when the Cholas were in a subordinate position to the Pāṇḍyas. *Contra* see, *A. B. I.*, ii, part 2.

12. "Urakapuri-y-āl talaivā tālelo" quoted from Pandit M. Raghava Aiyangar's Alvarkal kālanilai, p. 123, n,

born in a Brahmin family at Uragapuram[13]. After his education in Ceylon, he attached himself, according to the then prevailing custom, to the Court of Accuta Vikrama, the Kalabhra king who was ruling at Uragapura[14]. We are thus made to infer that Uragapuram was one of the principal cities, nay, the capital itself of the Chōla country in those days.

The fragmentary inscription of a king named Ādityasena, found at Deoghar in the Santal Parganas, is helpful in confirming the statement that Uragapuram should have been the capital of the country in those days. The inscription refers to the return of the king from the Chōla city. This Ādityasena is identifiable with Ādityasena of the Later Gupta line who was ruling over Magadha in A. D. 672–3[15]. As he

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13. The colophon to the work has: "Uragapuranivāsikena Ācariyena bhadanta Buddhadattena kato Abhidhammavātāro nāmāyam" quoted from Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar's History of the Tamils, p. 529. See also *J. O. R.*, ii, pp. 112–3.

14. For a discussion on the identification of this Accuta Vikrama see J. I. H., viii, part i.

15. Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 212–4: Rajendra Lala Mitra, *J.A.S.B.*, lii, i, p. 190 f. The stone bearing this inscription seems to have been brought from another place, perhaps the Mandāra hill in the Bhagalpur Dt. where it must have been one of the numerous stones on which a long record has been incised. The characters of the record are according to Dr. Fleet, certainly not earlier than the sixteenth century A. D. But by that time, the Cholas had ceased to rule, the Chola kingdoms were things of the past and the Chola capital was consequently non-existent and the kings of the north might have even forgotten the once famous Chola power. Fleet and Rajendra Lala Mitra, each of whom has edited this inscription, have no doubt, however, about the reading 'the Chola city.' That the inscription preserves an old tradition seems to be evident, as Fleet says, from Ādityasena being placed in the *Krta* age. Further at the end of the inscription, as we now have it, occur the words, "Thus runs the chapter on the Mandāragiri." Considering that this inscription is only a fragment, it has even been suggested that it is only one of the many chapters of a long work and, indeed, an extract of a Sanskrit work, on the Mandāra Hill in the Bhagalpur district (O' Malley, *Santal Parganas, District Gazetteer*, 1910, p. 258) We do not also know of any king named Ādityasena who was ruling in that portion of the country in the period to which this inscription might be placed palæographically and we do not know of any invasion undertaken by such a northern king to the Tamil country. This Ādityasena's wife is called in this inscription as Kos'adevī, while the wife of Ādityasena, the later Gupta is called Konadevī, in the inscriptions of his

was reigning at the time when the Chālukyan king Vikramāditya II invaded the Tamil country to wipe off the memory of the disgraceful defeats inflicted on his father, and warred against the *Trairājya*, and as he also refers to his return from the Chōla city, it is just likely that he was an ally and in league with Vikramāditya and followed him in his southern expedition[16]. It is therefore quite likely that the Chōla city referred to in the Deoghar inscription is nothing else than Uragapuram of the Gadval plates.

Dr. Hultzch was inclined to identify it with the sea-port Negapatam taking Uragapuram to be a literal translation in Sanskrit of the word "Nāga-paṭṭinam".

Tradition and literature speak of Negapatam as a former capital of the Chōlas. We also know of the Śailendra kings of Java having constructed Buddhist Vihāras at Negapatam and the Chōla kings of the Imperial line having patronsied those Vihāras in the eleventh century A. D. The above evidences may lead us to infer the identification of Uragapuram with Negapatam.

The objection to such an identification is that Negapatam is not situated on the southern banks of the river Kāverī, as referred to in the Gadval plates. It is about thirty miles to the south of the place where the Kāverī joins the sea. This Negapatam is referred to by the Śaivite Psalmodists as "Kaṭal-Nākai" i. e., Nāgai (situated on the shores) of the sea, wherever

times, a fact which, Fleet contends, is to be "explained by the usual inability of the people, then as now, to read correctly the ancient characters of the inscription or other record from which the composer of these verses obtained his information," and which is a mistake of the kind that corroborates, not invalidates, the identification of these two Ādityasenas. Adding the further circumstance that the Santal Parganas were in all probability a part of the Magadha kingdom of Ādityasena, the later Gupta, we may not be wrong if we followed and accepted this identification. Evidences have also been brought forward to show that the inscription under reference is only a copy of some other record. See Dr. Bloch, *Archæological Survey of India, Annual Reports*, 1902-3, p. 230.

16. T. G. Aravamuthan, The Kāverī, The Maukharis and the S'angam age, pp. 31-33 n. t.

there was any occasion to refer to it.[17]. This clearly shows that Negapatam, i. e., Nāgai of the sea, was in fact different from another Nāgai (in the inland), if there existed one. If Uragapuram had been Negapatam, the Gadval plates would have referred to it as a sea-port as was done by the Śaivite Psalmodists[18]. It will be evident from what has been said above that the identification of Uragapuram is not an easy affair and that it does not fit in with the known facts of the places hitherto discussed. We have therefore to seek for its identification elsewhere.

Epigraphy knows of a place called Pāmbūr in the vicinity of Kumbakōṇam. Urgapuram in Sanskrit may be a translation of 'Pāmbūr" which in Tamil means "Snake City". The country round about Kumbakoṇam was in those days known as Pāmbūr nāḍu[19]. We know that Palaiyāṟu, a village now some three miles to the south-west of Kumbakoṇam, was once a capital of the Chōlas. This was an important place, even in the days of the Pallava rule, probably their southern capital, in the Chōla country.[20] Palaiyāṟu, once a big city, covering an area of nearly twenty miles with its other names, Muḍikoṇḍachōlapuram and Rājarājapuram more familiar to the historians of South India, included in it, a portion, if not the whole, of the present town of Kumbakonam. That part of Kumbakonam in which the Nāgeśvaran temple stands now, is reported in an inscription to have been in the Pāmbūr nāḍu[21]. The places situated in the Pāmbūr nāḍu are on the

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17. Sambandha; Patikam: "Punaiyum viri konrai,, "Kūnal tiṅkal" Sundara; Patikam: "Pattūr pukku" Tiruttoṇṭattokai, v. 7: "Tirai cūl katal–nākai–y–atipattar–kk–atiyen."

18. It has also been suggested that Buddhadatta has described Uragapuram as a flourishing port swarming with men of all nationalities engaged in trade (J. O. R., ii, p. 112). But extracts from the works of Buddhadatta quoted by the late lamented scholar Mr. P. T. S'rīnivāsa Aiyangar, in his work "History of the Tamils" show that those refernces are not to Uragapuram.

19. Inscriptions of the Madras Presidency: Tj–9,25,27,58,59,61,133,137, 646,814,882,1044.

20. Vide my paper "A Forgotten Chola capital" read in the First Bombay Historical Congress, held in December 1931.

21. I. M. P. Tj. 25,28.

outhern banks of the river Kāverī. It is therefore quite ikely that Uragapuram of the Gadval plates is identifiable vith Pāmbūr of the inscriptions.

Let us now consider the identification of this Pāmbūr. Ne do not know of any place with the name Pāmbūr in the icinity of Kumbakonam. About three miles to the east of Kumbakonam, there is a place called Tirunāgeśvaram Is it ossible to identify Pāmbūr with Tiru-nāgeśvaram? Earlier nscriptions say that Tirunāgeśvaram was within the limits of he town of Kumbakonam in those days[22] even though it is ow on the outskirts of the town. The army of Vikramāditya, which consisted of several *lakṣas*, in its victorious ampaign to the south, would not have encamped in the heart of the capital city of the country, but would have encamped only on the outskirts of the city. If Palaiyāṟu had been the apital of the Chôla country in those days, it is quite likely hat the army would have encamped only very near it. Tiru-nāgeśvaram answers the description very favourably. The *Tevāram* hymns refer to this place as on the southern banks of old Kāverī[23]. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar has, on a former occasion, identified Uragapuram with Tiru-nāgeśvaram.[24] It s therefore quite likely that this Pāmbūr is identifiable with Tiru-nāgeśvaram.

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2. Ibid. 133,137.

3. Sambandha; Patikam, "Pon-ner" "Talai-kol-cantum"
Sundara; Patikam: "Pirai-y-aṇi"

The Tevaram hymnists refer to this place as Nākeccuram; it is quite likely that it refers only to the temple and not to the village, as we have got similar instances in the Tevāram itself, wherein, they give different names to the villages and the temples situated therein, e. g., Peṇṇākaṭam is the village and Tūṅkānaimāṭam is the temple thereat: Kovantapputtūr is the village and Tiruvicayamaṅkai is the temple: etc.

4. Q. J. M. S., xi. p. 176.

THE PUḶḶALORE BATTLE OF PALLAVA MAHENDRAVARMAN I.

By T. N. Subramaniam.
(*Madhurantakam*).

The Kaśākkuḍi plates of Nandivarman Pallavamalla refer to a battle fought by Mahendravarman I at Pullalūra as follows:—

"Then the earth was ruled by a king called Mahendravarman, whose glory resembled that of Mahendra, whose commands were respected (by all), (and) who annihilated (his) chief enemies at Pullalūra".[1]

The Kaśākkuḍi plates do not tell us who were the enemies whom Mahendravarman defeated at Pullalūra; but all the historians who have hitherto examined the history of the Pallavas have accepted that they were the Chālukyas of Vātāpi[2] .

I. *The modern theory regarding the encounter of Pulakeśin II with the Pallavas and his alleged two invasions on South India.*

The Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin II refers to his encounter with the Pallavas as follows:—

"With his six-fold forces, the hereditary troops and the rest, who raised spotless *chowries*, hundreds of flags, umbrellas and darkness, who churned the enemy elated with the sentiments of heroism and energy, he caused the splendour of the Lord of the Pallavas, who had opposed the rise of his power to be obscured by the dust of his army, and to vanish behind the walls of Kāñchīpura."

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1. S. *I. I.* ii, p. 356, v. 21.
2. Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese districts*, p. 324. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *The Pallavas*, p. 36. Gopalan, *History of the Pallavas of Kanchi*, p. 89. Heras,*Studies in Pallava History*, p. 31.

"When straightway he strove to conquer the Cholas, the Kāverī, who has the darting corps for her tremulous eyes, had her curent obstructed by the causeway formed by his elephants whose rutting juice was dripping down, and avoided the contact with the ocean."

"There he caused great prosperity to the Cholas, Keralas and Pāṇḍyas, he being the hot-rayed sun to the hoar-frost-the army of the Pallavas."[3]

The Kūram plates describe Narasiṁhavarman, the son of Mahendravarman as follows:—

"Narasiṁhavarman........,who wrote the (three) syllables of (the word) Vijaya (i.e., victory) as on a plate on Pulakeśin's back, which was caused to be visible (i. e., whom he caused to turn his back) in the battles of Pariyala, Maṇimaṅgala, Śūramāra etc. and who destroyed (the city of) Vātāpi just as the pitcher-born (Agastya) (the demon) Vātāpi."[4]

The Udayendram,[5] Kaśākkuḍi[6] and Velūrpālayam[7] plates all speak in a similar strain. Maṇimaṅgalam where Pulakeśin was defeated by Narasiṁha is only at a distance of 20 miles from Kāñchī. It is quite clear that Pulakeśin during his encounter with Narasiṁha made an inroad into the Pallava dominions and reached very near its capital, Kāñchī, when he was defeated by Narasiṁha, who in turn invaded the Chālukyan dominions and captured Vātāpi. The details of his encounter with Narasiṁha given above do not tally with those

3. *E. I.*, vi, p. 11, vv. 29-31.
4. *S. I. I.*, i, p. 152.
5. "From him (Mahendra) Narasiṁhavarman, who destroyed the city of Vātāpi, just as Agastya destroyed (the demon) Vātāpi (and) who frequently conquered Vallabharāja at Pariyala, Maṇimaṅgala, S'ūramāra and other (places)......" *Ib.* ii, p. 370.
6. "From him was born the victorious hero Narasiṁhavarman who surpassed the glory of the valour of Rāma by (his) conquest of Laṅkā, who was a comet (that foreboded) destruction to the crowd of proud enemies, (and) who imitated the pitcher-born (Agastya) by (his) conquest of Vātāpi." *Ib.* ii, p. 356.
7. "Narasiṁhavarman famous like Upendra (Viṣṇu) who defeating the host of his enemies took from them the pillar of victory standing in the centre of Vātāpi." *Ib.* ii, p. 508.

given in the Aihole inscription. So it was thought that both of them relate to different battles. Two invasions of Pulakeśin on South India have therefore been postulated: one by about 610 A.D. during the time of Mahendravarman and the other by about 640 A. D. during the time of his son and successor Narasiṁhavarman.

II. *The theory of family vendetta: how far tenable.*

The Chālukyan kings had referred to the Pallavas in their records as their "natural enemies" and "enemies of their family"[8]. Much stress was also laid upon the words "the Pallavas, who had opposed the rise of his power" occurring in the Aihole inscription. It was thought that these words might imply a previous encounter of Pulakeśin against the Pallavas and that Pulakeśin might have only carried on the family vendetta.

The records of the Eastern Chālukyas of Veṅgī and the later Chālukyas of Kalyāṇī contain some references to the Pallava-Chālukyan wars long before the time of Pulakeśin II. Therein it is stated that Vijayāditya, one of the fore-fathers of Pulakeśin "went to the region of the south from a desire for conquest and having attacked Trilochana Pallava, lost his life through the evil influence of fate."[9] Further Viṣṇuvardhana, is also said to have renewed his contest with the Pallavas in which he was successful as a result of which he married a princess of that race.[10].

Before proceeding further, we shall first consider the alleged conflict between Vijayāditya and Trilochana Pallava long before the time of Pulakeśin II.

8. Vakkalerī grant, *I. A.* viii, p. 23. Kendūr plates, *E. I.*, ix, p. 206.

9. *I. A.* xiv, p, 149: See also, *S. I. I.*, i, p. 58, *E. I.*, iv, p. 239.

10. In these struggles it is supposed by some that the Pallavas were originally settled at Vātāpi from where they were driven south and that from their new abode they led expeditions to recover their northern capital and territory. Hitherto we have had no evidence to show that the Pallavas were in occupation of the country around Vātāpi. On the other hand the country around Vātāpi was under the Kadamba rule before it came to the hands of the Chālukyas. The above theory was probably founded taking the Pallavas as of Parthian origin about which history has not yet pronounced a definite verdict.

In spite of what all has been said of Trilochana Pallava[11], the historicity of this personage has not been established. This Trilochana Pallava is said to be a Pallava king of Kāñchi. We have not come across such a name in the whole range of Pallava documents. The cycle of stories which have gathered around this personage makes him the personification of all the Pallava grandeur and soul of all the victories won by the Pallavas of Kāñchī. There is nothing in him for the Pallavas of Kāñchī for not claiming him as one of their ancestors. The mere fact that the name of such an illustrious hero has not been even mentioned in their records clearly points the fiction in the story.

Vijayāditya of the Eastern and Kalyāṇī Chālukyan grants also is not found in the records of the early Chālukyas of Vātāpi. The genealogy mentioned in the records is as follows :—

Records of the Early Chālukyas of Vātāpi.	Records of the Eastern and Kalyāṇī Chālukyas.
Jayasiṁha	Vijayāditya.
|	|
Raṇarāga	Viṣṇuvardhana
|	|
Pulakeśin I	Vijayāditya
	|
	Pulakeśin I

This comparison clearly shows that the first *real* king found in the pedigrees seems to be Pulakeśin I and that the ancestors of the king as found in the records of the Early Chālukyas of Vātāpi do not tally with the names of the same ancestors in the grants of the other lines.

The Chālukyan records generally treat Pulakeśin I as the *real* founder and first king of the dynasty. His father's and grand-father's names are possibly mentioned in the inscriptions because they were mentioned in a grant of Pulakeśin who according to rules had to mention three generations of the family.[12] The later Chālukyas, in order to extol their

11. Dr. N. Venkataramaṇayya, Trilochana Pallava and Karikāla Chola. Contra: Mr. T. G. Aravamuthan, The Kāveri, The Maukharis and the S'angam Age.
12. Burnell, Elements of South Indian Palæography, p. 97.

family added a few more members and more military exploits. All these, superadded at a much later period, are to be considered at least as non-historical, if not mythological and therefore the battle between Vijayāditya and Trilochana Pallava is to be relegated to the realm of fiction.

III. *Pulakeśin's accession to the throne: a contested one.*

Rev. Heras has, in a recent publication of his, accepting the theory that Pulakeśin II invaded South India twice, tried to discuss and settle the several stages and the final results of these invasions.

But, the Chālukyan history does not allow us to think that it would have been possible for Pulakeśin to have undertaken the invasion over the neighbouring countries and especially South India by about 610 A. D.

Kīrtivarman I, the father of Pulakeśin II, ascended the Chālukyan throne at Vātāpi in 566–7 A. D. In the 12th year of his reign (i. e., in 578-9-A. D.) he had Maṅgaleśa, his younger brother as Yuvamahārāja.[13] Kīrtivarman died eighteen years later, i. e., in 596–7 A. D. Even though he had three sons, viz., Pulakeśin, Kubja–Viṣṇuvardhana, the founder of the Eastern Chālukyan dynasty, and Jayasiṁha, the founder of another dynasty in Guzarat, he was not succeeded by any of them; but by his brother Maṅgaleśa. The reason of this is not clear. The Kauṭhem grant of Vikramāditya V of A. D. 1009 says that Maṅgaleśa succeeded Kīrtivarman, his brother as regent during the minority of Pulakeśin. Probably the princes were very young when their father died; as otherwise, Kīrtivarman could have revoked the anointment of his brother, Maṅgaleśa as Yuvamahārāja, unless it be due to some custom that the sovereignty passed to brothers, for which we do not have reliable evidences. The Nerūr plates say that Maṅgaleśa " put to flight Saṁkaragaṇa's son Buddharāja"[14] which statement is corroborated by the Mahākūṭa inscription dated in the fifth year of his reign,[15] and killed

13. Maṅgales'a is represented as the half-brother of Kīrtivarman: Vide I. A., xix, p. 15.

14. I. A., vi, p. 363.

15. Ibid, xix, p. 7.

"Svāmirāja of the Chālikya family."[16] The Aihole inscription says that he "took in marriage the Fortune of the Kalachuris" and seized upon the isle of Revatī.[17] He thus added to the kingdom left by his brother. We also know that he reigned for twelve years at least.

About the accession of Pulakeśin II to the Chālukyan throne at Vātāpi the Aihole inscription says:

"When his elder brother's son named Pulakeśin had formed the resolution to wander abroad as an exile, that Maṅgaleśa abandoned together with the effort to secure the kingdom for his own son, both his kingdom and his life."[18]

This clearly shows that Maṅgaleśa coveted the kingdom to his descendants and not to those of his elder brother, Kīrtivarman. Pulakeśin, whose liberties were encroached upon, had in the interest of his own freedom to wander abroad, with his brothers and gather strength. This is confirmed by the *Avantisundarīkathāsāra*, which mentions the story of the wanderings of the prince Viṣṇuvardhana in the forests.[19] Later on, in the battle which ensued between Pulakeśin and Maṅgaleśa, the latter was killed. Pulakeśin got the kingdom in 609 A. D. and was formally crowned subsequently.

IV. *Pulakeśin busy with suppressing revolts in provinces and consolidating the kingdom in the early period of his reign: Expansion of the empire could not have been thought of then.*

We know that Maṅgaleśa had governed the country for nearly thirty years, eighteen years as Yuvamahārāja and twelve years as Mahārāja. As such, he should have had powerful backing on his side. After his death, it appears, there was a period of anarchy and confusion, due to a general renunciation of allegiance by all the peoples whom Kīrtivarman I and Maṅgaleśa had subjugated, when, according to the Aihole inscription, "the whole world was enveloped by

16. Ibid, vii, p. 166. 17. E. I., vi, p 8. 18. *Op. Cit.*

19. Q. J. M. S., xiii, pp. 670–88; see also proceedings and transactions of the Second Oriental Conference, pp. 193–201 and those of the Fourth Conference, I, pp. 44 ff.

the darkness of enemies"[20]. Thus when Pulakeśin came to the throne, his position in his own territory was very insecure. His mind should have been engrossed with plans for settling the internal trouble. He would not have had time enough to bestow his attention on expanding his kingdom, so soon after he ascended the throne. Two chiefs, specified by the names of Appāyika and Gōvinda made their appearance on the scene and tried to conquer the country to the north of the river Bhīmā. They were, however, successfully met by Pulakeśin, repulsing the former and making an ally of the latter.

Further, we know that the town, Vātāpi, is situated exactly in the middle of the northern provinces of the Kadamba kingdom and its geographical position allows us to affirm that Pālāśika (Halsi) the capital of their northern provinces could not have belonged to the Kadambas when the Chālukyas were at Vātāpi. Vātāpi was captured and made the capital of the Chālukyan kingdom only during the time of Pulakèśin I, the father of Kirtivarman I and Maṅgalésa. This military operation could have been possible only by effecting a defeat on the Kadamba king who reigned over the modern provinces of Kaladgee, Belgaum and Dharwar with Pālāśika (Halsi) as his capital. Hence it is also quite natural to suppose that the Kadambas would not have let this opportunity, to regain their lost territory, when there were two rival candidates to the throne, to slip by. Thus Pulakeśin would have had to contend and oppose an invasion of the Kadambas also. The Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin II in fact refers to his siege of Vanavāsi, the central seat of the Kadambas, as the second item of his military exploits.

In addition to the above two incidents, the Aihole inscription of Pulakeśin gives an eulogistic account of his military exploits as follows :— Subdued the Gaṅgas, the Ālūpas, and the Mauryas of Koṅkaṇ, beseiged Purī (a town on the west coast), subdued the Lāṭas, Mālavas, and the Gūrjaras, as well

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20. The word used in the original is *chattrabhanga* which means breaking of the umbrella (of sovereignty).

as the inhabitants of the Vindhyas, the banks of the Revā and the three Mahārāṣṭras, fought with the kings of Kaliṅga and Kōśala, captured Piṣṭapura, fought at the Kunāla, defeated the king of the Pallavas of Kāñchī, crossing the river Kāveri and causing prosperity to the Chōlas, Keralas, and Pāṇḍyas, and returned to the capital, Vātāpi.[21] The original says, "having entered the city of Vātāpi, he was governing the whole world as if it was one city." It has been surmised from this that all the military activities of Pulakeśin took place before his entry of Vātāpi and establishing himself there. As his Haidarābād grant of A. D. 612[22] shows that he was in possession of Vātāpi then, all these events were considered to have taken place before that date.[23] One cannot believe even by a stretch of imagination that it could have been possible for him to have conquered in all these battles without capturing the central authority of government, the capital of his own kingdom, especially at a time when the whole country was in confusion with civil wars. His entry to Vātāpi recorded in the Aihole inscription, is only the victorious return to the capital after these campaigns, some time after his accession and after his internal troubles were over which every loyal subject and the poets in particular would try to immortalise. The opening stanzas of *Kaliṅkattupparaṇi*, a Tamil work, depicting the return of Kulōttuṅga I to his capital after his victory in the Kaliṅga country may be taken as an example to this. Thus we see that his invasion of Kāñchī did not take place in 610 A. D.; but some time later.

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21. This can be compared with the Mahākūṭa inscription which speaks of Kīrtivarman that he gained victories in the following countries: Vaṅga and Aṅga, Kaliṅga, Vaṭṭūra, Magadha, Madraka, Kerala, Gaṅga, Mūṣaka, Pāṇḍya, Dramila, Choliya, Āluka and Vaijayantī. (*I. A.*, xix, p. 7)

 From this one is led to suspect whether these *praśastis* which compare very favourably with some of the classical *kavis*,—the Aihole inscription we know was composed by the poet, Ravikīrtti, whose fame is said to have excelled those of Kālidāsa and Bhāravi—were merely poetic eulogies.

22. *I. A.*, vi, p. 72.

23. Fleet, *Dynasties of the Kanarese districts*, p. 351.

V. The probable date of his encounter with the Pallavas: Pullalore battle not likely between Mahendravarman and Pulakeśin.

The Aihole inscription refers to his encounter with the Pallavas of Kāñchī, as the last item of his military activities. The Aihole inscription bears the date A. D. 634–5. It is therefore quite likely that his encounter with the Pallavas should have been more probably between 630 and 634 A. D.

We know that Narasiṁha invaded the Chālukyan kingdom and captured Vātāpi. This should have happened after 634–5 A. D., the date of the Aihole inscription. Hieun-Tsang, the celebrated Chinese pilgrim and Master of Law, visited the Chālukyan capital, Vātāpi, about the year 640 A. D. His description of the kingdom and its capital would make us admit that Narasiṁha had not then invaded and captured Vātāpi.[24] The Karnūl plates of Vikramāditya I say as follows:—

"Vikramāditya.........who acquired for himself the regal fortune of his father, which had been interrupted by a confederacy of three kings;...........and who conquered the hostile kings in country after country and re-acquired the (regal) fortune of his ancestors."[25]

The Nerūr grant of A. D. 659 expressly allots itself to after the time when the sovereignty had been re-established by Vikramāditya I. The regnal year is qualified by the words *sva-rājya*.[26]. This clearly shows that Narasiṁha's capture of Vātāpi was not a passing event; but that he captured and held it for some time. Vikramāditya, the son of Pulakeśin II succeeded his father in 655 A. D. In a grant of Pṛthivī-vallabha Nikumbhalla Śakti of 655 A. D., of the Sendraka family, who were the feudatories of the Chālukyas and who were introduced into Gujarat by the Chālukyas, it is found that no mention is made of any paramount power and that no sovereign titles are also assumed by him[27]. Again in 643

24. Beal, *Buddhist records of the Western world*, vol. ii, p. 255.
25. *J. B. B. R. A., S.*, xvi, p. 226.
26. *I. A.*, vii, p. 163.
27. *Ibid*, xviii, p. 265.

A. D., a subordinate prince Vijayarāja of the Chālukyan family of Gujarat issued the Kaira grant, in the Lāṭa district of Koṅkaṇ, without mentioning his suzerain and also without assuming sovereign title.[28]. He assumes the title of Rājā only. They do not assert their independence, but at the same time, they do not know to whom to offer their allegiance. This suggests that the grants were issued at a time when there was chaos in the central authority of government. The Pallava conquest of Vātāpi should therefore have been more probably after 640 A. D. and before 655 A. D. and more particularly before 643 A. D. Thus, the downfall of Pulakeśin II seems to have taken place before 643 A. D.

The fragmentary inscription engraved on the northern side of a shapeless boulder lying in the neighbourhood of Jeggina Īrappa temple in Bādāmi, though mutilated, contains the surname *Mahāmalla* and the words *Kṣitibhujām-agresara Pallava* (the Pallava, the foremost of kings) and (*Nara*)*siṁha-viṣṇu*,[29] and refers to the thirteenth year of his reign. It is therefore quite certain that Narasiṁha's invasion on the Chālukyan territory and his encounter with Pulakeśin should have been in the beginning of his reign, some time before his thirteenth year of reign.

From the above it becomes clear that it was Narasiṁha who faced Pulakeśin in his expedition against the Pallavas which he undertook between *circa* 630 and 634 A. D., who in turn invaded the Chālukyan kingdom and captured Vātāpi by about 642 A. D. and held it for some time. It is therefore quite likely that Pulakeśin invaded South India only once and that the Aihole inscription refers to that invasion only.

VI. The probable enemy of Mahendravarman in his Pullalore battle: The Gaṅgas of Talakkāḍ: Date of Durvinīta and his helping his grandson Jayasiṁha Vallabha against the Pallavas.

Then who were the enemies whom Mahendra won at Pullalūra ! We have stated above that in the first quarter of the seventh century A. D. two of the powerful dynasties in the

28. *Ibid*, vii, p. 241. 29. *I. A.*, ix, p. 99.

Deccan, viz., the Chālukyas and the Kadambas, were crossing their swords in their bid for empire. The only other powerful dynasty in South India that could have fought with the Pallavas in those days was the Gaṅgas of Talakkāḍ. The genealogy and the history of the Western Gaṅgas, as they are called in history, are very much unsettled in spite of the fact that there are many dated inscriptions. Most of them give in addition to dates of an era, some astronomical details. The officers of the Mysore Archæological department have taken these dates to be of the Śaka era and then find it difficult to make use of these astronomical details. Our enquiry shows that these dates belong to a totally different era. This question has to be dealt with separately. But it is necessary to make one remark here that without settling those questions it will not be possible for us to arrive at a correct solution for many of the problems of the South Indian history which puzzle us.

Many scholars are of opinion that Durvinīta of that family was ruling in the first half of the seventh century A. D. Attempts have been made to assign him to the last quarter of the fifth and the first quarter of the sixth centuries A. D.[30] The Halkūr stone inscription of Śrīpuruṣa is dated in Śaka 710 or 788 A. D.[31] This king was the son of Śivamāra[32] and the grand-son of Bhūvikrama.[33] Since Śrīpuruṣa reigned in 788 A. D. and as he had a long reign and as his father did not rule we may suppose that his grand-father Bhūvikrama ascended the throne in the first quarter of the eighth century (700–725 A. D.) The father of Bhūvikrama named Śrīvikrama must therefore have reigned in the last quarter of the seventh century (675–700 A. D.) and his grand-father Muṣkara reigned in the third quarter of the seventh century (650–675 A. D.). We know that Durvinīta was the father of Muṣkara and reigned for a long time. The Gummireḍḍipura plates are in fact dated in the fortieth year of his reign[34]. We may

30. *J. B. H. S.*, iv, pp. 19–26.
31. *Mysore Archæological Report* 1918, pp. 36 and 42.
32. Vallimalai inscription, No. 91 of 1889.
33. Sūḍi plates, *E. I.*, viii, p. 181.
34. *Mysore Archæological Report* 1912, paras, 65–69.

therefore safely say that Durvinīta reigned in the first half of the seventh century A. D. This is the date arrived at by Prof. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil of Pondicherry[35] and this has also been accepted by Rao Bahadur R. Narasiṁhāchār of the Mysore Archæological department[36].

The *Avantisundarīkathāsāra* furnishes us the synchronism of Durvinīta, Pallava Siṁhaviṣṇu and Viṣṇuvardhana[37]. We have shown above that Narasiṁha, the grand-son of Siṁhaviṣṇu should have ascended the throne between 630 and 640 A. D. Siṁhaviṣṇu should therefore be assigned to the last years of the sixth and the early years of the seventh centuries A. D. It will thus be quite impossible to push back the date of Durvinīta by more than one century, which will then be in conflict with the other known dates.

The Gaṅgas were on friendly terms with the Pallavas of Kāñchī. As a matter of fact, the Pallavas had to contend with the Kadambas and instal the Gaṅga kings on the throne on many an occasion. The Penukoṇḍa plates say that the Gaṅga king Ayyavarman "was duly installed on the throne by Siṁhavarman Mahārāja, the lord of the prosperous Pallava family"[38]. The son of Āyyavarman who was called Mādhava alias Siṁhavarman was "installed on the throne by the illustrious Pallava (king) Skandavarman"[39]. The Halsi plates say that Kadamba king Mṛgeśa fought with the Gaṅgas and was "a very fire of destruction of the Pallavas"[40] and that Kadamba Ravivarman struggled against "Chaṇḍadaṇḍa, the Lord of Kāñchī"[41] in their struggle

35. *Ancient History of the Deccan*, p. 107.

36. *Mysore Archæological Report*, 1921, p. 28.

37. *Op cit*. Attempts have been made to question the identity of this Viṣṇuvardhana with the Eastern Chālukyan king Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana; (*J. B. H. S*, iv, p. 22.) and to identify him with the Mālava king of that name, to whom should be referred the Mandasor inscription of 533-4 A. D. (Fleet, *Gupta Inscriptions*, pp. 150 ff.). But this does not agree with the known date of Siṁhaviṣṇu.

38. *M. E. R.*, 1913-14.

39. Op. cit.

40. I. A., vi, p. 25.

41. Op. cit. p. 29.

with the Gaṅgas. In spite of all this help rendered for his ancestors by the Pallavas, Durvinīta is said to have fought with the Pallavas. The Humcha stone record[42] contains the following passage: "Seizing in the field of slaughter, Kāḍuveṭṭi, who was celebrated as a Rāvaṇa to the earth, and setting up his (own) daughter's son, he became formidable in the world in the hereditary kingdom of Jayasiṁha Vallabha—what a terror was this might of arm of Durvinīta !" Durvinīta is thus known to have defeated the Pallavas and set up in that kingdom his daughter's son, Jayasiṁha Vallabha[43] Durvinīta is known "as having his broad chest embraced, of her own accord, by the goddess of sovereignty, though she was intended by his father for another son", as the victor in the battles of Andari, Ālattūr, Polulaṛe, and Pernagara; as the lord of Paṇṇāḍa and Punnāḍa; as the author of three works, namely, a Śabdāvatāra, a Sanskrit version of the Vaḍḍakathā or Bṛhatkathā, and a commentary on the 15th sarga of the Kirātārjunīya[44].

Polulaṛe of the Gaṅga records is identifiable with Pullalūra of the Pallava records. This is identified with Pullalore which is at a distance of about 10 miles to the north of Kāñchī[45]

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42. E. C., viii, Nr. 35.

43. Mr. Rice calls him a Pallava. It is thought that he is "guilty of mislection in this part of the text" and that Jayasiṁha referred to therein was not a Pallava. Further we do not find a king of that name among the Pallavas. It should not be construed that some Pallava king was dethroned and that Jayasiṁha was placed on the Pallava throne. Only some tracts of land were secured for the young man by his grand-father.

44. *Mysore Archaeological Report*, 1916, p, 45.

45. Gopalan in his *History of the Pallavas of Kanchi*, (p. 89) accepting the identification of Pullalūra with Pullalore says that its name is Pallūr and is situated in the Conjeeveram Taluk of the Chingleput district. Rev. Heras also follows him, (*Studies in Pallava History*, p. 33) But I wish to point out here that Pallūr and Pullalore are different villages. Pallūr is not in the Conjeeveram Taluk as stated by Gopalan. It is a railway station between Conjeeveram and Arkonam in the limits of the Arkonam Taluk in the North Arcot district, while Pullalore is in the Conjeeveram Taluk of the Chingleput district. But Pullalore is very near Pallūr and is about 3 miles to the east of the latter.

Pernagara of the Gaṅga records has been identified with a place in the Salem district at the foot of the eastern ghats.[46] Who were his enemies in the battle of Pernagara has not been stated. We know of a place even now called "Perunagar" about 14 miles to the south of Kāñchī (8 miles to the west of Uttiramerūr). It is quite likely that Pernagara of the Gaṅga records is identifiable with Perunagar very near Kāñchī and that his adversary in that battle was the Pallava of Kāñchī. Thus it appears that the adversary of Mahendra in his battle at Pullalūra was Durvinīta the Gaṅga king.

VII. Identification of Jayasiṁha Vallabha with the Eastern Chālukya king of that name.

Jayasiṁha whom Durvinītā set upon the throne defeating the Pallavas has been identified by some scholars with the progenitor of the Chālukyas referred to in the records of the early Chālukyas of Vātāpi. They are also of opinion that the daughter of Durvinīta must have been a political pawn and that she evidently helped her father to form an alliance with the Chālukyas and thus strengthen his hands in his struggle for the throne. We have already pointed out that the first *real* king of the Chālukyas of Vātāpi was Pulakeśin I. His grand-father Jayasiṁha was probably a subordinate under some other king. It is not known how it would have been possible for this Jayasiṁha's mother, if she had been the, daughter of Durvinīta, to have helped her father in obtaining the kingdom intended by Durvinīta's father Avinīta, to another of his sons ? In the natural course of events Jayasiṁha would have tried to marry the daughter of some powerful chief so that she may be of some help to him in his struggle of carving out a kingdom of his own.

Further we know from the *Avantisundarīkathāsāra* that the Pallava king Siṁhaviṣṇu was a contemporary of Durvinīta. Narasiṁha, the grand-son of Siṁhaviṣṇu was a later contemporary of Pulakeśin II, the great-great-grand-son (grand-son's grand-son) of Jayasiṁha, the founder of the Chālukyan dynasty, who in turn is alleged to have been the grand-son of Durvinīta. This will be quite impossible.

46. E. C. i, p. 3.

We know of only two Jayasimhas among the Chālukyas in the beginning of the seventh century A. D.: one is the brother of Pulakeśin and the founder of the Chālukyan dynasty in Gujarat;[47] the other is the son of the Eastern Chālukyan king Viṣṇuvardhana I[48]. The former could not have been the grand-son of Durvinīta referred to in the Humcha stone record, as the Pallavas could not have interfered with his establishing the dynasty in Gujarat. The only other possibility is of identifying him with Jayasimha, the son and successor of the Eastern Chālukyan king Kubja-Viṣṇuvardhana.

VIII. *The Chālukyan conquest of Veṅgi: its probable date.*

We have said above that it would not have been possible for Pulakeśin to have invaded and captured the neighbouring countries in the beginning of his reign. Then when did the Veṅgi country come into the possession of the Chālukyas?

The late Mr. K. V. Lakshman Rao in editing the Koppāram plates of Pulakeśin II[49] determined the date of the grant as A. D. 611, and so came to the conclusion that Veṅgi conquest was accomplished before that date as this grant was found in the Guntūr district. But there are many difficulties in accepting his conclusion. As per his reading the grant was issued by Pṛthivī Duvarāja in his twenty-first year of reign, in the presence of Pulakeśin, son of Kīrtivarman. This Pṛthivī Duvarāja was identified by him with Satyāśraya Dhruvarājendra Varma found in the Goa plates of Pulakeśin II[50]. The grant, if made by this Dhruvarāja, should contain the names of three generations of his family as required by the canons of Dharma Śāstras[51]. But no mention either of his ancestors or of his family has been made in the grant, while of the Chālukyas also only two generations have been mentioned.

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47. Nirpan grant, *I. A.*, ix, p. 123.

48. We also know of another Jayasimha, a son of Pulakeśin II who founded another branch in Gujarat (Nausāri grant, *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, xvi, p. 1). He is known to have ruled over a portion of Gujarat between 671 and 692 A. D. This is too late a period for Durvinīta to have helped his founding the dynasty.

49. *A. B. O. R. I.*, iv, pp. 43-54.

50. *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, x, p. 348; see also *I. A.* xix, pp. 11, 12.

51. Burnell, op. cit.

From the Eastern Chālukyan grant it is found that Viṣṇu vardhana commenced his reign in 615 A. D. But it does no mean that he got the throne and established the Eastern Chā lukyan family in that year[52]. He was only appointed as Yu varāja so that he may take part in the administration of th country and be a co-ruler. This procedure is not new t history. The records of the Imperial Chōlas of Tanjore clearl show that the Chōla kings count their reigns from the dates o their appointments as Yuvarājas or as co-rulers during the reig of their previous sovereigns. This is further confirmed by th Satārā grant dated in the eighth year of Pulakeśin II[53] and a such issued subsequent to A. D. 615 from which we find tha Viṣṇuvardhana was then only a Yuvarāja and in a countr far away from Veṅgi.

The Koppāram plates have been re-edited by Dr. E Hultzch wherein he does not accept the views of the lat Mr. K. V. Lakshman Rao. Duvarāja being an accepted Dra vidian form of Yuvarāja, he takes Pṛthivī Duvarāja as Pṛthiv Yuvarāja i.e., heir-apparent of the earth. If this view is accep ted, the grant satisfies the other conditions

R. Sewell who has appended to this edition a note on the dat of this grant, calculates the date of the grant as the 10th Octo ber, 631 A. D. He is of opinion that the grant is dated in th twenty-first year of Pulakeśin and not in the reign of any othe sovereign as has been supposed by Mr. K. V. Lakshman Rao The date 631 calculated by Mr. Sewell is in agreement wit the known dates of Pulakeśin. It will thus be clear tha the *ājñapti* of the grant is Viṣṇuvardhana.

The grant contains the following passage :—

"Be it known (to you that), Vallabha being present ir person, the execution (of the present grant) was formally be stowed on Pṛthivī Duvarāja (i. e., Pṛthivī Yuvarāja) who, havin defeated the circle of enemies by his arm (which was) a chur ning stick of the wicked (people) of the Kali (age), which wa

52. *I. A.* xx, pp. 1 ff.
53. *Ibid*, xix, p. 303.

skilled in daring (deeds) in many battles, (and) which was wielding the drawn sword, has secured the kingdom to the lineage of his son"[54].

This clearly shows that the kingdom on the east coast was secured by the Chālukyas only then. But subsequently, in the Chīpurupalle grant[55] which bears the date equivalent to the 6th July 632 A. D. issued by Viṣṇuvardhana in his eighteenth year, we find that he has assumed full titles of a sovereign.

Further, the Tulugu nature of some of the birudas of Mahendravarman bears testimony to the fact that he did rule over the country lying to the north of the modern town of Nellore[56]. There is an inscription of this king in the Kapōteśvara temple at Chezarla in the Guṇṭūr district[57], in which he is referred to by the name Mahendra Vikrama Mahārāja and also by his birudas *Guṇabhara* and *Avanibhājana.* The presence of this inscription proves his reign over the Telugu country.

Dr. G. Jouveau-Dubreuil who examined the rock-cut temples of the Thoṇḍai and Veṅgī *maṇḍalams* was struck with the similarity of these temples and so propounded the theory that Mahendra entertained the idea of spreading in the Tamil country the mode of cutting temples in rocks only after seeing and admiring the Undavalli caves. While the French savant assigns the Undavalli caves to the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, Mr. Longhurst and other scholars assign them to Mahendra himself. We are not quite sure of the matrimonial alliance between the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and the Pallavas suggested by Dr. Dubreuil. Anyhow, we can say that Siṁhaviṣṇu, the father of Mahendra, was ruling over the vast region extending from the river Kṛṣṇā to the Kāverī. While he was ruling at Kāñchīpura, the Yuvarāja Mahendravarman was probably appointed to govern the

54. *E. I.*, xviii, pp. 257-61.
55. *I. A.* xx, p. 15.
56. Jouveau-Dubreuil, *The Pallavas*, p. 28.
57. *S. I. I.* vi, No. 595 ; see also *M. E. R.*, 1899.

northern regions with his head-quarters in the Kṛṣṇā region. The Viṣṇukuṇḍins were probably his vassals or allies. All the records of Mahendra hitherto found show clearly that his reign was very prosperous. He has earned a niche in the temple of fame and a place in the hearts of his countrymen by his patronage of art, he being an accomplished artist, the intrepid architect and a highly cultured poet, musician and dramatist. It is a well known fact that fine arts will be studied and developed only when there is peace and prosperity in the land. The military exploits and the subsequent miseries would not help the development of these arts.

It will thus be clear that Veṅgi was conquered by the Chālukyas only by about 630 A. D. and that the Eastern Chālukyan dynasty was founded only subsequently, and that till then the land was being ruled by the Viṣṇukuṇḍins under the protection of the Pallavas.

IX. Conclusion.

From the Eastern Chālukyan records we know that Viṣṇuvardhana died in 633 A. D. and that there was an interregnum for a period of five years between his death and the accession of his son Jayasiṁha to the throne (*Circa* 633-38 A. D.). This was probably due to the efforts of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins to recover their lost territory with the help of the Pallavas.

This Jayasiṁha should have been the grand-son of Durvinīta, whom the grand-father helped, opposing the Pallavas. The *Avantisundarīkathāsāra* says that Bhāravi, the famous Sanskrit poet, who was with Viṣṇuvardhana went and settled in the court of Durvinīta later on. This was probably due to the marriage alliance between Durvinīta and Viṣṇuvardhana.

It is interesting to note that this interregnum falls exactly in the period we have fixed as possible for the encounter of Narasiṁha with Pulakeśin. Thus it appears that the battle of Pulakeśin with Narasiṁha and the event noted above relate to the same incident viz., of restoring Jayasiṁha to the Eastern Chālukyan throne.

The situation that arose may be described thus:—

The Viṣṇukuṇḍins on losing their kingdom by about 630 A. D. on its capture by the Chālukyas did not take their defeat quietly. They recaptured the same with the help of the Pallavas. This was probably in 633 A. D. when Viṣṇuvardhana died. Jayasiṁha, his son appealed for help and support to his uncle Pulakeśin as well as to his grandfather Durvinīta. The consequent battle was due to the combined efforts of the Chālukyas and the Gaṅgas. Durvinīta directed his attention to Kāñchī which was the capital of Mahendravarman and fought with him at Pullalore and Perunagar on the out-skirts of Kāñchī. Pulakeśin attacked the Veṅgi country which was being defended by the Pallava heir-apparent, Narasiṁha. Pariyala where Pulakeśin and Narasiṁha fought may be identified with Partiyala in the Kṛṣṇā district noted for its diamond mine.[58] This clearly shows that they first met in the Veṅgi country. The Pallavas had at the end a crushing defeat at the hands of both Durvinīta and Pulakeśin and Veṅgi was finally lost to them.

To recapitulate:—

1. Pulakeśin II invaded South India only once.
2. Polulaṛe of the Gaṅga records is identifiable with Pullalūra of the Pallava records.
3. The adversary of Mahendravarman in the battle of Pullalore was Durvinīta and not Pulakeśin.

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58. Epigraphy knows of two other places which sound very much akin to Pariyala. One is Pariyaya on the east of Sandhiyara in the Kāśākūla *visaya*, which village was granted to some priests by the Chālukyan prince Vijayarāja (Kaira grant of A. D. 643, *I. A.* ? vii, p. 241). Dr. Buhler had identified this place with the village Pariyā in the Olpāḍ taluk, Sūrat district. The other is Periyāla in the Koṇikal *visaya* (*I. A.*, viii, pp. 89, 96. See also ix, p. 304 and Mysore inscriptions p.298.) But both these places could not have been the places where Narasimha met Pulakeśin. The Pallava records mention the places, Pariyala, Maṇimaṅgala and Sūramāra in the same order wherever they occur. As such, Pariyala ought to be a place where Narasiṁha could have met Pulakeśin before inflicting defeat on him at Maṇimaṅgalam. Both Pariyaya and Periyāla mentioned above are far away from Kāñchī, being ruled over by different dynasties. The only other passable alternative identification is with Partiyala in the Kṛṣṇā district which, we know was within the Pallava dominions unlike either of the other two aforesaid places.

THE INDIAN EMPEROR, CONTEMPORARY OF AUGUSTUS.

By Jayachandra Vidyalankara.

(*Allahabad.*)

Two years after the establishment of empire in Rome, an embassy from India went there, which after four years' journey by sea and land reached and was received by Augustus at Samos in 21 B. C. It is mentioned by a number of classical authors, the oldest being Nikolaôs Damaskênos, who "was much esteemed by the Emperor Augustus, to whom he was personally known."[1] We have this author's account of the embassy in Strabo, who also was a contemporary of Augustus. It is rendered thus by McCrindle:—

"This writer says that at Antioch by Daphne he met with the Indian ambassadors who had been sent to Augustus Cæsar. It appeared from the letter that their number had been more than merely the three he reports that he saw. The rest had died chiefly in consequence of the length of the journey. The letter was written in Greek on parchment and imported that Pôros was the writer, and that though he was the sovereign of 600 kings, he nevertheless set a high value on being Cæsar's friend, and was willing to grant him a passage wherever he wished through his dominions, and to assist in any good enterprise. Such he says were the contents of the letter. Eight naked servants presented the gifts that were fragrant with ointments. The gifts consisted of a Hermes born wanting arms from the shoulders whom I have myself seen, large snakes and a serpent 10 cubits long, and a river tortoise three cubits long, and a partridge larger than a vulture. They were accompanied, it is said, by the man who burned himself at

1. McCrindle—Ancient India as described in Classical literature, p. 77.

Athens.........On his tomb was this inscription, 'Zarmanochegas, an Indian from Bargosa, having immortalised himself according to the custom of his country lies here.'[1]

McCrindle has equated Bargosa with Barygaza of the *Periplus*, Bharukaccha or the modern Broach. At another place Strabo refers to the same embassy thus:—

" From one place in India and from one king, Pandion but according to other writers, Pôros, there came to Cæsar Augustus, gifts, and an embassy accompanied by the Indian Sophist who committed himself to the flames at Athens..."[2]

Now, who was this Indian contemporary of Augustus? The Pāṇḍya king could neither be a 'sovereign of 600 kings' nor could have any connection with Broach. But do we know of any Pôros in the last quarter of the 1st century B. C.? Prof. Rawlinson has suggested that Pôros has been used here as a general name for any Indian king, and the Indian king in question might have been Kuzula Kadphises.

The date of Kuzula Kadphises disproves this identification. According to Mr. K. P. Jayaswal, he was a petty chief in 25 B. C., while according to others he flourished half a century later. Moreover his power never reached so far as Bharukaccha. The king in question must be a king of the Peninsula, and therefore a Sātavāhana. Now in Jayaswal's chronology of the Sātavāhanas, we have Vāsiṣṭīputra Pulumāvī reigning from 44 to 8 B. C.[3] His father Gautamīputra had uprooted the Śakas, and seized their capital Bharukaccha. Vāsiṣṭīputra himself was lord of the whole Deccan, both western and eastern, and it was in his reign that the Kāṇvāyana power in Magadha was extinguished, and the Sātavāhana empire embraced the whole of India excepting probably the Punjab and Sindh. It would be therefore, he who could be an overlord of 600 kings.

The Sātavāhana conquest of Magadha was effected in 31 or 28 B. C. just a year or two before or after the defeat of

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1. Ibid, pp. 77–78.
2. Ibid, pp. 9–10;
3. J. B. O. R. S., vol. XVI, p. 278.

Antony by Octavian. And the embassy was sent in 25 B. C. soon after the two memorable and strikingly similar and synchronous events in the Indian and the Roman worlds-the one leading to the rise of an Indian state to an All-India empire, the other to the foundation of an empire in Rome. It was a fit occasion to congratulate each other, exchange embassies, and cultivate friendship, especially when we notice that there was a common enemy and the only power intervening, that is the Parthians.

It is thus evident that the Pōros in question is no other than the famous Pulumāvī. Mr. Jayaswal, whom I have consulted, identifies both the forms *Pandian* and *Poros* as Greek attempts at rendering the forms of the name-found spelt in the Purāṇas *Paḍumān* and Pulomā.

If this identification is accepted, as I hope it will be, we have here a striking confirmation of Mr. Jayaswal's chronology and history of the Sātavāhanas.

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SAMARASINGH, A GREAT GUJARATI AT THE COURT OF DELHI, ABOUT A. D. 1321.

By K. H. Kamdar, M. A.

(*Baroda*).

The Jain community has maintained exceptionally cordial relations with the ruling authorities in India. The object was to seek protection from the State for their religion, specially for the sacred shrines and to convert the court to a sympathetic consideration of the chief tenets of their creed.

The Jains were on the defensive during the days of Muslim rule. Their zeal for conversion died out, and their main concern was to protect religion and literature against the fury of the foreigners. In the latter case, they rendered signal service, because it included non-Jain literature also.

The laity was not less zealous than the priestly class in this religious work. The Śrāvakas were the most conspicuous supporters of the priests and they helped greatly in obtaining for their community a distinguished and influential position in the State.

The Jains became great bankers throughout India and as bankers their help was frequently requisitioned by the Muslim rulers of the land. They were highly trusted and honoured by the Muslim administration. Their monks were invited to the court and the laity[1] occupied influential

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Note (1):—1. नेण was an officer under Sultan Jalaluddin. His son [illegible], served in Meru Taman under the Tughlaks. p. 476, 484, जैन साहित्यनो संक्षिप्त इतिहास (*A Short History of Jain Literature*) by Mohanlal D. Desai, 1933.

2. The temple of Pārśvanātha was repaired at Rājgir (Bihār) in July, 1356, under the instruction of Sultan Firoz Shah, Vide प्राचीनजैनलेखसंग्रह, Part II, edited by Muni Jina Vijayaji, 1921.

positions in the State. Of course, this did not save them entirely from the wrath of their masters; but then it may be mentioned that Muslim vandalism was often inspired by lust for the riches of the temples.

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3. The Sultan of Bidar had a Jain named Pūrṇa Chandra as his officer, p. 458, *A short History of Jain Literature* by M. D. Desai, cited above.
4. A Jain monk, Siddhānta Ruchi by name once obtained a great victory over the learned men of the court of Sultan Ghiasuddin of Malwa. *Vide p. 13, Introduction to the Manuscripts in the Jasalmere Bhandara by Pandit Lalchandra B. Gandhi, Oriental Institute, Baroda, 1923.*
5. It appears that the Ghori Sultan of Malwa Alam Shah was a great benefactor of the Jains. He had two Jains, देहडमंत्री and his cousin मंडन, as his great favourites. Maṇḍana prepared an abstract of Bāṇa's Kādambari for the Sultan and Dehaḍa was known as दिनमणि at his court. p. 476, *A Short History of Jain Literature* by M. D. Desai.

   Similarly सालिग and सहसा संघवी were officers of Ghiasuddin and Megha Mantri was known as Mafar Ali Malik. Sultan Ahmed Shah of Malwa employed one Chanda Shāh as officer. p. 457, 497, 500, *A short History of Jain Literature* as cited above.
6. A Jain monk, named Jiva Haṁsa Sūri was able to influence Sultan Sikandar Lodi of Delhi in obtaining the release of 500 prisoners along with his own release. He was imprisoned at Dholpur, vide, *List of Manuscripts at Patan by Pandit Lalchandra B. Gandhi, Oriental Institute, Baroda and* खरतरगच्छपट्टावली compiled by S'ri Jina Vijayaji and published by Puranchand Nahar, Calcutta, 1932.
7. Sultan Bahadur Shah of Gujarāt was a personal friend of Karma'Rāja, who repaired the Pālitānā temple in *samvat year* 1587; p. 71, शत्रुंजयतीर्थोद्धारप्रबंध of विवेकधीरगणि, edited by S'ri Jina Vijaya, 1917.
8. Jina Prabha Sūri, the famous author of विविध तीर्थकल्प was a great favourite of Sultan Muhammad Tughlak, the patron of Samarasingh. Samara accompanied the great monk in pilgrimages to the Jain shrines of Mathurā, etc. Another Jain monk, a favourite of the same ruler was महेन्द्रसूरि, about whom I give the following verse by Nayachandra.

   प्रत्यब्दं दीनदुःस्थोद्धृतिसुकृतकृते दीयमानं समानं
   साक्षात् दीनारलक्षं तृणमिव कटति (रि ?) प्रोज्झ्य निर्लोभभावात् ।
   एकः सोऽयं महात्मा न पर इति नृपश्रीमहम्मदसाहेः
   श्लोकं प्रापत् स पापं क्षपयतु भगवान् श्रीमहेन्द्रप्रभुर्नः ॥

Samarasingh, the subject of this paper, was such a great Jain.[2] He was a native of Pātan in the northern Gujarat and by caste was an Oswal. He became very friendly

I read a brilliant account of Tughlak sympathy for Hindus in Hindu Muslim unity–हिंदुमुस्लीम एकता, a rendering, of an Urdu work, in Gujarati by Imamuddin S. Durgahwalla of Navsari (Baroda State), pages 11–15.

9. One Guṇa Rāja was a favourite of Sultan Ahmed Shah of Gujarāt. So also one Samarasingh. Vide pages 454 and 458 of *A short History of Jain Literature* by Mohanlal D. Desai, 1933.
10. Viveka Harṣa, a Jain monk, was highly honoured by Sultan Burhan Shah of Ahmednagar and by Emperor Jahangir, Vide p. 563, *A Short History of Jain Literature* as cited above.
11. The Mughal Emperors, Akbar and Jahangi , and even Shah Jahan were very partial to the Jains.*

Akbar entitled Siddhichandra Sūri as Khush Faham. Siddhichandra knew Persian and was a S'atāvadhāni. In the commentary on the उत्तरखंड of कादम्बरी, we read:—

कर्ता शतावधानानां विजेतोन्मत्तवादिनाम्
वेत्ता षड्शास्त्राणामध्येता फारसीमपि ।
अकब्बरसुरत्राणहृदयांबुजषट्पद:
दधान: खुष्फहम् इति बिरुदं शाहिनार्पितम् ॥

The other Jain monks who were known to Akbar and who are not much mentioned elsewhere, were साधुकीर्ति, जयसोम, मानसिंह, पद्मसुंदर, besides भानुचंद्र, शांतिचंद्र, etc. The last wrote कृपारसकोश and accompanied Akbar to Kashmir.

Karma Chandra was treasury officer of Akbar, who sent him against the Baluchis, Vide p. 839, *A short History of Jain Lit.* by Mohanlal D. Desai, 1933.

Akbar entitled जिनचंद्रसूरि as युगप्रधान and हीरविजयसूरि as जगद्गुरु. The former was known as सवाई युगप्रधान and बडागुरु by Jahangir.

The literature, Sanskrit and Prākrit on Hīra-Vijaya Sūri and Akbar, is too copious to be mentioned. The best work is सूरीश्वर अने सम्राट् (Gujarati and Hindi).

Emperor Jahangir employed Bhānuchandra Upādhyāya as tutor to Prince Shaharyar: p. 24, सूरीश्वर अने सम्राट्. The same emperor used to call Vijaya Deva Sūri as Jahāngiri *Mahatapa* for his great penances, A. D. 1618.

Shah Jahan appointed the Jain merchant S'āntidāsa as नगरशेठ or Lord Mayor of Ahmedabad.

One दानविजय prepared a Sanskrit grammar [illegible] for Bade Miyā son of Shaik Fateh, in Gujarat, in *Samvat* 1770. See *Short Hist. of Jain Lit.* as cited above.

with Alapkhan,[3] governor of Gujarāt after its annexatic by Sultan Alauddin Khilji and he received from hi permission to repair the famous Satruñjaya temple of Pālitā which he did with great pomp and ceremony in A. D. 131

Then Sultan Mubarak called Samarasingh to Delhi ar gave him an important appointment.[5] He became a gre favourite of Sultan Ghiasuddin Tughlak, who treated hi as son and who sent him to Teliṅgana.[6] His successo Sultan Muhammad Tughlak, treated Samar as brother an made him governor of Teliṅgana.[7] In that capacity, Samar wa very helpful to the Hindus. He prevailed upon the two Sulta to release hundreds of prisoners of war and he obtained fo Prince Vira Ballālla permission to return home as ruler Pāṇḍyadesa.[8] He built many Jain temples at Warangal Uraṅgalāpura, once the capital of Teliṅgana.[9]

Samara died before A. D. 1337.[10]

NOTE (2):—Samarasingh was one of the three sons of देशल, son गोपल. देशल was aked by Siddha Sūri at Pāṭan to obtain perm ssion from the authorities to repair the Pālitānā temple. Vi verse, 13, III, नाभिनंदनजिनोद्धारप्रबंध, written by Merugiri कक्कसूरि in *samvat* 1393 at Kankarot in Cutch and publish in हेमचंद्राचार्यजैनग्रंथमाला, edited by Pandit Bhagavandas Harak chand, samvat 1985.

Sahaja, a brother of Samara, had settled at Devagi (Daulatabad) whose ruler Rāma-Deva Yādavā entitled hi कर्पूरधाराप्रवाह; vide नाभिनन्दनजिनोद्धारप्रबंध, प्रस्ताव ३.

NOTE (3):—Verses, 281–282, प्रस्ताव ३, नाभिनंदन etc. Alapkhan ask Bairam Khan, to issue a *firman*, and sent जमदारs–Jamadars– escort the संघ to Sorath: 305–306, IV, नाभिनंदन etc.

NOTE (4):—Samara met several princes in Kathiawar, e. g. Mahipāla Junagadh, Mugdha Rāja of Prabhāsa (Pattan) and Mūla Rā of Div: 168; 190–206; 225; V, नाभिनंदन etc.

The *Kathiawar Gazetteer* mentions the first.

The S'atruñjaya temple was destroyed by the Muslin in A. D. 1313. It was repaired by Samarasingh in A.D. 131 Vide तीर्थकल्प and नाभिनंदन etc.

NOTE (5):—Mubarak made Samara his [illegible]; 321, V, नाभिनंदन etc.

NOTE (6):—325, V, नाभिनंदन etc. Also 330–335.

NOTES (7) (8):—The Sultan gave to Samara the title of [illegible] fo his intercession on behalf of [illegible], 326–327, V नाभिनंदन. etc.

NOTE (9):—328–329, V, नाभिनंदन etc.

NOTE (10):—Samara must have died before A. D. 1337 or Samvat 139 when the नाभिनंदनप्रबंध was composed by कक्कसूरि to commem

ADDITIONAL NOTES.

1. *Invasion of Telingana by Muslims.*

The first invasion took place under Alauddin when Rudrāmbā made submission on behalf of her son, Pratāparudra Deva. The next invasions took place under Khushru in Mubarak's time in A. D. 1318 and in 1322 in Ghiasuddin's time. In 1323–24, the Muslims took Pratāparudra and his family as prisoners. Ghiasuddin died in A. D, 1325. So Samara's appointment at Warangal must have taken place about A. D. 1323–1325.

2. वीरबल्लाल *of* पाण्ड्यदेश.

My opinion is that this prince may be one of the many members of the Pāṇḍya royal family, dethroned by the Muslims. He should not be confused with वीरबल्लाल of द्वारसमुद्र. Dr. S.K. Aiyangar mentions one वीरपाण्ड्य in possession of Phatan (Rameshwar). समरसिंह may have prevailed upon the Sultan of Delhi to restore to this prince a portion of his ancestral dominion. *Vide* p. 112, South India and her Mahomedan Invaders by S. K. Aiyangar.

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rate his great services to the Jains. The two images of Samara and his wife were placed at Pālitānā by his son Salinga in A. D. 1358. Vide प्राचीनगुर्जरकाव्यसंग्रह.

A Prākṛit version of the प्रबंध was given by अंबदेवसूरि or आम्रदेवसूरि. This is mentioned by कक्कसूरि in his प्रबंध in verse 283, चतुर्थ प्रस्ताव. This समरारास is published in जैन ऐतिहासिकगुर्जरकाव्यसंचय, pp. 238–253 (Gaekwar's Oriental Series).

Archæology Section.

President:

GHULAM YAZDANI, M.A.

CONTENTS.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

By Ghulam Yazdani, M.A.

(*Hyderabad.*)

Ladies and Gentlemen :

It is a great privilege and honour for me to preside over a meeting of such distinguished scholars, and to be associated with them in the transactions of this Conference. Since the last session of the Conference, India, like the rest of the world, has suffered from economic depression of a very severe type, and as a result of that depression archæological exploration and research have been brought to a standstill. The greatest work of the period, however, is the publication of three bulky volumes on the excavations carried out by the Archæological Survey of the Government of India at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa and I congratulate Sir John Marshall and his able assistants and co-workers on the scholarship, imagination and scientific skill displayed in this work. Some problems are of course open to discussion and, as their solution depends upon a deeper knowledge of Indian antiquities, I appeal to my countrymen to take up the work earnestly and to throw light on the problems in such a manner as not to elicit, in future, such remarks as- " antiquities from Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa have been made the subject of much nonsensical writing which can be nothing but a hindrance in the way of useful research."

As plain speaking is always good I must say that the uncompromising nature of these remarks, however true they may be, combined with the transfer of the late Mr. Rakhaldas Banerji, an archæologist of unquestionable merit, and of some other Indian scholars from the scene of action to be replaced by an expert who had no previous knowledge of Indian

Archæology, have made an unfavourable impression upon public opinion, which has regarded Sir John Marshall's attitude towards Indian scholars as one of distrust, although his action was entirely based on his anxiety to enlist for the work the help of such specialists as were conversant with the subject in all its bearings. Sir John Marshall has paid a high tribute to his Indian colleagues in the book; but it can truly be said that his entrusting certain problems exclusively to foreign experts has resulted in a one-sided examination of those problems. To give a concrete example I may mention the the fact of his entrusting the task of interpreting the 'signs' found on the antiquities of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, to some scholars, whose positions and abilities, however great they may be in their own fields of activity, are not strengthened for this special work by the qualification of their having ever been to India. Consequently, these experts have betrayed in their writings their ignorance of the literature available concerning similar 'signs', found previously in great abundance on pre-historic pottery of the Deccan and South India. It is needless to say that the study of this literature is necessary not only for the correct interpretation of the 'signs', but also for tracing the home-land of the people who used them. As the antiquities on which these signs are found in South India and in the Deccan cover a much larger area than the Indus valley, it is doubtful whether the latter can be regarded as the place of their origin, or the 'writing' can be styled the 'Indus script'. I may observe here, parenthetically, that the similarity suggested, recently, between the so-called Indus script and the Etruscan writing by the Italian Orientalist, Dr. Giuseppe Piccoli (*Indian Antiquary*, vol. 62, Part DCCLXXXII), was pointed out by the Archæological Department, Hyderabad, on the basis of the 'signs' found on the pre-historic pottery of the Deccan and South India as early as 1917; and the subject is fully discussed in the *Journal of the Hyderabad Archæological Society* for that year (pp. 61-63).

In maintaining the claim of Indian scholars for research in this country, we can never forget the debt of gratitude

which we owe to those European savants who worked for more than a century and a half as pioneers, and who have not only protected our monuments from ruin and gradual oblivion but established lofty ideals of scholarship and painstaking research. As the names and works of these scholars have been noticed more than once in the addresses read by my predecessors in this chair at previous sessions of this Conference, I shall mention today only the names of some Civil Servants who according to the traditions of the great universities from which they come, during the course of their onerous duties in this country devoted their leisure to the study of art and culture of our motherland; and, even now that they have retired, instead of enjoying a well-earned rest, after thirty or more years' arduous work in the tropics, they are devoting their whole time to the study of India's past. Among this distinguished band, the names of Sir Edward Maclagan, Mr. R. B. Whitehead, Sir Richard Burn, Mr. Nelson Wright, Sir Edward Gait, Mr. C. E. A. W. Oldham and Mr. F .J. Richards are pre-eminent and deserve our sincerest thanks.

On the present occasion I must also mention the great loss which we have suffered by the cessation of the Journal "*Indian Antiquary*" which rendered such conspicuous service to the cause of Indian Archæology, Folklore and Anthropology for 62 years and with which are associated the names of many distinguished scholars of both the East and the West. During the latter years of its existence the Journal was largely maintained by the philanthropy of the late Sir Richard Temple, after whose death it became impossible to continue the Journal and ultimately it had to be discontinued.

In consideration of the re-awakening and the reconstruction which are taking place in our country at the present moment I may observe that a deeper study of the past and a reverential and intelligent regard for our national monuments are necessary; and for this purpose the teaching of Archæology at the different universities should be placed on a more systematic basis than that on which it rests at present. On referring to the calendars of Indian universities, I find that '*Archæology*' is taught as merely a subsidiary subject,

and that also only in three universities viz. Calcutta. Patna and Mysore. The courses of study at these universities are somewhat incomplete, and there is no provision for practical training, which, as you all know, is most important for acrhæological exploration. As the Archæological Service is now more or less Indianised, and as the shaping of the policy in future will be in our own hands, I would suggest that there should be co-operation between the officers of the Archæological Survey and the University professors for the training of students specially in the practical methods of excavation, conservation of monuments and preservation of antiquities. In view of the vast expanse of our country and the abundance of monuments and relics which it contains, it is also desirable that in future archæological exploration should not be limited to the officers of the Archæological Survey but should also be conducted by private institutions under competent guidance. I make this suggestion in the light of the proposals which have recently been made to invite foreign institutions and societies to conduct research in India and to permit them to take away a certain portion of the finds for the museums of their respective countries. From my knowledge of such arrangements in Egypt and other Eastern countries I must state that the fixing of the legitimate share of the explorers in the distribution of finds will remain an unsatisfactory bargain for us until our countrymen are fully alive to the importance and value of those finds.

Lastly, I would offer a word of advice to our young men -some of whom are present in this meeting-for upon them depends the future of our country. From my travels in Europe and other countries I have been convinced that Indian intellect is not inferior in any way to the intellect of any other nation in the world; but the methods of study are definitely more sound and the application is much closer in those countries than we find in India. On these two points -i. e. "method" and "application"-I would therefore lay special stress; for I am sanguine that if our young men in their researches have a scrupulous regard for 'method' and show the same amount of 'application' their work will not

be at all inferior to the work of European scholars. I must add a note of caution against the spirit of communalism which is now unfortunately distorting our vision. The glorious monuments of India, whether Buddhist, Hindu or Moslem, are the common heritage of us all–whatever our personal profession of faith may be. It is in this truly national spirit that the Government of His Exalted Highness the Nizam are preserving the monuments of His Dominions.

THE ÂHAḌA GRANT OF CHAULUKYA BHÎMADEVA II OF GUJARÂT (VIKRAMA YEAR 1263).

By Mm. Rai Bahadur Gaurishankar H. Ojha.

(*Ajmer.*)

The inscription described below is incised on two copper-plates, which are in possession of Brāhmaṇa Khīmā of Ahāḍa, a village about two miles from Udaipur (Rajputana).

Each plate measures 13¼″x11½″, the plates are inscribed on one side only. Their edges are slightly turned up, so as to form raised rims to protect the writing. Two ring–holes at the bottom of the first and the top of the second plate show that originally they were held together by two rings, which are now missing. Each plate contains 19 lines of writing. The letters are deeply incised and their average size is ½″. The plates are in a fair state of preservation, but some letters have been defaced owing to their remaining underground for many years.

The language of the inscription is Sanskrit. With the exception of six benedictory and imprecatory verses at the end (ll. 12–17) the record is written in prose. One provincial vernacular word, सराहा (l. 22) is specially noteworthy. It is not found in Sanskrit lexicons in the sense of 'crop', but सरा stands for crop in the dialect of the people of Udaipur, Sirohī and some other states of Rajputana. In respect of orthography the letter ब is throughout denoted by the sign for व. A consonant following र is generally doubled, e. g. पूर्व्वेवृत् (l. 1), दुर्ल्लभराज (l. 3), चक्रवर्त्ति (l. 5), दुर्ज्जय (l. 10), पूर्व्वप्रदत्त (l. 19), मार्ग्गः (l. 24), etc. Rules of Sandhi are not observed in certain places, as in •परमेश्वर उमापति (l. 6), त्रिषष्टि उत्तरेषु (l. 13), श्री-अजयपालदेव (l. 9), तथा अरघट्ट (l. 25), etc. 'प्य' is substituted for 'ध,' e. g. बाहुदंडदर्प्यरूप (l. 8), कंदर्प्य (l. 8) and कृष्णसर्प्याः (l. 35). The sign of *avagraha* is met with

more than once, e. g. रविवारेऽत्रांकतोपि (l. 14), ०पाटकेऽस्यैव (l. 15 यशोऽभिवृद्धये (l. 17). The sign of *anusvāra* is found throughou in preference to nasal, e. g. ०निष्कलंकमवतारित० (l. 8), ऽत्रांकतोपि (l. 14 यत्किंचित् (l. 21), त्रिभुवनगंड० (l. 5), वसुंधरां (l. 34), तदा फलं (l. 33), et Pṛṣṭhamātṛkās have been used according to writer's fanc

The grant refers to the reign of Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja-Parameśvara, the illustrious Bhīmadeva (Il alias Abhinavasiddharāja. It records the following genealog of the Chaulukya kings of Gujarāt:—

(1) Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvai Śrī-Mūlarājadeva (I).

(2) P. M. P. Śrī-Chāmuṇḍarājadeva.

(3) " Śrī-Durlabharājadeva.

(4) " Śrī-Bhīmadeva (I).

(5) " Śrī-Karṇadeva alias Trailokyamall

(6) " Śrī-Jayasiṁhadeva, Siddha-Chakr varti (Siddharāja), conqueror of tl lord of Avantī, of Tribhuvanagaṇ and Varvaraka (Barbaraka).

(7) " Śrī-Kumārapāladeva, conqueror the lord of Śākambharī (Sāmbhar)

(8) " Śrī-Ajayapāladeva, who exacte tribute from the ruler of Sapād lakṣha country (here it refers to tl Kingdom of Ajmer).

(9) " Śrī-Mūlarājadeva (II), the conquer of the lord of Garjanaka (Ghazn i. e. Shihabuddin Ghorī.

(10) " Śrī-Bhīmadeva (II), alias Abhinav siddharāja (Siddharāja II).

The inscription records that the last named ki (Bhīmadeva II) granted an *araghaṭṭa* (a well, with a Persi wheel, together with the land cultivated with its water) call (Vamāuvī?) at Āhāḍa in the maṇḍala (province) of Medapā (Mewar), which was under his sway, together with the outsi land attached to the well and a field belonging to Kaḍavā

a Brāhmaṇa named Ravideva, son of Vīhaḍa, belonging to the Rāyakavāla caste and Kṛshṇātreya-gotra. The boundaries of the above mentioned pieces of land are also given (ll. 23-28). The grantee hailed from the village Navati (modern Nauti in the Udaipur State). He further orders that the ninth part of each crop produced in the land belonging to the well should be given to (the temple of) Bhāyalasvāmideva at Āhāḍa.

The grant was issued from Anahilapāṭaka (Aṇahilavāḍa Pātaṇa in the territory of H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwad of Baroda), and is dated Sunday, the second day of the bright half of Śrāvaṇa (Kārtikādi), Vikrama Saṁvat 1263, corresponding to the 2nd July 1307 A. D.

The grant was written by Ṭha (Ṭhakkura) Vosarī, the son of Ṭha (Ṭhakkura) [Ka] mara, the Aksha-paṭalika (Accountant-general), The *dūtaka* is Mahā-sāndhivigrahıka Śrī-Sūrai, which corresponds to the modern name Sūrajī. The second plate bears at the end the sign-manual of Bhīmadeva and mark of a dagger. The inscription goes to prove that the territory of Medapāṭa (Mewār) was under the sway of Bhīmadeva (II), as it is clearly stated that it was a *maṇḍala* (l. ii) under his sovereignty.

TEXT.

PLATE I.

(1) ओं[1] स्वस्ति राजावलीपूर्व्ववत् समस्तराजावलीविराजितपरमभट्टा-रकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीमूलराज-

(2) देवपादानुध्यांतपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीचामुंडराजदेवपा-दानुध्यात (परमभ) ट्टारकम-

(3) हाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीदुर्ल्लभराजदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजा-धिराजपरमेश्वरश्रीभीमदे-

(4) वपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरत्रैलोक्यमल्लश्रीकर्ण्ण-देवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टार-

1. Indicated by a symbol.

(5) कमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरावन्तीनाथत्रिभुवनगंडबर्बरकजिष्णुसिद्धचक्र-
वर्तिश्रीजयसिंहदेवपादा-

(6) नुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराजपरमेश्वरउमापतिवरलब्ध[2]प्रसादप्रौढ-
प्रतापस्वभुजवीर्यरणांगण-

(7) विनिर्जितशाकंभरीभूपालश्रीकुमारपालदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहा-
राजाधिराजपरमेश्वरपरम-

(8) माहेश्वरप्रबल[3]बाहु[4]दंडदर्प्य[5]रूपकंदर्प्य[6]कलिकालनिष्कलंकावतारितरामरा-
ज्यकरदीकृतसपा-

(9) दलक्षक्ष्मापालश्रीअजयपालदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहाराजाधिराज-
परमेश्वराहवप-

(10) राभूतदुर्ज्जयगर्जनकाधिराजश्रीमूलराजदेवपादानुध्यातपरमभट्टारकमहा-
राजाधिराजपरमे-

(11) श्वराभिनवसिद्धराजश्रीमद्भीमदेवः स्वभुज्यमानमेदपाटमंडलांतःपातिनः
समस्तराजपुरुषा-

(12) न् ब्राह्मणोत्तरा[7]न्नियुक्तराणकान् जनपदांश्च वोधयत्यस्तु[8] वः संविदितं
यथा। श्रीमद्विक्रमा-

(13) दित्योत्पादितसंवत्सरशतेषु द्वादशेसु[9] त्रिषष्ठिउत्तरेषु[10] लौ० श्राम्वण[11]
(मास) शुक्लपक्षद्वितीयायां

(14) रविवारेऽत्रांकतोपि। संवत् १२६३ श्राम्वण[12]शुदि २ रवावस्यां संवत्सर-
मासपक्षवार(पूर्व्विका)यां

(15) तिथावद्येह श्रीमदणहिलपाटकेऽद्यैव व्यतीपातपर्व्वणि स्नात्वा चराचर-
(गु) रुं भगवन्तं भवानीप-

(16) तिमभ्यर्च्य संसारासारतां विचिन्त्य नलिनीदलगतजललवतरलतरं
प्राणितव्यमाकलय्यै (हि)-

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2. Read लब्ध० 3. Read प्रबल० 4. Read बाहुदंड०
5. Read दर्प्प० 6. Read कंदर्प्प० 7. Read ब्राह्मणोत्तरांस्तन्नियुक्त०
8. Read बोधयत्यस्तु 9. Read द्वादशेषु 10. Read त्रिषष्ट्युत्तरेषु
11. Read श्रावण० 12. Read श्रावण०

Āhāda Grant of Chaulukya Bhīmadeva II. V. E. 1263

(17) कमानुष्मिकं च फलमंगीकृत्य पित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययशोऽभिवृद्धये श्रीमदाहाडतलपदे-

(18) ....(व माउवा ?) नामारघट्टस्तत्प्रतिवद्धवा (द्ध) भूमिकडवासत्कक्षेत्रं समं श्रीमदाहाडमध्ये (अस्य)[13]

(19) (समर्पित) गृहान्वितः पूर्वप्रदत्तदेवदायब्रह्मदायनष्टनिधानसारवृक्षा (म्र)........[14]

PLATE II.

(20) (वर्ज्जश्च नवली) ग्रामवास्त० कृष्णात्रियगोत्रे रायकवालज्ञाती० ब्रा० वीहडसुतरविदेवाय शासनेनो-[15] [16] [17]

(21) दकपूर्व्वमस्माभिः प्रदत्तः॥ अस्मि (न् वमाउवा ?) नामारघट्टे सराहाद्वये यत्किंचित् धान्यं समुत्पद्यते

(22) त (स्य समुत्पन्नधान्यस्य) मध्यात् सराहां प्रति नवमविभागः श्रीमदाहाडेत्य श्रीभायलस्वामिदेवा (य अ)-

(23) स्य अरघट्टसत्कगोस्वामिना सदैव दातव्यः। अस्य अरघट्टस्याघाटा यथा। पूर्व्वस्यां दिशि श्री (केशवस्वामि)-

(24) देववाटिका। तथा श्रीपार्श्वनाथदेवसत्कक्षेत्रं च। दक्षिणस्यां दिशि राजमार्ग्गः। पश्चिमायां दिशि राज-

(25) मार्ग्गः। उत्तरस्यां दिशि श्रीभायलस्वामिदेवक्षेत्रं। तथा अरघट्टप्रतिवद्धक्षेत्रस्याघाटा यथा। पूर्व्व-[18]

(26) तो राजकुलक्षेत्र। दक्षिणतो रायकवालज्ञाती० व्रा० सोमेश्वरक्षेत्रं। पश्चिमतो........सी-[19]

(27) मा। उत्तरतो राजमार्ग्गः। (क्षेत्रस्या) घाटाः। पूर्व्वस्यां ब्राह्म० (चाकुलस्कंद) गृहं। दक्षिणं........गृहं।[20]

(28) पश्चिमायां संघ० वाढागृहं। (उत्तरस्यां श्रीमद्रा) जकीयमहा (....) कोट्टडिका। एवं ....घाटैरुपलक्षित अ (ता) रहट्टमेनम-

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13. Read प्रतिवद्धवाह्य० 14. Read ब्रह्मदाय० 15. Read कृष्णात्रेय०
16. Read गोत्राय 17. Read ब्रा०(ब्राह्मण) 18. Read प्रतिबद्ध०
19. Read ब्रा० 20. Read ब्राह्म०

(29) [illegible] [illegible]यादीयमानभागभोगकरहिरण्यादिसर्व्वं सर्व्वदाज्ञा-
श्रवणविधेयैर्भूत्वा अमु (ष्म) रविदेवा-
(30) य समुपनेतव्यं । सामान्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं मत्वा अस्मद्वंशजैरन्यैरपि
भाविभोक्तृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्तब्रह्मदायोयमनुमंतव्यः[21] । पा-
(31) लनीयश्च । उक्तं च भगवता व्यासेन । षष्ठिवर्षसहश्राणि[22] स्वर्गे
तिष्ठ (ति) भूमिदः । आच्छेता[23] चानुमंता च तांन्येव[24] नरके
वसेत् ॥१ (॥) यानीह दत्तानि
(32) पुरा नरेंद्रैर्[25]दानानि धर्म्मर्थ[26]यशस्कराणि । निर्म्माल्यवांतिप्रतिमानि तानि
को नाम साधु[27] पुनराददीत ॥ २ ॥ बहुभिर्[28]वसुधा भु-
(33) क्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा (भू) मी तस्य तस्य
तदा फलं (।) । ३ ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो ह-
(34) रेत वसुंधरां । स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह मज्जति (।) । ४॥
विंध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरवा-
(35) सिनः । कृष्णसर्प्पाः[29] प्रजायंते दत्तदानापहारकाः ॥ ५ ॥ दत्वा भूमिं
भाविनः पार्थिवेंद्रान[30] भूयो भूयो
(36) याचते रामभद्रः । सामान्योऽयं दानधर्म्मो नृपाणां स्वे स्वे काले पालनीयो
भवद्भिः ॥ ६ ॥ लिखितमिदं
(37) शासनं मोढान्वयप्रसूतमहाक्षपटलिक ठ० श्री (क) मरसुत ठ० वोस-
रिणा । दूतकोऽत्र महासांधिविग्रहि-
(38) क ठ० श्रीसूरइ ॐ ॥ श्रीभीमदेवस्य ॥

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21. Read [illegible]
22. Read षष्टिवर्षसहस्राणि
23. Read [illegible]
24. Read तान्येव
25. Read नरेन्द्रैः
26. Read धर्मार्थ॰
27. Read साधुः
28. Read बहुभि॰
29. Read कृष्णसर्पाः
30. Read पार्थिवेंद्रान्

Ābaḍa Grant of Chaulukya Bhimadeva II. V. E. 1263.

A FRAGMENT OF THE KĪRTI-STAMBHA INSCRIPTION OF SIDDHARĀJA JAYASIṀHA.

BY RAMLAL CHUNILAL MODI.

(*Patan.*)

TEXT.

1. ...... थम धर्म्मपालनपटोपाध्यायशिक्षागृहं
   शश्वत् पौरसमृद्धिवर्द्धनमहाक्षेत्रं यदुर्वीतले ।

2. ....भूमिप्रणयपरिणतोद्दामभीत्या प्रविष्टा:
   अन्ये देशान्तरेभ्य: प्रथितनयपथाख्यातिरागादुपेता: ।
   के के.... ...

3. ....लसमतिर्वैदग्ध्यभंगीनिधि:
   पूतां वृत्तिमसौ त्रिवर्गविषयां भेजे विभक्तस्थिति: ।
   उच्चैर्व्यभिचारि...........

4. .... ण ॥ ७७ ॥
   देवानां स्नपनानि दानविधय: स्नानादिशौचक्रिया:
   संजीवन्ति चराचराणि भुवने भूतानि यस्मादिह ।

5. ....नृप: ॥ ७९ ॥
   चूडेन्दुपादैरिव शीतयोगै-
   र्गंगातरंगैरिव पुण्यरूपै: ।
   स्वप्ने समागत्य तमेकभक्तं
   प्रबोधयामास च ... .

6. ....तदा च जज्ञे
   भगीरथस्य त्रिदशापगेव ॥ ८७ ॥
   तत: सा पूरयामास सर: सिद्धेशकारितं ।
   खानितं सगरेणेव साग............

7\. ....चैर्विर........प्रवतीपते: ।
किं वाम्भोदपरंपराभिरभित: कॢप्तं विलीय क्षणा-
देवं सिद्धनरेन्द्रनिर्म्मित........

8\. ....प्रपीतपयसो रेवादिकूलंकषा:
क्षीयन्ते सहसेव तानि विविधक्ष्मापालसैन्यान्यपि ।

9\. ....तान्वहं ।
नि:शेषं निजगोत्रगत्रभगवान् कुम्भोद्भव: प्राहिणोत्
तेनाप्यस्य न बिन्दुमात्रक............

10\. ....साप्यत्र विश्राम्यति ॥ ९० ॥
विश्रामधाम भुवनत्रयखेदभाज:
श्रीसिद्धराजपरमेश्वर ....

Translation.

1. A teaching house for teachers for observing religious practices. A great field for constantly increasing the prosperity of the citizens.

2. ......were seized by great fear as a result of his love for land; others attracted by his celebrated administration came from various countries.

3. A treasure of wisdom and diplomacy, he applied his mind piously and impartially to the three (Dharma, Artha and Kāma).

4. 77. By means of which, cleaning of gods, ceremonies for alms-giving, as well as bathing and other acts of purification are performed and which gives life to the moving and non-moving.

5. 79. Having appeared in a dream in the form of the cool rays of the moon and the sacred waves of the Ganges, she awakened her only devotee.

6. 87. Then she spoke to him as the heavenly river spoke to Bhagiratha. Afterwards, she filled up the lake built by Siddharāja.

7. Or, as if covered all of sudden by a long line of clouds on all sides; in the same manner one built by the King Siddharāja.

8. Those who have drunk the waters of Revā (Narmadā and other rivers...........They are destroyed suddenly like the armies of various kings.

9. Not a drop was (lessened) even by the whole family of the venerable (Agastya) son of Kumbha.

10. 90. Even she takes rest here. The King Siddharāja, an abode of peace and a destroyer of miseries of the three worlds.

Note :—This inscription which has not yet been published is engraved on a stone slab 26 inches long and 13 inches broad. The inscribed portion occupies a space 24″ by 10″. The slab is fixed in the brick wall of a small temple of Śiva in a street named Vijal Kuvā in Pāṭan, the ancient capital of Gujarat.

It must have been brought there from the ruins of the old city, which was situated to the west of the modern town. This seems to be one of the many slabs which made up the entire inscription. The numerical figures of the verses show that over a hundred verses (probably 108) were contained in the inscription. Moreover, it is unfortunate that out of 15 or 16 verses in the present slab, not one is complete, as a portion of it on the left is destroyed.

This inscription leaves no doubt as to the slab having been a part of the Kirti-Stambha (Column of Victory) erected by Siddharāja Jayasiṁha, the most powerful and renowned Chaulukya King of Gujarat (1094 to 1143 A. D.). Almost all the authorities dealing with the history of that king have referred to this column, but no one, beyond mentioning that it stood on the edge of the lake Sahasraliṅga, has been able to give a single line of its inscription.[1]

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1. Prabandha-Chintāmaṇi quotes two verses saying that they formed part of the inscription, but they are doubtful, as one of them is found in the Kirtikaumudi.

If the whole inscription had been found, it would have thrown a flood of light on many a dark corner of the history of Gujarat. Even as it is, it clears two points:—

(1) The first line confirms the fact mentioned by Hemachandra in Dvyāśraya that Siddharāja built educational institutions on the edge of this lake.[1]

(2) The fifth and sixth lines disprove the legend that the lake was filled with water as a result of the sacrifice of an untouchable named Māyo. It clearly states that it was filled with the waters of the Sarasvati river. This must have been only possible either by the digging of a canal from the river to the lake or by diverting the course of the river itself.[2]

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1. स वार्त्तिकसूत्रिकान्काल्पसूत्रानागमवित्त्रिकान् ।
सांसर्गविद्यांश्चै विद्यानांगविद्यांश्च कोविदान् ॥ १२० ॥
छात्र विद्यान्धर्मविदाँल्लोकायितिकविद्विषः ।
याज्ञिकान्नैक्त्यकांश्चात्र चक्रे प्रीणयितुं मठान् ॥ १२१ ॥

2. The recently discovered Sarasvati-Mahātmya confirms this statement:—

स्वधंशप्लावनार्थं च सिद्धराजः सरस्वतीं ।
तत्सरो ह्यनयद्देवीं गंगामिव भगीरथः ॥

FURTHER LIGHT ON PAÑCHAMAHĀS'ABDA.

By Prof. C. S. Srinivasachari, M. A.

(*Annamalainagar.*)

The controversy with regard to the interpretation of the term *Pañchamahās'abda* in Kalhaṇa's *Rājataraṅgiṇī* has been going on for some time in the pages of the "Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (New Series).[1] " The term has been exercising the minds of eminent scholars for a long time. It was first interpreted to mean the possession of five titles beginning with *Mahā* (great) like Mahārāja, Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara, etc. Sir Walter Elliot wrote that the prince or noble conferring the grant in which the title was mentioned was said to be *samadhigata-pañchamahāśabda-* (lit:)—"he who has obtained five great sounds or words"; and he added that it was 'a title conjoined with that of Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara (the ordinary designation of subordinate nobles), but not usually assumed by a sovereign prince, although it did occur among those of Pulakeśī I'. He was inclined to find in the term an institution of having music played five times a day at stated hours, as in the *Naubat* of Persia adopted by the Indian Mussalman princes; and he quoted from the 19th book of Chand's *Pṛthvī Rāj Rāsau*, the poet's mention of "music playing five times a day" at the palace-gate of Padamsin, father of Padmāvatī. F. S. Growse, the translator of Tulsi Das's *Rāmacharitamānas*, wrote that the term *pañchamahāśabda* was of frequent occurrence in the modern literature of

1. Vol. I (pp. 238-245) wherein Dr. S. K. Ayyangar questions the interpretation of the term by Sir Aurel Stein, as it occurs in verse 140 of Book IV of the Rājataraṅgiṇī.
   Vol. VII (pp. 48-52) wherein Mr. Padmanāth Bhaṭṭāchāryya upholds the view of Stein.
   Vol. VIII, No. I and II (pp. 93-95) wherein Dr. S.K. Ayyangar adduces further literary evidence in support of his own stand-ponit.

Braj and that in Tulsi Das (in Book I) the following line occurs in the passage describing the festivities connected with Rāma's wedding:

Pañch-sabd-dhuni maṅgalgaṇa which literally means "the noise of the five kinds of music and auspicious songs". A commentary on the passage gives an explanatory couplet, in which the five kinds of music are specified as the *tantrī* or *sitāra*, the *tāl*, the *jhañjh*, the *nakārā* and fifthly the trumpet, fife or some other wind instrument. Mr. Growse does not hesitate about the authenticity of this meaning of the term; and he also observed that the passage in the Hindi text of Chand quoted by Elliot is by no means so explicit as to the custom of having a royal band playing five times a day; and the line referring to the music might well mean "a noise of the five kinds of music playing every day". He also adds that *naubat* originally meant a *turn*, a time for changing guard, when the drums were beaten; and its primary signification had thus no connection with music of any kind.

Sir Aurel Stein agrees with the view that the term means "the five titles commencing with great", and adds a sentence at the end of his note (on p. 133 of Vol. I of his Translation of Kalhaṇa's *Chronicle*) that the views of Elliot and Pathak referring the term to the privilege of using certain musical instruments, five in number or five times a day, are based on evidence that does not appear to be sufficiently old to establish this interpretation as the original sense of the term. Mr. Pathak quoted (*Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XII, p. 96) a passage from a Jain author Revākoṭyāchārya, who, in describing a royal procession, definitely says "while the five great musical instruments and the auspicious drums were being sounded" and also cited the Canarese work, 'Vivekachintāmaṇi' which enumerated the five great musical instruments, as *śṛṅga tammaṭa, śaṅkha, bherī* and *jayaghaṇṭā*. He asserted that the term *pañchamahāśabda* could never mean the playing of a royal band five times a day.

Dr. S. K. Ayyangar, writing in the *J. B. B. R. A. S.*, Vol. I (new series), is definitely of the view that the term refers to the music of the five great instruments and cites in support of his

view old Tamil lexicons and several Canarese inscriptions in several of which the term *samadhigata-pañcha-mahāśabda* is "actually used in the place of Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara, thus indicating that it is of almost equal importance to the term it supersedes". He gives eight specific applications of the title in inscriptions ranging from A. D. 913 to A. D. 1159 and referring to kings, a Jain Āchārya, a governor, a feudatory, the S'aṅkarāchārya of S'ṛṅgerī, etc; and these indicate that the term was applied to those who were entitled to make public appearances with the band playing; it was not applied to any specific office, but merely conveyed an indication of dignity. The actual instruments which composed the band might vary; and, perhaps, the one thing essential was that the five different methods of producing musical sounds, viz.. leather, orifice, strings (catgut), bronze and vocal music, as given in the Tamil lexicons. must be represented. Thus, *Pañchamahāśabda* in southern usage had reference to "the dignity of going in public with the band playing, whether or not the individual to whom appertained this dignity held a civil or military or even a holy office". He holds that the use of the term in the context in Kalhaṇa's text does not warrant the interpretation put upon it by Stein; viz., that the particular person referred to had the honour of holding simultaneously the five offices; and that the meaning given to the term seems forced.

Mr. Padmanatha Bhattacharyya, writing in the *J.B.B.R.A.S.* (Vol. VII, New Series, Nos. 1 and 2) holds that the term, as used in the *Rājatarangiṇī* means the five *karmasthānas* or offices, and that the enumeration of the different offices (in verse 141 of Book IV) immediately after the bestowal of the great honour of *Pañchamahāśabda*, could not but have reference thereto; but he has no objection to the term as it occurs in Gupta and Canarese inscriptions being interpreted as identical with *Pañchamahāvādya*; and he concludes that the term ought to have had different meanings in different parts of the country; "in Kashmir, for instance, it means five offices with the adjective ' Mahā ' prefixed thereto; and in the Deccan it may signify five great sounds of musical instruments, varying in various places".

Of course it is not likely that a technical Sanskrit term like the *Pañchamahāśabda* should have different meanings in different parts of the country, as Dr. S. K. Ayyangar points out in his reply to Mr. Bhattacharyya's criticism (*J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. VIII, Nos. 1 and 2). The learned Doctor gives further evidence of the occurrence of the term in the old Tamil work, *Bhārata Veṅbā*, composed in the style of the Sanskrit *champū*, where it is used familiarly and fairly frequently, as though it were a literary commonplace in the sense of a band. Thus, Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa is said to have been accompanied by the band of music of the five instruments including the *śaṅku* and the *bheri*, (page 29, *ed.* of the *Bhārata Veṅbā* by R. Gopala Ayyar) on his starting for Upalāviyanagara. Again, we have in the same work, in the description of the first day's struggle of the great Kurukṣetra war, a passage enumerating the different kinds of musical instruments which made up the *Pañchamahāśabda* that sounded in every direction (p. 155, ibid). The *Bhārata Veṅbā* of Peruṇḍevanār is a production of the ninth century as is proved from the evidence of a verse in the prefatory part of the work which seems to give an indication of the time by mentioning a patron of the author, Nandivarman III, the grandson of Nandivarman Pallavamalla and the victor of Tellāru; and the probability is that the author, Peruṇḍevanār, enjoyed the patronage of this Pallava ruler. The evidence of the use of *Pañchamahāśabda* in this Tamil work and in the epigraphs of the Deccan is in most cases earlier in point of time than that of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (of the twelfth century) and should therefore indicate the prior meaning that was attached to the term.

The *Periya Purāṇam* of *Sekkilār* is an acknowledged classic of Tamil literature, being the orthodox account of the lives of the traditional sixty-three Śaiva saints or *Nāyanmārs*. Śekkilār lived according to all available evidence, in the time of Kulottuṅga Chola whose reign lasted from 1070 to 1118 A. D. In the sarga known as the *Vellānai-ch-Charukkam* describing the ascent to Kailāsa of the famous saint, Sundaramurti Nāyanār, riding on the celestial white elephant sent by God S'iva himself, the passage occurs:—

'Nāṟṟaḍangaḍan Mulakkena vivahai nadarmi delundārppa' (in stanza 34–p. 515 of the *Periya Purāṇam*, edited by Ārumuga Nāvalar (7th ed.) Madras, *Vibhava*). The meaning of this passage is that (Sundara ascended to heaven) with the five kinds of music ascending up and resembling in their intensity the roaring of the four wide seas. This accompaniment of the five kinds of music (definitely mentioned as the five kinds of music *(i vahai nādham)* in the ascent of the saint strengthens the conclusion arrived at by Dr. S. K. Ayyangar that the privilege did not indicate any office or combination of offices, as misunderstood by some scholars, but served purely and solely as an honour accompanying the reception or march of a great personage. It was obviously looked upon as a special mark of dignity and honour and meant, as it does literally, the association of the five kinds of music.

We have yet another piece of evidence, relating to Vijayanagara times. A record dated 1368 A. D., No. 344 (136) of Inscriptions on Chandragiri, Chikkabetta, of Vol. II *Epigraphia Carnatica*-Inscriptions at Sravana Belgola, revised edition by R. Narasimhachariar tells us that King Bukka Rāya, in disposing of a petition made to him by the Jainas about the injustice done to them by the Vaiṣṇavas, declared that there was no difference between Jaina and the Vaiṣṇava creeds and decreed that the Jaina creed was, as before, entitled to the five great musical instruments (Pañcha-mahā-vādyagalu) and the vase or *kalaśa.* Thus the definite mention of the privileges of the five kinds of music, along with the *kalaśa* (most likely the *pūrṇa kumbha*, a mark of special honour given to great personages on their reception) as being guaranteed to the Jaina Darśana implies the enjoyment of the same honours by the heads of the faith. Any implication that the five sounds indicated an association of offices beginning with *Mahā* is rendered impossible by the definite mention of the *śabdas* as indicating the sounds of musical instruments, in these two instances mentioned above. The term should have meant, originally, the association of the five fundamental sounds produced from the five main sources of music *viz.* leather, orifice, strings,

metal and the human voice; and as pointed out by Dr. S. K. Ayyangar, " the term as it came into use, naturally lost the strict sense of the five sources of musical sounds, because most bands consist only of four out of the five on that basis, the the human voice not being one generally".

The definite mention of the title Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara along with the term *samadhigata-pañchamahāśabda* in some of the Kanerese inscriptions made use of in the controversy, (e. g. p. 179 of the *Indian antiquary*, Vol. IV, 1875) will naturally preclude the inclusion of the titles Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara and the like in the scope of the term *pañchamahāśabda* as meaning a combination of offices. Definite literary and inscriptional evidence, of which possibly more may be forthcoming, will warrant the conclusion that the general usage of the term *pañchamahāśabda*, always connoted a symbolic and honorific dignity of the accompaniment of the traditional five kinds of music and not the association of offices.

THE VIRDI COPPERPLATES OF SAṀ. 297: THE FIRST KNOWN GRANT OF KHARAGRAHA I.

BY A. S. GADRE, M. A.
(*Rajkot.*)

In January 1932, Mr. Keshavlal K. Oza, B. A., LL. B. Karbhari Saheb of Lathi, in Kathiawar, sent to me the second plate of this grant. I am very much indebted to him for this inasmuch as this is the first[1] known grant of Kharagraha I. I had originally written a paper, for the Seventh Oriental Conference, to be held at Baroda, on this second plate, which Mr. Oza informs me, was found in 1930 by Sava Karsan, Revenue Patel of Virdi near (Dhola), under Lathi, in his own house. He reports that the plate was seen by him in a box belonging to his father and that he found it only after the latter's death. It is not possible to say how and under what circumstances the plate was found by his father. The first plate was thus missing. Luckily, it was found in the latter part of this year 1933 in the same village and it was as late as the 10th December 1933 that I received it from the Karbhari Saheb for ascertaining its contents. At a glance I found it was the missing first plate and I sought permission of the Local Secretary of the Oriental Conference to substitute a revised and altered paper, necessitated by this find, in place of the one already submitted. I am thankful for the permission granted. Another[2] grant of the same king, found in Amreli in 1932 by Mr. Prataprai G. Mehta, is also deciphered by me.

The two plates are not held together by rings and a seal and are thus separated. All the Valabhī grants consist of two

1. See Annual Report, Watson museum of antiquities, for 1931-32 p. 6 (3).
2. Ibid, for 1932-33 p. 7.

plates each and a loss of either is a serious handicap to the editor as he is in the dark as regards the full contents. The *first plate* usually contains the description of the ancestors of the donor king and is as such stereotyped, fixed in set forms as are the epithets of various Valabhī rulers. The only item of importance is the name of the place from which the grant is issued. The *second* half is important as it contains usually the names of the donor king and the recipient of the grant, the description of the property granted, the purpose for which it is to be utilised, and the date, month and year of the grant. Fortunately we have found both halves in this case, though at different times. Such division of the plates of a grant can be accounted for by the separation of brothers in a joint Hindu family. Ignorant of their contents, they may divide among themselves this inheritance.

The plates measure 12″ × 8·5″ each. They contain 18 lines each (or 36 lines in all). There are two holes, near the lower rim of the first plate and the upper rim of the second plate, through which two rings must have passed holding together the two plates, one of the rings having an oval seal fixed to it. But the rings and the seal are missing.

The Language:—The language of all the Valabhī grants is Sanskrit. The imprecatory portion at the end is invariably in verse, being a quotation possibly from the Mahābhārata and the rest is in prose. The language is highly artificial and lacking in real poetic skill. Stereotyped is the way of the description of the various kings.

Characters:—These belong to the southern alphabets, the southern variety of Brāhmī as obtained in Kathiawar in 5th and 6th centuries A. D. Noteworthy are the forms of Jihvāmūlīya and Upadhmānīya. The way of writing 'rū' in line 5 deserves our notice. In the last line the words 'Svahasto mama' are written in bigger letters, the distinction being possibly meant to show, that the words were written in his own hand by the king in the original grant (kept in the State archives).

Orthography:—The following chief features are noticeable under this head:—

(i)	Doubling of	'k'	before 'r' as in				॰ क्रों ॰ line	29
	,, ,,	'ṇ'	,,	,,	,,		॰ कर्ण्ण ॰	29
	,, ,,	'g'	,,	,,	,,		॰ स्वर्ग्ग	34
	,, ,,	'j'	,,	,,	,,		॰ वर्ज्ज	29
	,, ,,	'd'	,,	,,	,,		एक्षेवेद्द्री॰	22
	,, ,,	'dh'	,,	,,	,,		॰ न्द्धैर्द्ध	33
	,, ,,	'n'	,,	,,	,,		॰गतिर्ण्णांच॰	21
	,, ,,	'm'	,,	,,	,,		धर्म्मांव॰	30
	,, ,,	'y'	,,	,,	,,		॰कार्य्य॰	7
	,, ,,	'th'	,,	,,	,,		॰र्त्थ्येमा॰	7
	,, ,,	'v'	,,	,,	,,		सर्व्व	27
	,, ,,	'bh'	,,	,,	,,		निर्ब्भुक्त	33

(ii) The occasional use of the guttural nasal instead of 'anusvāra' before 'S'' as in वङ्क्षैः in line 31.

(iii) Use of the dental nasal (n) instead of 'anusvāra' before s (स्) as in ॰तरान्स॰ in lines 13.

(iv) Occasional want of Sandhi as in lines 26 and 27.

(v) Wrong Sandhi as in परतोत्तरतश्च for परत उत्तरतश्च in line 26.

Place of Issue:—This grant is issued as we know from l. 1 from the victorious camp at Ujjayanī—an item of historical importance. Many of the Valabhī grants are issued from Valabhī. Some are issued from victorious camps (Vijayaskandhāvāra) at various places. Such grants were given during campaigns or tours. Royal camps are mentioned at Bharukaccha[3] (modern Broach), Kheṭaka (modern Kaira),[4] Godhrahaka (modern Godhra),[5] Ānandapura[6] (modern Vaḍnagar). From this it seems that the Valabhī rule extended over a great part of Kathiawar and Gujarat Two grants

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3. Ind. Ant., Vol. VII, p. 73 ff.
4. Journal of the Bombay Br. of the Royal Asiatic Society, Vol. XI, p. 335.
5. Indian Antiquary, VI, 17.
6. Gupta Inscriptions, page 173.

of Saṁ. 320 and 321[7] are discovered at Nogāwā, 10 miles north of Rutlam, the capital of a State in Central India. They grant land in Navagrāma (modern Nogāwā) and Candraputraka respectively in Mālavaka (modern Malwa). But nowhere are we told that Malwa was under Valabhī rule at that time. Our grant issued from the victorious camp at Ujjayanī makes the point clear. Probably in Saṁ. 297 Kharagraha I may have invaded Malwa and from his camp at Ujjain issued this grant.[7a]

Officers:—In l. 23 the officers concerned with the proper execution of the grant are mentioned in a general way (सर्वान् वया संबध्यमानकान्). The practice followed by his predecessors upto S'īlāditya I was to mention the officers by their designations. It seems that Kharagraha I and his successors mentioned them in a general way in order to curtail such details with the growing bulk of the contents of grants. Also the size of grants increases with each succeeding king.

The *Dūtaka* or executor of the grant is S'rī Dharasena his successor. In the grants of his elder brother S'īlāditya I, Bhaṭṭādityayaśas is the Dūtaka in Saṁ. 286 (three grants) and 287. But in the grants of 290 Kharagraha I is the Dūtaka. Generally the heir-apparent is the Dūtaka. Possibly Bhaṭṭādityayaśas may be the only son of S'īlāditya, on whose premature death between Saṁ. 288 and 290, Kharagraha

7. Ep. Ind. VIII, p. 188; and 194 respectively.

7a. S'īlāditya I, uncle of Dhruvasena II (alias Dhruvabhaṭa) was, according to Hieun Tsiang, king of Mo-la-p'o. Thus S'īlāditya I was ruler of Mo-la-p'o by conquest in addition to his ancestral realm of Valabhi (Early History of India, 4th Edn. pp.343-4.)

The Nogāwā grants of Samvat 320-21 show that Dhruvasena II succeeded to the province of Western Malwa where his uncle S'īlāditya I and possibly his father Kharagraha I were ruling.

Vincent Smith has shown on p. 343 of The Early History of India, 4th Edn. that Mo-la-p'o was western Malwa and that the kingdom of Ujjain otherwise called Avanti was Eastern Mālwa. For Hieun Tsiang has described the territory of Ujjain as a separate kingdom, equal in size to Mo-la-p'o and in his time ruled by a Brāhmaṇa Rājā. Our grant makes it clear that Avanti or Ujjain also was conquered by Kharagraha I after his elder brother S'īlāditya I.

succeeded to the post.[8] Or even more probable may be that S'īlāditya had no[8] son and during the minority of Kharagraha I, Bhaṭṭādityayaśas, a high official officiated for him.

The Lekhaka:—The minister of peace and war is Vatra Bhaṭṭi who appears in that capacity from Saṁ. 286 to Saṁ. 310. In grant of Saṁ. 320,[9] his son Skandabhaṭa occupied the post. Skandabhaṭa's son Aṇahila appears in grant of Saṁ. 334.[10] Possibly the post was hereditary.

The tenealogy:—The details of genealogy in the 1st plate are corroborated by the Amreli grant of the same king dated the same year i. e. Saṁ. 297, the 10th day of the bright half of S'rāvaṇa which I deciphered in 1932. It makes a reference to Bhaṭārkka, the founder of the Maitraka dynasty of Valabhī, and omitting intervening kings, refers to Guhasena as in continuous line of Bhaṭārkka (श्रीभटार्कादव्यवच्छिन्नराजवंशात् l.3).

Guhasena was succeeded by Śīlāditya, alias Dharmāditya, who was succeeded by his younger brother Kharagraha I.

Of the nineteen rulers of Valabhī no grant had uptil now been found of five kings namely, Bhaṭārkka, Dharapaṭṭa, Kharagraha I and Dharasena III. It is fortunate that two

8. After writing the above paragraph, the editor has come across material which makes him revise his views:—

S'īlāditya I had a son named Derabhaṭa who surprisingly enough never succeeded his father to the throne. He is described as a royal saint, like Agastya spreading to the south as the lord of the earth with Vindhya and Sahya for her breasts. (see Gupta Inscription, No.39; p.188).

So Bhaṭṭādityayas'as was only a high official. Perhaps S'īlāditya I may have not agreed with his son and disinherited him.

It seems that the two brothers S'īlāditya I and Kharagraha I had some dispute about the leadership of the family; and that eventually S'īlāditya I conceded to the question of his younger brother who as its result succeeded his elder brother to the throne. (See Note 2 of translation; and Gupta Inscriptions page 182; foot note 1).

Such quarrels for power between brothers are not infrequent in India. We have another instance in this dynasty where the younger brother Dhruvasena III superseding his elder brother Kharagraha II, usurped the throne. Eventually Kharagraha II had to take by force the throne from his younger brother (see Gupta Inscriptions, p. 184).

9. J.B.B.R.A.S, XX. 6.

10. Ep. Ind, I. 86.

grants of Kharagraha I have come to light. Upto Dharasena II, names of all the reigning members of the dynasty are given. But S'īlāditya I[10a] curtailed the list and dropped names of four viz. Dharasena I, Droṇasiṃha, Dhruvasena I and Dharapaṭṭa. After Bhaṭārkka, Guhasena must have been a powerful king to receive a mention. The practice of S'īlāditya was continued by later kings who instead of further curtailment used larger plates and smaller letters.

The latest known grant of his predecessor S'īlāditya I, is of 292[11] G. S. and the only known grant of Dharasena III who succeeded Kharagraha I is of 304.[12] Therefore Kharagraha I, it seems, had a short reign probably from Saṃ. 291 to Sam. 300 or 614 to 620 A. D.

Donee:—The recipient of this grant is a Brahmin named Bhava, son of Bhadra, a student of the Maitrāyaṇī S'ākhā, of the Bhāguri Gotra and a resident of Ciñcānaka.

Property granted:—He received a well and a field in the east of the village of Ciñcānaka. The description and the boundaries of the property are as under:—

(a) A well irrigating an area measuring 22 Pādāvartanas[13] to be cultivated by himself (स्वयंप्रकृष्ट). It was (1)

10a. Ep. Ind. XI. 115; Ind. Ant, IX. 237.

11. Ind. Ant. IX. 237.

12. To be published by Mr. D. B. Diskalkar in Ep. Indi.

13. I am very much obliged to Mr. R. L Mehta, ex-Karbhari of Vala State for allowing me to make use of the following note sent to him by M. M. Pt. G. H. Ojha of Ajmer:—

"Pādāvarta was an old land-measurement generally mentioned in the grants from Kathiawar. The term has hitherto been misunderstood. (i) In Bohtlingk and Roth's Sanskrit Worterbuch, Pādāvarta is explained by the commentator on Kātyāyana's S'rauta Sūtra as 'a square foot', (ii) Monier Williams in his Sanskrit Dictionary gives the meanings of the word, "a wheel for raising water from a well i. e. 'araghaṭa,' and 'a square foot'. (iii) Dr. Fleet while editing the Maliya grants of Mahārāja Dharasena II of Valabhi (G. S. 252) writes "Pādāvarta, lit. 'the turning of the foot' is given by Monier Williams in his Sanskrit Dictionary as meaning 'a square foot'. But it seems more likely that such an expression as 'hundred Pādāvartas' means a plot of ground measuring a hundred feet each way i. e. 10000 sq. feet rather than only 'one hundred sq. feet' which would measure only 10 ft. each way, and would be rather a small area for a grant; to say

to the east of the road that goes to Ciñcānaka from Bhogāditya, (2) to the south of Lūṣhā[13a] (?,) (3, 4) to the west and north of the field of Gañcāka,

(b) The field of Gañcāka 38 Pādāvartanas in area. It was (1) to the east of the field belonging to Bhaṭṭi, (2) to the north of the field of Maḍḍhaka, (3) to the west of the field of Rāhuvānaka; (4) to the south of Lūṣhā (?)

The property was granted with all the usual privileges. I have not been able to identify Ciñcānaka or Bhogāditya.

The date:—It was granted on the 12th day of the bright half of Vaiśākha in the year 297 of the Gupta Era. Scholars have upto now regarded that the Valabhī grants are dated in the Gupta Era, and it has been usual to regard 319–320 A. D. as its starting point. Mr. Govind Pai in his article [14]. 'The Gupta and Valabhī Eras' in the Journal of the Indian History and Mr. D. N. Mukhopadhyaya, in his article 'The Kṛta, Gupta, S'aka Eras'[15] in the Modern Review have tried to refute these views. Mr. Pai shows the unreliability of Alberuni's statements in these respects. Mahāmahopādhyāya Pandit G. H. Ojha in his book [16] 'The Palæography of India' has shown the inaccuracies of Alberuni in some respects to be due possibly to the information he received and at the same time he takes 319–20 as the starting point of the era. Indeed as shown

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nothing of the still smaller areas mentioned further on". (iv) The Sanskrit Kos'as, Vācaspatya Bṛhadabhidhāna and S'abdakalpadruma both give the meaning of the word, 'a wheel for raising water from a well i. e. अरघ (ट्ट) ट' (v) But all these interpretations cannot be accepted. In one place the Maliya grant states अष्टाविंशतिपादावर्तपरिसरा वापी (an irrigation well with an area of 28 पादावर्तs. Hence Pādāvarta cannot but be less than a 'Vighā'."

13a. A village Lūṣhā is mentioned in a grant of Saṁ. 352.
Lūshā is modern 'Lunsadi' in Mahuva district of Bhavnagar State and is about 52 (?) miles from Dundasa (Indian Antiquary XI. 305). Can this Lūṣhā of our grant be the same as that?

14. Journal of Indian History, Vol. XI, pt. 2, p. 175 ff and Vol. XII, pt. 2, p. 215 ff.

15. Modern Review 1932, June and July, pp. 28–33.

16. 'The Palæography of India' by Ojha, p. 175, note 2.

17. Ibid, page 175.

by Mm. Ojha, according to the Verawal inscription[17] of Cālukya Arjunadeva, Vikrama Saṁ. 1320 is equal to Valabhī Saṁ. 945, which when worked out gives 319–20 as the starting point of the era. The earliest date of the Gupta Era found in Kathiawar is 138 in the Girnar inscription of Skandagupta. So it seems Gupta Era was adopted in Kathiawar, continued by the Valabhī rulers, and named after them as Valabhī Saṁvat. At the same time Bāṇṭia[19] inscription of Dharasena II is dated in Saṁ. 257 (वैशाख ब. १५ सूर्योपरागे on the occasion of the solar eclipse). Messrs. Pai and Mukhopadhyaya have shown that no solar eclipse took place in 576–77 A. D. So the problem is difficult and to me it seems that either the Bāṇṭiā plate is spurious or scholars have been wrong in relying on Alberuni's statements. Besides it is shown that the eclipse is recorded in the grant of Saṁ. 257 could not have been seen at Valabhī[20].

Mr. Pai in the second part of his article[21] has shown that according to his theory, circa 336 A. D. is the starting point of the Valabhī Era. The arguments put forth by Mr. Pai are almost convincing and if his theory is accepted, there would be necessitated rewriting of the history of that dim period of Indian history. However it is better to stick to old views which are generally accepted, till experts examine Mr. Pai's views and declare their opinion in his favour or otherwise.

But to a few points I wish to draw attention. Mr. Vincent Smith[22] has shown that Dhruvabhaṭa (Dhruvasena Bālāditya of inscriptions), ruler of Valabhī, was defeated by Harṣha (Śīlāditya) and Valabhī was conquered in Circa 635 A. D. Dhruvasena was the son-in-law of Harṣha and the matrimonial alliance seems to have been one of the arrangements made when peace was declared. This Rājā of Valabhī attended

18. Fleet: Gupta Inscriptions, p. 56.
19. The annual report of Watson Museum, for 1925–26. (It is strange that Mr. Pai should call it Bhaṭṭakaputra grant, whereas it should be called Bāṇṭia grant in accordance with the practice of naming grants after their find-spots).
20. Annual Report of the Mysore Arch. Dept. for 1927, page 30.
21. JIH. Vol. XII pt. 2, p. 232.
22. 'The Early History of India' 4th Edn, pp. 342–43.

as a vassal prince in the train of his father-in-law in the solemn assemblies of Kanauj and Prayāga, where Hieun Tsiang was present on the occasion. Now the known grants of Dhruvasena II alias Bālāditya range from Saṁ. 310[23] to 321[24] A. D. The first known grant of his successor Dharasena IV is of Saṁ. 326[25]. So Dhruvasena reigned approximately from Saṁ. 308. to Saṁ 325. These when worked out on Mr. Pai's assumption give 644 A. D. to 661 A. D. This means that Harṣha could neither have conquered Dhruvasena II alias Bālāditya in 635 A. D. nor could the latter have been present at the assemblies of 643 A. D. But the dates when worked out on the assumption of 319-20 A. D. as the starting point of the era, give Dhruvasena's reign from 627 A. D. to 644 A. D. and these dates include the dates of Harṣha's conquest of Valabhī in 635 A. D. and the assemblies at Kanauj and Prayāga in 643 A. D. We have to wait and see if Mr. Pai has got to give new dates for those events.

A plate of Dharasena IV is dated in Saṁ. 330 द्विमार्गशिर शु. २. This date is very important as it settles the question about the starting point of the Valabhī Era. The intercalated month in 648 A. D. can be Mārgaśirṣha on the supposition that it was calculated by Sūrya and Ārya Siddhānta and named in accordance with Brahmagupta's rule.[26]

It would be unwise for me to opine on this at this stage and the greater issue of examining Mr. Pai's views is left to scholars of high standing. Till then it is prudent to stick to the long accepted view.

Text of the Inscription.*

PLATE I.

(१) ओं स्वस्ति विजयस्कन्धावारादुज्जयनीवासकात्प्रसभप्रणतामित्राणा-
म्मैत्रकाणामतुलबलसम्पन्नमण्डलाभोगसंसक्तप्रहारश-

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23. Ind. Ant. VI. 12.
24. Ep. Ind. VIII. p. 194.
25. Ind. Ant. I. 45.
26. Ep. Ind. V. Appendix p. 68 (No. 484) and Note 2.
    Also see 'The Palæography of India' p. 175, Note 6.

*From the original plates.

(२) -लब्धप्रतापात्प्रतापोपनतदानमानार्ज्जवो[1] पार्ज्जितानुरागादनुरक्तमौ-
लभृतश्रेणीबलावाप्तराज्यश्रियः परममाहे-

(३) श्वरश्रीभटार्कादव्यवच्छिन्नराजव्ङशा[2] न्मातापितृचरणारविन्दप्रणतिप्र-
विधौताशेषकल्मषः शैशवात्प्रभृति खड्गद्वितीयबा-

(४) -हुरेव समदपरगजघटास्फोटनप्रकाशितसत्वनिकषस्तत्प्रभावप्रणता-
-रातिचूडारत्नप्रभासंसक्तपादनखरश्मिसंहतिः

(५) सकलस्मृतिप्रणीतमार्गसम्यक्परिपालनप्रजाहृदयरञ्जनान्वर्थ[3]राजशब्दः[4]
रूपकान्तिस्थैर्य्यधैर्य्यगाम्भीर्य्यबुद्धिसं-

(६) -पद्भिः स्मरशशाङ्काद्रिराजोदधित्रिदशगुरुधनेशानतिशयानश्शरणागता-
भयप्रदानपरतया तृणवदपास्ताशे[5] क्षस्वका-

(७) र्य्यैः[6] फल[6] प्रार्त्थनाधिकार्त्थप्रदानानन्दितविद्वत्सुहृत्प्रणयिहृदयः पाद-
चारीव सकलभुवनमण्डलाभोगप्रमो-

(८) दः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीगुहसेनस्तस्य सुतस्तत्पादनखमयूखसन्तानविसृ-
तजाह्नवीजलौघप्रक्षालिताशेषकल्म-

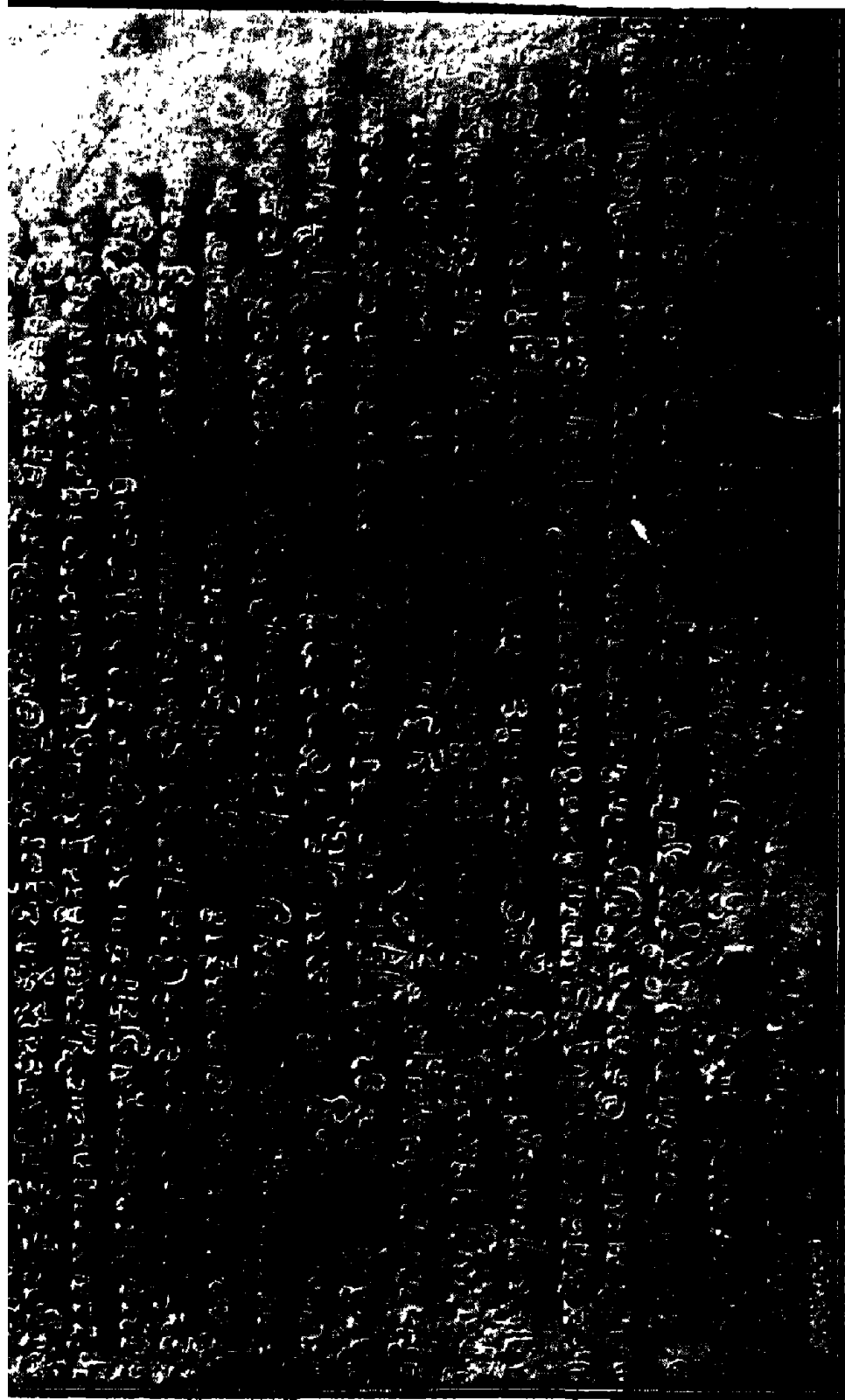
(९) -षः प्रणयिशतसहस्रोपजीव्यमानसम्पद्रूपलोभादिवाश्रितः सरभसम-
भिगामिकैर्गुणैस्सहजशक्तिशिक्षा-

(१०) -विशेषविस्मापिताखिलबलधनुर्द्धरः प्रथमनरपतिसमतिसृष्टानामनुपा-
लयिता धर्म्मदायानामपाकर्त्ता

(११) प्रजोपघातकारिणामुपप्लवानां दर्शयिता[7] श्रीसरस्वा[8] त्योरेकाधिवासस्य
संहतारातिपक्षलक्ष्मीपरिभोगदक्षविक्रमो

(१२) विक्रमोपसंप्राप्तविमलपार्त्थिवश्रीः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीधरसेनस्तस्य सुत-
स्तत्पादानुद्ध्यात[9] स्सकलजगदानन्दनात्यद्भु-

(१३) -तगुणसमुदयः[10] स्थगितसमग्रदिङ्मण्डलः समरशतविजयशोभासना-
थमण्डलाग्रद्युतिभासुरतरा[11] न्सपीठोदूढ-

1. Read ०मानार्जवोपार्जिता०
2. Read वंशा०
3. Read ०न्वर्थ
4. Read ०शब्दो
5. Read ०शेष०
6. Read ०कार्यफलःप्रार्थ०
7. Read दर्शयिता
8. Read श्रीसरस्वत्यो०
9. Read ०पादानुध्यात०
10. Read ०समुदयस्थगित०
11. Read भासुरतरांस०

Virdi Copperplate of Kharagraha I. G. E. 297.

(१४) -गुरुमनोरथमहाभारसर्व्वविद्यापरापरविभागाधिगमविमलमतिरपि सर्व्व-
तस्सुभाषितकलेनापि सुखोपपादनी-

(१५) यपरितोषः समग्रलोकागाधगाम्भीर्य्यहृदयोपि सुचरितातिशयसुव्यक्त
परमकल्याणस्वभावः खिलीभूतकृतयुग-

(१६) नृपतिपथविशोधनाधिगतोदग्रकीर्तिर्द्धर्म्मानुपरोधोज्ज्वलतरीकृतार्त्थसुख-
सम्पदुपसेवानिरूढधर्म्मादित्याद्वती-

(१७) -यनामा परममाहेश्वरः श्रीशीलादित्यस्तस्यानुजस्तत्पादानुद्ध्यातः स्वय-
मुपेन्द्रगुरुणेव गुरुणा-

(१८) -त्यादरवता समभिलषणीयामपि राजलक्ष्मीं स्कन्धासक्तां परमभद्र इव
धुर्य्यस्तदाज्ञासम्पादनैक-

PLATE II.

(१९) -रसतयैवोद्वहन्खेदसुखरतिभ्यामनायासितसत्वसम्पत्तिः प्रभावसम्पद्व-
शीकृतनृपतिशतशिरोरत्नच्छायोपगूढपाद-

(२०) पीठोपि परावज्ञाभिमानरसानालिङ्गितमनोवृत्तिः प्रणतिमेकां परित्यज्य
प्रख्यातपौरुषाभिमानैरप्यरातिभि-

(२१) -रनासादितप्रतिक्रियोपायः कृतनिखिलभुवनामोदविमलगुणसंहतिः
प्रसभविघटितसकलकलिविलसितगतिर्न्नीचज-

(२२) नाधिरोहिभिरशेषैर्द्दोषैरनामृष्टात्युन्नतहृदयः प्रख्यातपौरुषास्त्रकौशल-
गण[12] तिथविपक्षक्षितिपतिलक्ष्मीस्वयंग्रहप्रकाशितप्रवीर-

(२३) -पुरुषप्रथमसंख्याधिगमः परममाहेश्वरः श्रीखरग्रहः कुशली सर्व्वानेव
यथासम्बध्यमानकान्समाज्ञापयत्यस्तु वस्संविदितं यथा

(२४) मया मातापित्रोः पुण्याप्यायनाय विज्ञानकवास्तव्यभागुरिसगोत्र-
मैत्रायणीयसब्रह्मचारिभद्रपुत्रब्राह्मणभवाय मण्डलद्रङ्गे विज्ञानकग्रा-

(२५) -मे पूर्व्वसीम्नि स्वयंप्रकृष्टद्वादशपादावर्त्तप्रमाणा वापी यत्राघाटनान्यस्याः
भोगादित्याद्विज्ञानकग्रामं प्रति व्रजति यः पन्थास्तस्मात्पूर्व्वतः

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12. Read (कौ)शलो गण॰ Alina Copperplate grant of S'īlāditya VII of the year 447 has the reading प्रख्यातपौरुषः शास्त्रकौशलातिशयो गुणगणतिथ॰ See Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III, No. 39, p. 175, l. 18.

(२६) -स्वतः दक्षिणतः मज्झकक्षेत्रादपरतोऽस्य तथाष्टत्रिंशु[13] त्पादा-
वर्तप्रमाणं गञ्छकक्षेत्रमस्याघाटनानि मङ्गिरक-

(२७) क्षेत्रात्पूर्वतः मडुकक्षेत्रादुत्तरतः राङ्गुवानकक्षेत्रादपरतः कूपातो दक्षिणतः[13a]
एवमेतत्सर्व्वं चतुराघाटनविशुद्धं सोद्रङ्ग सो-

(२८) -परिकरं सवातभूतप्रत्यायं सधान्यहिरण्यादेयं सदशापराधं सोत्पद्यमा-
न विष्टीकं सर्व्वराजकीयानामहस्तप्रक्षेपणीयं पूर्व्वप्र-

(२९) - त्तब्रह्मदेयवर्ज्जं भूमिच्छिद्रन्यायेनाचन्द्रार्क्कार्णवक्षितिसरित्पर्व्वत-
-समकालीनं पुत्रपौत्रान्वयभोग्यमुदकातिसर्गेण ध-

(३०) र्म्मदायो निसृष्टः[14] यतोस्योचितया ब्रह्मदेयस्थित्या भुञ्जतः कृषतः
कर्षयतः प्रदिशतो वा न कैश्चिद्व्यासेधे वर्तितव्यमा-

(३१) -गामिभद्रनृपतिभिरप्यस्मद्वंश्[15] जैरन्यैर्वा[16] अनित्यान्यैश्वर्य्याण्य-
स्थिरं मानुष्यं सामान्यञ्च भूमिदानफलमवगच्छद्भिरयमस्म-

(३२) दायोनुमन्तव्यः परिपालयितव्यश्चेत्युक्तञ्च बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राज-
भिस्सगरादिभिः[17] यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य

(३३ तस्य तदा फलम् ॥ यानीह दारिद्र्यभयान्नरेन्द्रैर्द्धनानि धर्म्मायतनी-
कृतानि निर्भुक्तमाल्यप्रतिमानि तानि[18] को नाम

(३४) साधु × पुनराददीत ॥ षष्टिं वर्षसहस्राणि स्वर्गे तिष्ठति भूमिदः[19]
आच्छेत्ता चानुमन्ता च तान्येव नरके वसेदिति[20]

(३५) दूतकश्चात्र श्रीधरसेनः लिखितं सन्धिविग्रहाधिकृतदिविरपतिवत्र-
भट्टिना ॥ सं. २०० (+) ९० (+) ७ वैशाख शु. १२

(३६) स्वहस्तो मम ॥

Translation[1]

[l. 1] Om : Hail : From the Victorious Camp at Ujjayani.........

13. Read ०त्रिंशत्या० 13a. Read पूर्वतोऽङ्कु: 14. Read निसृष्टो
15. Read ०वंश्यै० 16. Read ०र्वाऽऽ० or ०र्वाऽनि० 17. ०सगरादिभिर्यस्य
18. Read निर्भुक्त० 19. Read भूमिदः । 20. Read वसेद् ॥ इति

1. I am indebted for the translation of ll. 1 to 23 and ll. 28 to 34 to Fleet, Gupta Inscriptions, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum III, No. 39, pp. 180 ff. (with slight modifications).

In unbroken royal descent from the great devotee of Mahesvara, the illustrious *Bhaṭārkka*, who possessed glory acquired from a hundred scars (prahāra) received in battles fought with large armies, possessed of unequalled strength, of the Maitrakas; who by force had bowed down their enemies; who acquired Royal Fortune through the strength of the array of (his) hereditary servants, who were attached to him, who had secured their loyalty by gifts, honorable treatment and straightforwardness that accompanied his prowess........ (there was) the most devout worshipper of Maheśvara, the illustrious *Guhasena*,.. ...all whose sins were completely removed by his bowing down at the lotus-like feet of (his) parents; who from his childhood could wield a sword in (either of) his arms; the test of whose strength was manifested by clapping (his) hands on the temples of the rutting elephants of (his) enemies; the collection of the rays of the nails of whose feet mingled with the lustre of the crest jewels of his enemies who were made to bow down through his prowess; whose epithet of "King" was significant, because he had pleased the hearts of (his) subjects by vigilantly preserving the path prescribed by all the Smṛtis; who in beauty, lustre, firmness, fortitude, depth, wisdom and riches surpassed (respectively) (the god) Smara (cupid), the moon, the king of mountains (the Himālayas), the oceans, the preceptor of the of the gods (Bṛhaspati), and the Lord of wealth (Kubera); who, being intent upon granting safety to those who come for shelter, was indifferent to the result of all his undertakings, as if they were (trifling) like a blade of grass; who delighted the hearts of learned people, (his) friends, and the supplicants, by giving (them) wealth, greater wealth than their requests; who was as it were happiness incarnate of the globe of the whole earth.

L. 8......His son, whose sins were all washed away by the flood of the waters of the Ganges spread out of the diffusion of the rays of the nails of his feet, was the great devotee of Maheśvara, the illustrious *Dharasena* (II), whose riches were the sustenance of a hundred thousand supplicants; who was with eagerness, as if from desire of his beauty,

resorted to by (all) the virtuous qualities of an inviting kind; who astonished all the archers in (his) army by the speciality of his innate strength and skill acquired by practice; who was the preserver of religious grants bestowed by former kings; who averted calamities that would have afflicted (his) subjects; who was the exponent of (the condition, being) the one (joint) habitation of the Goddesses of Wealth and Learning; whose prowess was skilful in the enjoyment of the Goddess of Fortune of the party of (his) united enemies; (and) who possessed spotless princely glory acquired by his valour;

L. 12.......His son who meditated on his feet, was the great worshipper of Maheśvara the illustrious *S'īlāditya* (I), who acquired the second epithet of *Dharmāditya* (the Sun of Religion) by the pursuit of wealth and riches, illumined by conformity with religion,......who pervaded the circle of all the quarters with the collection of all his very wonderful qualities that delighted all mankind; who lifted the heavy burden of weighty desires on a cushion that was his shoulder greatly resplendent with the lustre of (his) scimitar (Maṇḍalāgra) that was possessed of the brilliance of victory in a hundred battles; who, though his mind was pure through the mastering of the endmost divisions of the limits of all lores, was easily gratified with even a small amount of good conversation; who, though his heart possessed a profundity that could hardly be fathomed by all the people, (yet) had a most agreeable disposition that was clearly displayed by the excess of (his) good actions,) and who acquired an eminent reputation by clearing out the blocked up path (of good behaviour) of the kings of the Kṛta age.

L. 17.......His younger brother, who meditated on his feet, (was) the great devotee of Maheśvara, the illustrious *Kharagraha* (I),......who possessed a wealth of vigour that was not worn out, either with fatigue or with pleasurable enjoyment, when, bearing the yoke as if he were a most choice bullock, he was carrying on the shoulders, with the object of fulfilling his[1] commands, the goddess of Sovereignty, even

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1. his, i. e. of S'īlāditya I.

though she was still an object to be coveted by (his) elder (brother) who excessively full of respect (for him) (behaved) as if he were (the God Indra) the elder (brother) of Upendra[2] who, though (his) foot-stool was covered over with the lustre of the jewels on the heads of hundreds of kings subdued by (his) wealth of might, had a disposition that was not imbued with the sentiment of haughtiness due to contempt for others; by (whose) enemies, even though renowned for manliness and pride, no remedy other than obeisance alone, could be successfully employed; the collection of whose pure virtues effected the happiness of the whole world; who forcibly destroyed all the sportful procedure of the Kali age; whose very noble heart was not tainted by any of the faults that dominate inferior persons; who was renowned for manliness and skill in (the use of) missiles; (and) who manifested (his) attainment of being counted the first among heroes, being spontaneously chosen (as her lord and husband) by the goddess of wealth of the assembled hostile kings.

L. 23:—(He, S'rī Kharagraha I), being in good health, issues a command to all (officers) concerned:—

" Be it known to you that *to the Brāhmaṇa Bhava*, son of Bhadra, a student of the Maitrāyaṇīya S'ākhā, of the Bhāguri Gotra, and resident of (the village of Ciñcānaka, *I have given*, with the pouring of water, as a gift of charity, according to the maxim* of the ground and the cleft, to last as long as the moon, the sun, the oceans, the rivers and the mountains endure, (i) *a well*, watering twelve Pādāvartanas of land to be cultiva-

2. "Upendra, the younger brother of Indra, is Viṣṇu. The allusion seems to be the combat between Vishnu (in Krishṇa-avatāra) and Indra concerning the tree of Indra's paradise, in which Viṣhṇu was victorious and had homage done to him by Indra (see the Vishnu-Purāṇa Bk V, Chapter xxx etc.).—On this analogy, it would seem that the two brothers, S'īlāditya I and Kharagraha I, had some dispute about the leadership of their family; and that eventually S'īlāditya I conceded the question to his younger brother". See Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, Vol. III, p. 182, foot-note 1.

**Bhumicchidranyayena:*—

(i) For Dr. Bhandarkar's view, see Indian Antiquary, Vol. I, p. 46.

(ii) For Dr. Bühler's view, see, ibid, Vol, IV, p. 106, note.

(iii) "According to the principle of a hole in the earth": Bhadkamkar in Ep. Ind. XI. p. 177.

ted by himself, in the eastern part of the village of Ciñcānaka, in the township of Maṇḍali, and (ii) *the field* of Gañcāka, 38 Pādāvartas in area.........all these with their four boundaries well defined.

The boundaries of this (well are):— (it is) (i) to the east of the road that goes from Bhogāditya to Ciñcānaka, (ii) to the south of Lūshā (?) (iii & iv) to the west and north of the field of Gañcāka.

The boundaries of this (field are):—(it is) (i) to the east of the field of Bhaṭṭi, (ii) to the north of the field of Maḍḍhaka, (iii) to the west of the field of Rāhuvānaka, (iv) to the south of Lūshā (?)

L. 27-(all this is given by me)+ together with Udraṅga[3] and Uparikara;[4] with the revenues of Bhūta and Vāta; [5] with

Mr. Bhadkamkar writes:—'The word usually occurs after pūrvvapradattadevabrahmadeyavarjjitah, though sometimes without it, and is to be grammatically construed with Nisṛshtah that follows. It appears from this that both these words signify the reservations from the gifts. The previous attribute having reserved the gifts to Brāhmaṇas or temples previously made, this word seems to reserve the right of the grantor to the mineral resources and treasure-trove etc. The right of the king to these is always urged against a gift unless it is expressly transferred. (यद्भूम्यां वर्तते वित्तं तद्भूपस्य न संशयः: Ānanda Rāmāyana, Sārakāṇḍa III, 264). The word, therefore, may reserve this right in favour of the royal donor in spite of the gift of the land.' Ep. Ind. X, 177.

+ The gift is only of a well and a field. So most of the privileges mentioned are by way of routine and not applicable here, as they apply to larger gifts such as of a village.

3. *Sodranga*:—

Udraṅga = Draṅga = a town (St. Petersburg Dictionary). So when it is an adjective of 'Grāma', it means 'together with the hamlets'. [Ep. Ind. XI, page 176.] Thus as an adjective of वापी and क्षेत्र, the word is redundant.

4. *Soparikara*:—

(i) possibly it means 'together with its appurtenances' as trees, timber etc., Ep. Ind. XI, p. 176.

(ii) 'Together with municipal taxes, levied on tradesmen, etc. for the management of the town' vide ibid. See Manu VII, 137. This second interpretation is according to the views of Drs. Bühler & Fleet. See Epi. Ind. XI. p. 176. (i) is preferable.

5. *Savatabhutapratyaya*:—

(i) Dr Bühler (Ind. Anti. Vol. IV. p. 106) understands the word as referring to certain dues from the village. Dr. Fleet (in Corpus. Ins. Ind. Vol. III, p. 170, f. n. 9. seems to agree with Dr. Bühler.

the grains, gold and आदेय with (the fines for) the ten offences [7]; with (the right to) forced labour as occasion demands;[8] with the privilege that it is not to be molested by any of the king's officials; (and) with the exception of previously given grants to Brāhmaṇas.

L. 30.—Wherefore no one should behave so as to cause obstruction to this person in enjoying (it) in accordance with the proper conditions for a grant to Brāhmaṇa and cultivating (it), (or) causing it to be cultivated, or assigning (it to another).

L. 31—And this gift of ours should be assented to and preserved by future kings, whether of our dynasty or others, bearing in mind that riches do not last for ever, that the life of a man is uncertain, and that the reward of a gift of land belongs in common (both to him who makes it and to him who continues it).

L 32:—The earth has been enjoyed by many kings, Sagara and others; whosoever at any time, possesses the earth, to him belongs, at that time, the reward (of this grant that is now made, if he continues it).

L. 33—The chattels, made into altars of religion, which have been formerly given here (on earth) by (previous) kings (are) like the remains of offerings made to gods; verily, what

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(ii) According to Ep. Ind. XI. p. 177 the compound means "as determined by wind and other marks of the limits of a place." For boundary marks, see Nārada.

ध्वजिनी मत्स्यिनी चैव नैधानी भयवर्जिता ।
राजशासननीता च सीमा पञ्चविधा स्मृता ॥

Nārada. Ep. Ind, XI. p. 176.

6. Sadhānyahiraṇyādeyaḥ:—
'together with the revenues in grain and gold' Ep. Ind. XI. p. 177.
7. Sadas'āparādham:—'with the right to the fines for the ten offences.' vide ibid. See Gupta Inscriptions, p. 189. note 4.
8. Sotpadyamānaviṣhṭikam:—
Viṣhṭi = Marāthi Vetha, see Manu VII. 138.

कारुकान् शिल्पिनश्चैव शूद्रांश्चैवोपजीविनः ।
एकैकं कारयेत्कर्म मासि मासि महीपतिः ॥

ood man would take them back again? The giver of lands ves in heaven sixty thousand years; (but) the confiscator f a grant) and he who consents (to an act of confiscation) hall dwell for the same number of years in hell.

L. 35.—The Dūtaka[9] is the illustrious Dharasena. (This harter) is written by Vatrabhaṭṭi, the minister of peace of var, the chief secretary[10].

The year 200 [+] 90 [+] 7; Vaiśākha S′u. 12.

L. 36—This is my sign-manual.

). *Dutaka:*—

(i) The technical title of an officer, in connection with charters usually recorded on copperplates but in a few instances on stone, whose duty it was to carry the king's orders to the local officials by whom the charter was then drawn up and delivered. The Dūtaka carried the orders for the drawing up of charters, not the charter itself. See Gupta Inscriptions, p. 100, foot note 3.

(ii) "The word दूतक is translated as 'messenger.' Seeing however that in several cases, princes of the royal blood–generally the heir–apparent–are styled in this manner, I believe this must be a responsible officer who had to attest such S′āsanas as required by the Smṛtis. In Manu VII. 63·5 the Dūta is spoken of as a chief minister in confidence of the king. His counsel was always sought on matters of utmost importance like peace and war. Therefore दूतक=The Minister, the Executive Officer. So Bhandarkar, Ep. Ind. XI. 177.

). *Divirapati:*—'Head clerk or at the most chief secretary of the king. According to the Smṛtis, a S′āsana had to be in the handwriting of the clerk whose business was to draft the important orders of peace and war; so it must be such an officer who is spoken of as *Divirapati.*" Epi. Ind. XI, p. 178.
Note 2. Epi. Ind. XI, p. 178.

Divira=Dabira. Dabira is an Arabic word meaning 'manager or secretary.' One of Shivaji's ministers was Dabira=Sumanta. This officer was very much the same as "foreign secretary" and had charge of all the records concerning treaties, etc. with foreign powers.

SCIENCE IN THE SERVICE OF ARCHÆOLOGY.[1]

By S. Paramasivan, M.A., B.Sc.

(*Madras.*)

With the aid of science, it is now possible,

1. (a) to ascertain the antiquity of an object of archæological interest,

   (b) to ascertain the nature of forgeries and repairs in doubtful cases of archæological interest,

2. to restore and to preserve any object of antiquity.

The study of an antiquity from these aspects involves the use of photomicrography, spectrophotometry, microchemistry, rontgenology, chemical analysis and the like. Of these, the chemical processes involve the removal of portions of the object. This may not be possible with valuable antiquities. Further, it may be necessary to examine more than a minute particle of an object. In such cases, physical methods of investigation are superior to the chemical. Under physical processes, it is possible to study the entire antiquity without any necessity to detach particles therefrom. Thus from the point of view of the archæologist, physical methods are more useful.

I

In India, archæological specimens made of marble, limestone, sandstone, granite etc. have long been of great interest. In course of time, they undergo a slow change technically called "penetration", which depends upon the age and exposure of the piece to the atmosphere. In investigating upon these objects with a view to get archæological information, an impor-

1. This lecture was illustrated with lantern slides.

it physical process of enquiry could be conducted, namely, : examination of the work of art under ultra-violet light, iich gives rise to a peculiar phenomenon known as "fluore- ;nce". Under ultra-violet rays, old marble has a different pearance from that of freshly cut one or from an old marble, ich has been re-cut. Under ultra-violet light, freshly cut rble has a uniformly intense, purple colouration, while old rble is mottled white with yellow and blue tones or grades reof. The extent of this change is an index of aging. nilar changes take place over limestone, alabaster etc. The inge that takes place over ivory is limited to the surface. ry antiquities become mellow with age, ranging in colour m light yellow to deep brown. So the scientific approach the dating of ivory objects must necessarily depend on the enomenon of aging, which vary according to exposure and d of ivory. The fluorescence test enables one to distinguish ecently carved ivory from one of greater antiquity or to ect clever restorations thereon. Thus, taking advantage of change in appearance due to aging and the corresponding nge in fluorescence, it is possible to fix the priority of the erent sets of antiquities and the periods they belong to.

A clever restorer of fragile ceramics can put together a small fragments with plaster so as to suggest that no ces are missing, and that merely a broken object has been aired. Skilful restorations might deceive even the best noisseurs. In detecting these frauds, the ultra-violet rays indispensablé. There may be surface alterations due both ige and usage, which cannot be duplicated in the imitation l which can clearly be revealed by ultra-violet rays. The a-violet rays can be employed for the comparison of cera- s of a given manufacture or period and for the detection spurious pieces. Textiles also could be included in this e of investigation.

In the case of prints, palimpsests and drawings, the desire perfection and fame has given the restorer a masterly nique and it is possible for him to make even unwarranted lishonest restorations. These can be detected by the ultra- et rays. Old ink fluoresces more than modern ink. Old

ink appears brown, while new ink reflects the rays and is deep violet colour. In this way it is possible to distinguish between inks of two different periods. The use of ultra-violet rays has also been extended to ancient glass and wood. Differences in their age and surface conditions are revealed by the different reactions to the ultra-violet rays.

Paintings have received a good deal of attention in the past, including examination under X-rays and the ultra-violet rays. Restorations can be detected by the ultra-violet rays owing to differences in fluorescence between the old and new paints. By comparing and examining the fluorescence of the paints of a particular period or by particular individuals, it is possible to arrive at conclusions about the authenticity and attribution. These greatly help stylistic tests.

II

Archæological specimens of almost all materials are subjected to destructive agencies and their restoration and preservation lies within the domain of science. Of the various materials, bronzes present many complicated problems in an attempt to restore and preserve them. The aid of science is to be invoked in revealing inscriptions and details of archæological interest in corroded ancient bronze antiquities. In this respect, the electrolytic method of restoration has many advantages over the purely chemical and they could be applied to huge bronze figures as is evident from the recent work in the Government Museum, Madras.

THE SELEUCIDAN EMPERORS,-THEIR COINS AND COIN-IMITATIONS IN ANCIENT INDIA.

By Dr. Surendra Kisor Chakrabortty M.A., Ph. D.

(*Mymensingh.*)

Alexander's invasion of India in 323 B. C., all traces wiped off by 317 B.C.——his death led to the war of the Diodochi and the partition of his Empire—the Seleucidan Dynasty founded by Seleucus Nicator—his wars of conquest and invasion of India—his fight with Sandrakottas or Chandra Gupta Maurya ——the treaty[1] and its terms[2] ——Chandra Gupta secured the victory and territorial possessions.

The Third Partition of the Alexandrine Empire—Seleucus fixed the capital of his Syrian Empire at Antioch—it practically included the Old Persian Empire. The Kings of this family —Anticchus I Soter, Antiochus II Teos, Seleucus II Callinicus, Seleucus III Soter, Antiochus III the Great, his Parthian campaign of 209 B.C.——expedition against Bactria,[3] crossed the Hindukosh, came to India in the Kingdom of Subhāgasena and returned to Seleucia in 204 B. C.——his defeat by Rome leads to the decline of the Empire. ——The next King Seleucus IV Philopater followed by Antiochus IV Epiphanes Demetrius Soter, the last powerful king of the dynasty which ended with Antiochus Sidetes.

The relation between the Seleucidan Empire and the Mauryas under Chandra Gupta, Bindusāra[4] and Aśoka——the commercial intercourse——the trade-routes by land[5] and sea.[6]

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1. The Cambridge History of India, Vol. I (Ancient India), p. 431.
2. Ibid. 3. Ibid, p. 441. 4. Ibid, p. 432. 5. Ibid, p. 433.
6. Rawlinson H. G.-Intercourse between India and the Western World, p. 9.

Many Seleucidan coins must have entered this country in the course of commerce. Certain specimens have been discovered generally in the Punjab region and in future more may be unearthed; so no treatment is likely to be final. The Seleucid coins after Antiochus II are not generally found in India and the supply of Seleucid coins is practically extinct; and under later kings the intercourse failed to be as intimate. This would be explained by the introduction of the fine coinage of Bactria. India was, it seems, practically cut off from close connection with the great kingdom of Asia Minor and she was supplied by a stream of fine and copious supply from the new kingdom which gradually pushed its way through Afghanistan to the Punjab. But the influence of India is manifest in the introduction of elephant as a type in the Seleucid coins (Rapson I. C. p. 4). And there is no doubt that the Sophytes coins were closely imitated from some of the coins of Seleucus I[7] and testify to the influence of the Seleucid coinage on some of the Indian states which imitated the contemporary types of Syrian kings.

I. *Coins of Seleucus I.*

(A) A specimen of a silver coin issued by Seleucus before his adoption of the title of King in 306 B. C. was found in India. It has on the *Obv.* the laureate of Zeus r. within a border of dots, and on the *Rev.* the legend *Alexandroy*, eagle standing r. on thunderbolt with head reverted behind, olive-spray with berry, and in front satrapal tiara. Coins were issued in Alexander's name long after his death. The gold staters with name of Alexander were issued by the King of Macedonia down to the Roman times. It is supposed to be a Rhodian tetradrachm on account of its weight.[8]

(B) A series of silver coins of Seleucus Type, *Obv.* laureate head of Zeus; *Rev.* fighting Athena in a quadriga drawn by elephants—testify to the prosperity of Central Asia. These are of Attic weight and had the four denominations of tetradrachms, drachms, hemidrachms, and obols. The date is assigned to after 306 B. C. from the legend where Seleucus is designated the King (*Bazileoz Seleykoy*) which he assumed

7. Marshall, Sir John—A Guide to Taxila, p. 24.
8. Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, p. 462, pl. I, No. 14.

in that year. It is supposed that these coins were minted either at Babylon or Seleucia. A smaller number of coins of this type have been obtained for the British Museum at Rawalpindi or secured from collections made in India. So it is evident that coins of this type were procurable in this country and they are "of a quite distinctive and somewhat coarser fabric".[9] These coins are similar to certain imitations of the Athenian coins and are generally struck from regularly adjusted dies, while a few have monograms on the obverse".[10] On the *Obv.* (similar to Type A) head of Zeus laureate with a border of dots, and behind the head a monogram. *AP* On the *Rev.* the legend *Bazileoz Seleykoy,* Athena in quadriga of horned elephants r. holding thunderbolt in r. hand raised and shield on l. arm in field r. above anchor. The date of these coins is supposed to be later than 306 B. C. (C. 306–281 B. C.) The anchor was the badge of Seleucus I (Camb. History of India, pl. I, fig 15; Head, pl. 28, No. 3–p. 57).

(C) Another class of coins of Seleucus in *gold* has the well-known type-*King's Head and Horned Horse's Head.* On *Obv.* the head of Seleucus r. diademed and having bull's horn; on the *Rev.* the legend *Bazileoz Seleykoy,* and the head of the horned horse r. bridled, in front a monogram and beneath another. It is an Attic stater and is dated C. 306–281 B. C. (Camb. Hist. Pl. II, No 3, p. 463).

(D) The coins in the joint names of Seleucus I and Antiochus I his son were perhaps issued after 293 B. C. when Seleucus conferred upon his son the title of King. These coins are very rare and are lighter than Attic drachm; perhaps these were based upon the Indian standard weight of 58 grains. The coin is described as follows-*Obv.* head of Zeus r. laureate within a border of dots. *Rev.* the legend -*Bazileon Seleykoy kai Antioxoy,* Athena in biga of horned elephants r. holding thunderbolt in raised r. and shield on l. arm in field r. above (≟) (date C. 293–281 B. C.).—Camb. Hist. p. 463, Pl. II, No 1.

9. Ibid, p. 435.
10. Ibid, p. 434.

II. *Coins of Antiochus I.*

(A) The type is similar to that of Seleucus (Class C); on the *Obv.* the elderly head of Seleucus I (and not of Antiochus I) diademed and having a bull's horn; *Rev. Bazileoz Antioxoy*, head of horned horse r. without bridle, in front two monograms and around a border of dots. There are only two in the British Museum, a drachm and a tetradrachm and as these are in Attic weight, it is not sure whether these were issued in the reign of Seleucus I or Antiochus I. The date is therefore tentative and the type is assigned to C. 293-261 B. C. Perhaps these belonged to the joint reigns and the monograms are perhaps of the magistrates issuing them. (Camb. History. Pl. II, No 4).

(B) This class is similar in type but on the *Obv.* we have the head of Antiochus I diademed; *Rev.* same legend, head of horned horse r. bridled, in front a monogram. It is an Attic stater in *gold* and is assigned to C. 281-261 B. C. (Camb. Hist. Pl. I, No 5).

(C) These coins have the same *Obv*, and on the *Rev.* the same legend, Apollo seated left on Omphalos, holding arrow and bow in front, star and a symbol. It is an Attic stater in gold and is assigned to C. 281-261 B. C. (Camb. Hist. Pl. II, No 9).

(D) Seleucus II a son of Antiochus I issued a number of tetradrachms and drachms when he was a viceroy under his father. The coins were minted from regularly adjusted dies and omit the kingly title of his father. Perhaps this signifies his assertion of independent power leading later on to his execution. The weight standard which is referred to the Rhodian system was perhaps based upon the Indian indigenous system and the chronology for the issues is supposed to be 275-266 B. C. These coins have the usual type of "Zeus: Athena". On the *Obv.* head of Zeus r. laureate within a border of dots. On the *Rev.* the legend *Bazileoz Seleykoy Antioxoy,* Athena in quadriga of horned elephants r. holding thunderbolt in raised r. and shield on l. arm, in field r., above a monogram (Camb. Hist. Pl. II, No 2).

III. *Antiochus II.*

(A) The coins of this king in gold and silver are dated in C. 261–246 B. C. The usual type is–*Obv.* head of Antiochus II r. diademed; *Rev.* The legend *Bazileoz Antioxoy*, head of horned horse r, bridled and in front a monogram, (◁I) for the gold Staters or Didrachms, or (△) or the silver tetradrachms. (Pl II, No 6 AV. No 8 AR.). The coins are from regularly adjusted dies, and the monograms stand for the names of the magistrates. It is pointed out that the device " Horse's Head " is " peculiarly appropriate to Bactria, with its famous cavalry, or to Sogdiana, and it is undoubtedly from Afghanistan or Bukhara that the coins in question usually come ".[11]

(B) The second class is of gold and the type is King's head: Apollo. On the *Obv.* head of Antiochus II diademed; *Rev.* legend, *Bazileoz Antioxoy*, Apollo seated l. on Omphalos, holding arrow and bow, in front monogram △ The dies are regularly adjusted and the magistrate's name in the monogram seems to be the same as in the previous group. The view that the monogram stands for the name of a mint has to be rejected as a result of the discussion on the subject by Dr. Macdonald. He also points out that the two series " differ not only in type but also in style, the treatment of the ends of the King's diadem being specially characteristic ".[12]

We have no doubt that the foreign type coins were imitated by some of the states in Arachosia i. e. in Afghanistan and Punjab region where the foreign influence was active and intercourse with foreign countries in Asia Minor and Central Asia very close. Naturally some of the small states preferred the fine looking coins from outside, perhaps to facilitate, to some extent, their trade and commerce. When the imitation was merely the exact reproduction of the original, correct identification is not only very difficult but well-nigh impossible. The only datum that can help us in the matter is the correct provenance and sometimes the style.

11. Ibid, p. 436. 12. Ibid.

The findspots of these coins have not always been recorded, so our inferences can never be as convincing as we would desire. Only when slight modifications are introduced in the type, that we can differentiate the imitations from the originals. Monograms or on occasions the legends might betray the true origin. But the difficulty for correct identification remains. Our work however is greatly simplified when the weight system points to Indian origin. An Attic drachm weighs 67.5 grains but the extant pieces do not generally reach the standard. They fall short by few grains, for example, the 5 tetradrachms with the name of Alexander the Great (in pl 27, Head's Coins of the Ancients) weigh 265 grs. 265, 262.7, 258, 259 respectively and a stater of Alexander weighs 133.1 grs. and of Phillip III Aridaeus 131.3. So drachm in actual weight varied from 66·25 to 64.4 grs. That the majority of the coins of this period were based upon the Attic weight admits of no doubt. But some of the coins have a weight standard which is characterised as " abnormal ". These are much below the Attic standard, the drachm according to this standard " weighed at the outside no more than 58 grains "[13] and it even goes down to a much lower level. The average weight of 3 tetradrachms supposed to be Macedonian in origin is found to be only 217.5 grs. a piece, i. e. the drachm is only 54.4 grs. An attempt has been made to ascribe them to the Rhodian standard of 60 grs. a drachm. But no reason can be assigned why in this corner of the Syrian Empire, the weight system of a Mediterranean island came to be adopted. When we find that this weight system exactly tallies with the indigenous weight system of India which was in use for centuries in the north-western part of of the country, the more reasonable inference is to refer the weight system to the Purāṇa or Dharaṇa weight of 32 ratis which was applicable to the precious metals only, i. e. gold and silver. India had another standard for copper coins, namely that of Kārṣhāpaṇa of 80 ratis. Now the weight of a rati can never be constant as it was based upon the weight of a Guñjā seed. The results of the calculations of the scholars

13. Ibid, p. 307.

are as follows:-a rati is equated to 1.83 gr. by Cunningham, 1.68 by Elliot, 1.75 by Bhandarkar and 1.825 by Smith.[14] So the weight of the Purāṇa a coin, varied from 56 to 58 grains which may be taken to be the maximum. But the extant pieces weigh much less, even going below 50 grs. So the abnormal weight standard can more reasonably be referred to the Indian indigenous system than the Rhodian which was slightly heavier. The identification of the weight standard would refer these coins to the eastern part of the Syrian Empire or to the region to the east of the Hindukush. The introduction of this weight system might be due to one of the two reasons-the adoption of the Indian weight system by the Seleucid emperors for the eastern part of their empire which was intimately bound up in trade and commerce with the N. W. Provinces of India; or the Indian states to the east of Hindukush might have deliberately adopted the fine foreign type coins discarding their own issues and with a view not to jeopardize their system of coinage retained the weight system to which they had been accustomed. However it is very difficult to differentiate the foreign pieces from the Indian issues, while the influence of India on the weight is clearly evident. The Sophytes coins are identified with Attic drachms. The five specimens which are described by Rapson, Smith and Head weigh as follows-58.3 grs., 57, 48.5, 48 and 58.2 grains.[15] But the standard weight of Attic drachm was 67.5 grs, and in extant coins it went down to 64.5 grs. To take the drachm weight down to 48 grs. seems to be unreasonable. The weight of these coins may very well be referred to the Purāṇa weight of 32 ratis and actually punch-marked coins of silver of similar weight based upon the Indian standard weight may be found in Smith's catalogue, e. g. Nos. 7, 8, 9, 10, 17, 20 weigh 50.3, 51, 49, 48, 54.9, 52.3 grains respectively and so on.

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14. Chakrabortty S. K.-A Study of Ancient Indian Numismatics, p. 51.

15. Rapson-Indian Coins, Pl. I, No. 8.
Smith-Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum, Nos. 1, 2 & 3.
B. V. Head-Coins of the Ancients, IV, 17.
Cambridge History, Pl, I, 17: Attic Drachm.

The punch-marked coins, their symbols, their significance,[16] the evolution of types in India—In the West, close relationship established between coins and religion—the types are therefore generally religious—the head of a divinity[17] the usual *Obv.* type—the crest of the city or the state on the *Rev.* a mere subsidiary device.[18] The kings were deified and their heads appear on the obv. of the coins e. g. Alexander in the garb of Zeus or Heracles[19] the first historical personage to appear on the coins,[20] followed by Ptolemy Soter and Seleucus Nicator.[21]—Their examples followed in Bactria, Parthia and other countries—the head of the reigning king is the usual device on the obv. of the coins even at present.

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16. Jayaswal, K. P.–Hindu Polity,–p. 42 & 43.
17. Macdonald, G.–The Evolution of Coinage p. 80.
18. Ibid, p. 81.
19. Ibid, p. 82.
20. Ibid, p. 82
21. Ibid, p. 89.

HISTORY OF COINAGE IN GUJARAT.

By G. V. Acharya, B.A.

(*Bombay.*)

PART I.

Hindu Period.

Introductory.

Each nation during the course of its evolution reaches a stage, sooner or later, when it requires a common and acknowledged medium for exchange of various agricultural and industrial products. With the exception of one or two cases where fruit nuts or marine products such as kodis were used as such medium, it has been observed that as a rule one or the other metal either by itself or mixed with one or two others in certain proportion was utilised for preparing coins to serve as the standard and fixed medium of exchange.

The study of ancient Indian Numismatics has been undertaken so far according to group system and papers and catalogues have been compiled of coins of different dynasties. Here is an attempt to deal with the subject on provincial lines and I propose to discuss and describe the coins that were current in Gujarat from the earliest to the modern period. The right of minting coins has been all along considered as the principal prerogative of a ruling prince more so when he is a conqueror of those territories. Critical study of the coinage therefore materially helps to brighten up some of the darkest phases of Indian history.

Though Gujarat can well be proud of possessing one of the earliest epigraphical records in the form of the rock edicts of the Maurya Emperor Aśoka at Junagadh in Kathiawad very little information is unfortunately available

from this as well as the inscriptions of Kṣatrapa Rudradāman and Skandagupta on the same block of stone, about the early coinage of Gujarat. Owing to the paucity of epigraphical records, the early history of India especially during the regime of the Indo-Greek, the Kuṣān and the Kṣatrapa rulers has been framed on the strength of coins which are fortunately available in fairly large numbers. Critical study therefore of the coins of these rulers is bound to throw a flood of light on the early history of Gujarat. Since the edicts of Aśoka at Junagadh have been inscribed in the Brāhmī script unlike those at Shahbazgarhi which are inscribed in the Kharoṣṭhī script, we can presume that Brāhmī was current in Gujarat as early as the Maurya period.

Indo-Greek coins.

These coins have the legend in Greek on one side and in Kharoṣṭhī on the other side. Though these coins are mostly current in Afghanistan, Kabul valley and its vicinity, several specimens have been found to the east of the Sutlej and even in the United provinces. In Gujarat, however, not a single treasure trove find of these coins has been recorded so far and thus there are no indications whatsoever of these coins being current in any part of Gujarat. There is still greater absence of any clue to enable us to decide whether punch marked coins were ever current in Gujarat. These coins have been recognised as the earliest indigenous coins of early India and have been traced to exist as early as about the fifth century B. C. As a rule they are uninscribed and the signs punched on them have not been separated and classified on provincial bases. They are of different shapes and sizes and it has been conjectured that the square and the oblong variety is earlier than the oval and circular ones but with that we are not concerned.

Kuṣān rulers and their coins.

Kadphises, the leader of the Kuṣān race conquered the Greek dominions in Kabul and Kadphises II became master of the Punjab, Arachosia and Sindh in about 90 A. D. The southern frontier of the Indian dominions of Kaniṣka and

Huviska was the Narmada river. Their coins seem to follow the design of the contemporary Roman Aurei and they can be had in copper and gold in large numbers even now in the west Punjab, Kashmir and Kabul. Neither the coins nor the inscriptions of these rulers are to be met with in Gujarat and it is doubtful whether the Kuṣān coinage ever penetrated the borders of Gujarat.

Kṣaharāta and Kṣatrapa coins.

Coins of Kṣaharāta princes Bhūmaka and Nāhāpana can definitely lay claim to be the earliest known coins prevalent in Gujarat. The northern origin of these princes can be traced from the use of Kharoṣṭhī script on one side of their coins along with the local Brāhmī script used on the other side. After the reign of Chaṣṭana, however, Kharoṣṭhī completely disappears from the coinage of the Western Kṣatrapas. Copper coins of Bhūmaka are found in the coastal region of Gujarat and Kathiawad. They have the arrow and the thunderbolt on one side and the lion and the tree (Bodhi ?) on the reverse. The inscription "Kṣaharātasa Kṣatrapasa Bhūmakasa" is to be found on both sides in Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī scripts. The arrow and thunderbolt of these coins were introduced on the coins of Nāhāpana but there is no evidence to show their relationship. The size, weight and fabric of the silver Kṣatrapa coins have been imitated from the Hemidrachms of the Græco-Indian kings and the same type with few alterations was continued for about 300 years during the regimes of the Kṣatrapas, Guptas and Traikūṭakas. The Kṣatrapa coins have the face of the king, few Greek letters and the date in Brāhmī numeral on one side and the beautiful carved inscription in Brāhmī recording the names of the ruling prince and his father with titles and the figures of the sun, moon, Chaitya (mountain ?) and wavy line representing a river, on the other side. Gujarat's partiality for this type of coinage was so much deep rooted that the Andhra rulers whenever they had certain portions of Gujarat temporarily under their control were compelled to coin pieces of the same type. Gautamīputra restruck Nāhāpana's coins with his own name while coins of Gautamīputra Yajña Sātakarṇi of Saurāṣṭra

fabric were found from Sopara and a coin of Vasiṭṭhīputra of the same fabric, has been recentely noticed in the cabinet of the Prince of Wales Museum. Besides the silver coins potin coins with the elephant on one side and the Chaitya, wavy line and the date falling within the periods of certain known Kṣatrapa princes on the other side, are found in great number in Malwa but it is doubtful whether they were also current in Gujarat.

Traikūṭaka coins.

Close similarity of these coins with those of the Western Kṣatrapas lead us to infer that they were meant to be current in those districts where the people had become familiar with the coins of the Kṣatrapas. These coins are found not only in southern Gujarat and the Konkan but also in the Mahratta country on the other side of the Ghats. Coins of the Traikūṭaka kings Dahrasena son of Indradatta, and Vyāghrasena son of Dahrasena are known. Out of these three names the names of Dahrasena and Vyāghrasena are mentioned also in copperplate grants dated 456 and 480 A. D. respectively.

Gupta coins.

In about 375 A. D. Śakas (Western Kṣatrapas) are described in Allahabad inscription as paying homage to Samudragupta but actual annexation of Malwa and Saurāṣṭra (Gujarat) to the Gupta empire took place in the reign of Chandragupta II (Vikramāditya). Latest dated coin of Western Kṣatrapas is of Svāmī Rudrasiṁha III son of Svāmī Satyasiṁha and is dated 31. S'aka that is 388-89 A.D. and the earliest coin of Chandragupta II bears the date 409–410 A. D. These coins had the king's head, Greek inscription and date on the obverse and the legend with the figure of Garuḍa on the reverse. There are a number of finds of Kumāragupta and Skandagupta at different places in Western India such as Cutch, Bhavnagar, Ahmedabad and Satara districts. The weights of these coins vary from 32 to 34 grains. During the later Guptas the coinage deteriorated a good deal and thick dumpy pieces were issued both in silver and copper till the beginning of the sixth century A. D.

Valabhi coins.

Gupta power can be said to have been wiped out of Gujarat between 510 and 575 A. D. A large number of Valabhi copperplates discovered so far gives us almost a connected account of several Valabhi rulers from the year 499 to 769 A. D. They ruled at Valabhipura (modern Vala in Kathiawad) and the founder of the dynasty is mentioned as Senapati Bhaṭṭārka. This leads us to infer that he must have been in charge of the Gupta dominion of Gujarat and must have become independent at the downfall of the Gupta empire. Their coins both in silver and copper are to be met with in large numbers even now in Gujarat. They are perfect imitations of later Gupta coins. They have head of the king on one side and the legend in current Brāhmī script on the other side with the figure of a trident in the middle. The corrupt inscription has baffled the attempts of several scholars at decipherment. There are differences in the legend inscribed on them and my article, wherein I have attempted to read them, is awaiting publication in the Congress number of the Bombay Historical Society.

Rāṣṭrakūṭa coins.

A few Rāṣṭrakūṭa silver coins of the later Gupta pattern require a passing mention. They were found at Nasik in 1872 and have on the obverse the head of the king without any legend and on the reverse the recumbent bull to the right surrounded by the legend Parama Maheśvara Mātāpitṛpādānudhyāta S'rī Kṛṣṇarāja. Cunningham places these coins as early as the latter half of the fourth century but they are close copies of bull type coins of Skandagupta (Allan, pl xx, Nos. 9–12) and it is not unlikely that they must have been issued by some member of the Gujarat branch probably by Akālavarṣa Kṛṣṇa who flourished from 810–88 A. D. The type gives us a clear indication that they must have been meant and minted for Gujarat. Four of these coins are in the cabinet of Prince of Wales museum in Bombay.

Gādhaiyā coins.

Indo-Sassanian coins of different patterns and sizes were current in Rajputana, Malwa and Gujarat between the 8th

and 11th centuries A. D. During that period, coins known as Gādhaiyā were current in Gujarat and are found even now in large numbers from various places. They are thick and circular pieces bearing a crude head of the king of Sassanian pattern on one side and a series of lines and dots all over the other side. A comparative study helps us to conjecture that those lines and dots represent the fire altar of the Sassanian coins. These coins are found as far as Salsette in the south and in one of such finds we find the name of the Silāhāra prince S'rī Chittarāja which proves that the S'ilāhāra prince accepted this pattern with the addition of the inscription on the other side. In one of the coins received for decipherment from the Bhandarkar Oriental Institute I noticed a Gādhaiyā coin with the figure of a horseman on one side. My paper on this subject will be read at the annual meeting of the Numismatic Society within a couple of days.

PART II.

Muhammadan Period.

Coins of the Early Delhi Sultans.

Though Sind was conquered by the Arabs as early as 712 A. D. Muhammadan rule in India can be said to have commenced with the second battle of Thaneswar (1091 A. D.). Muhammad Bin Sam was shrewd enough to issue coins on indigenous lines with Chauhan horseman and the Bull of Siva (copied probably from Kuṣān coins). His own name was also inscribed in Nāgarī characters. For gold coins he adopted Kanauj type of goddess Lakṣmī. Altamash also issued coins with the name of Chāhaḍa Deva of Ajmer on the other side. This clearly proves the necessity even for the Muhammadan Sultans to continue the local coinage with few alterations in the newly acquired Hindu territories.

In the early part of the reign of Ṭughlāk Muhammad Shah the prosperity of the king of Delhi was at its zenith and the historian Sirajjuddin Umar mentions Gujarat as one of the provinces of his empire. Firozshah died in 1308 A. D. and in a few years' time the Delhi empire crumbled into pieces.

The 12th and 13th centuries of the Christian era form another obscure period in the history of Gujarat coinage. The Solankis and the Vāghelas have been described in inscriptions as powerful monarchs ruling over Gujarat and Kathiawad and while they have built numerous wells and temples it is surprising that they never exercised the right of coining money. A few tiny copper pieces in Professor Hodiwala's collection with the inscription Śrīmajjayasiṁha are hesitatingly assigned to Siddharāja Jayasiṁha but besides those pieces no coin of any of the rulers is available in Gujarat which can with certainty be assigned to any one of them. Comparatively the coins of the Khiljis and the Tughlaks and specially of Allauddin and Muhammad Tughlak are available in greater number but it is doubtful if they were able to drive the Valabhi and the Gādhāiyā coins completely out of circulation. The Watson Museum of Antiquities at Rajkot has a splendid collection of the coins of the early Delhi Sultans collected from the local bazars and even now these coins are easily obtainable from money changers of Kathiawad.

Coins of the Gujarat Sultans.

During the reign of Mahmud grand son of Firoz Tughlak, Zafarkhan who was in charge of Gujarat declared independence in the year 1407 A. D. (810 A. H). The earliest dated coin, however, is of 828 A. H. issued by Ahmad I the grandson of Zafarkhan. This Ahmad was the founder of Ahmedabad and Ahmednagar (Idar). Mahmud I captured the forts of Girnar in Kathiawad and Champaner near Baroda and founded Mustafabad and Muhammadabad in which he established mints. Bahadur invaded Malwa and reduced the fort of Mandu which was in his possession for four years during which coins of Malwa type were struck in his name. Bahadur resisted the attack of the Mughals with the help of the Portuguese but in 1572 Akbar invaded Gujarat and took Muzaffar III as prisoner to Agra.

Coins of Gujarat Sultans are to be had in gold, silver, billon, and copper. Following mints were known so far: (1) Ahmedabad, (2) Ahmednagar (Idar), (3) Mustafabad (Girnar), (4) Muhammadabad (Champaner) and (5) Khanpur. This last

mentioned mint has been successfully read as Burhanpur by my assistant Mr. C. R. Singhal. During the course of the preparation of the Catalogue of these coins he has been able to discover two new mints viz. (Dib i. e. Div in Kathiawad) and Daulatabad (i. e. Baroda). Gold coins of later Sultans weigh 185 grains (100 ratis at 1.85 grain a rati) though those of earlier kings are lighter by six to nine grains. Silver coins also followed the lighter standard and Mahmud I also coined half and quarter pieces weighing 85 to 88 and 43 to 44 grains respectively. Muzaffar III, however, reverted to the old unit of 1.85 grains. For copper coins Ahmed I adopted 80 rati standard which was raised to 120 ratis by Mahmud II. Mahmud I introduced 100 rati standard and coined half and quarter pieces as well. It is difficult to account for some odd pieces like Muzaffar (II)'s of 249 grains, Bahadurshah's of 247 grains, Ahmad (II)'s of 122 grains and Mahmud (III)'s of 267 or 260 grains.

Mughal coins.

Though Humayun after conquering Malwa invaded Gujarat and forced Bahadurshah to seek protection of the Portuguese, Ahmedabad figures as a Mughal mint from the year 980 A. H when Gujarat was annexed by Akbar. The following Mughal mints have been noticed in Gujarat, so far, and I will deal with the coinage in that order:—

(1) Ahmedabad.
(2) Champaner.
(3) Junagadh.
(4) Khanbayat.
(5) Malpur.
(6) Purbandar.
(7) Surat.
(8) Anahilwad Pattan.

(1) *Ahmedabad mint.* Even the mighty Mughals had to follow the traditional law of minting and Akbar had to issue, in the beginning, coins of Gujarat fabric, so that they may be readily acceptable to the conquered people. This mint was

working right upto the reign of Akbar II. Ahmedabad was one of Jahangir's principal silver mints and in 1027 A. H. Zodiacal coin was issued therefrom. Coin of Rafi-ud-darjat gives Ahmedabad a new epithet Zinatu-l-balad, the beauty of towns. Latest coin of this mint is of Akbar II dated 1234 A. H.

(2) *Champaner.* Humayun captured Champaner in 942 A. H. and struck coins both in silver and copper. They are very rare and the copper ones mention also the epithet Shahr-i-Mukarram of the mint. From that very year the mint disappears from the list of Mughal mints.

(3) *Junagadh.* Akbar captured Junagadh in 1590 A.D. but the mint was established in 1639 A. D. by Shah Jahan. Coins of Shah Jahan, Shah Alam I, Farrukh Siyar, Shah Jahan II and Muhammad Shah have been issued from this mint.

(4) *Khanbayat* (*Cambay*). Cambay is the sea-port of Gujarat on the gulf of Cambay. Jahangir visited it in 1617 A.D. and is reported to have struck coins in gold and silver ten and twenty times heavier than ordinary ones, but they are not yet found anywhere. The earliest date of this mint is 1051 A.H. (1641 A.D.). After Aurangzeb only few coins were minted here and the latest is of Alamgir II dated 1172 A. H.

(5) *Malpur.* This mint is only sixty miles away from Ahmedabad and no wonder it worked only for 2 or 3 years, 983 to 985 A.H. A gold Muhar of 984 of Ahmedabad type with the words Daru-l-khilafat Malpur is in the possession of Mr. H. N. Wright.

(6) *Purbander.* This is a port on the west coast of Kathiawad. Only four coins of this mint are known, two of Aurangzeb, one of Shah Jahan and the fourth of Farrukh Siyar.

(7) *Surat.* Fort of Surat was built in 1540 A. D. by a slave of Sultan Mahmud of Gujarat and it was captured by Akbar in 1572 A.D. There is one doubtful coin of Akbar from this mint and even Jahangir's coins are scarce. His earliest is of 1620 A. D. From 1623-27 Surat rupees were

struck in the name of Nurjahan. There are double rupees of Alamgir II and Shah Alam II. Copper coins were minted by almost all the later emperors but they are not easily available.

(8) *Anahilwad Pattan.* A coin of Akbar of this mint dated 984 has been described in Numismatic Supplement No. 26, p. 493. It was found from Muradabad district in the United Provinces.

Post-Mughal Indian States.

Simultaneously with the decline of the Mughal power, the Mahrattas and several native rulers came into prominence and more or less assumed independence. Each one of them became master of the territory which was under his charge and began issuing coins of his own. To begin with, these native rulers adopted the design, size and shapes of the later Mughals and specialised their own coinage with the addition of some letters, marks or ornamentations over those coins. In course of time the names of the Mughal Emperors disappeared completely from these coins and in some cases even the shapes and sizes were altered to suit the whims and fancy of the respective native states. In most cases the die used was larger than the size of the coin which consequently bears only a portion of the complete design. Besides the legend began to be written in two or three different languages. Of the Vikrama, Hijra and Christian eras, more than one era were often used to mark the date of the coin.

Due to difficulties and irregularities mentioned above, the study of coins of this period has baffled even some of the best of Numismatists. Except Webb's currency of Rajputana and Valentine's three volumes on copper coins there are no books of reference on this subject and the further volume of Indian Museum coins recently published is not exhaustive as the collection in that Museum is not fully representative.

Having made these remarks about the currencies of Native States in general, I now describe in brief the currencies of various Indian States in Gujarat.

Baroda.

Baroda was a mint town during the time of the Gujarat Sultans under the name of Daulatabad. From the years 1215 A. H. (1800 A. D.) to 1229 A. H. (1813 A. D.), Ahmedabad was given over to the Gaikwar by the Peshwas and coins with letter Gā in Devanāgarī were coined at Ahmedabad during that period. Earliest coins minted at Baroda are during the reign of Ananda Rao (1800–19 A. D.) and bear the name and title of Mughal Emperors Shah Alam and Akbar II as also the letter Ā in Devanāgarī for Anand Rao and the scimitar above Ā. This type was continued by his successors and letters Sā for Sayajirao, Ga for Ganpatrao and so on, accompanied with Gā signifying Gaekwar are found on coins of his successors. After the suppression of the mutiny, the name of the Mughal Emperor was removed from the coins. No gold coins were minted at Baroda except the Nazar coins i. e. coins for presentation. Gaikwad coins were minted also at Broach and Amreli in Kathiawad as has been shown in an exhaustive article on these coins written by my Assistant, Mr. R. G. Gyani, M. A. This is being published in the next issue of the Numismatic Supplement. British Indian Currency was introduced in Baroda State in 1901 A. D.

Bhavnagar.

Coins are very scarce and only copper ones seem to have been minted. Shah Jahan mentioned in these coins must be Shah Jahan III, the pretender who was proclaimed emperor after 1759 A. D. The coins have the word Bahadur in Devanāgarī. The mint was closed in 1840 A. D.

Cambay.

This was also a Mughal mint from the time of Shah Jahan to Alamgir II. The mint was written as Khanbayat. The founder of the present dynasty of the Nawabs was Zafar Khan, a Governor of Gujarat. In the cabinet of Prince of Wales Museum there are coins with the letters S'rī, Sāl or Sana in Gujarati and some have the letters Shah on them. There are also coins with the legend "S'rī Khanbhat bandar, sana 1948 nī sāl" in Gujarati on the obverse.

Chhota Udaipur.

A two *paisa* copper pice of Maharaval Motisinghji who ruled from 1881–1895 has been described in the 4th volume of the Indian Museum.

Janjira.

Rulers are known as Nawabs. They came into the possession of the island in 1489 A. D. Thick dumpy pieces with the letter Ja in Nāgarī script have been assigned as those of Janjira but it is not convincing. My Assistant has noticed coins bearing name of Sidi Ibrahim Khan who ruled from 1848–75 without this Ja.

Junagarh.

This was a mint under the Mughals and coins of Shah Jahan to Muhammad Shah were minted there.

The coinage of the present Nawabs, the descendants of Sher Khan Babi, a soldier of fortune who seized it in 1735 A. D. began from the year 1829. The Diwan designed the first Kori with the letters "Śrī Hāṭakeśvarāya Namaḥ" on the obverse and "Śrī Raghunāthajī Nama" on the reverse. The circulation of this Kori was stopped by the Nawab and new Koris were designed which continued till 1875 A. D. These have the letters Ba for Babi and Gada for Junagad on them and the dates both in Vikrama and Hijri eras. Specimens of both these types are in the Prince of Wales Museum. Thick copper pieces known as 'dokaḍās' were also minted and later pieces are more regular in size and bear the letters "Soraṭh Sarkār" in Nāgarī.

Cutch-Bhuj.

Cutch has its own peculiar currency system and the Kori which is the unit bears no relation to the rupee which is =2½ Koris. Koris and half Koris were coined in silver and Dhingala (1½ dokaḍo), Dokaḍo and Trambiyo (½ dokaḍo) in copper. 24 dokaḍās make one Kori. Gold Koris also were occasionally minted.. Gold Mohur of 100 and 50 Koris were minted during the reign of Pragmalji II (1930 V. S.) and a

silver five Koris' piece was issued by Khengarji III (1938 V.S.). Early coins were copied from those of Mahmud Shah II of Gujarat while Bharmalji II adopted coins of Ahmad II as a model. Desalji II dropped the Gujarat type and introduced Muhammad Akbar as supreme ruler. After the mutiny Pragmalji introduced Queen Victoria's titles and names. A trident and dagger were the usual ornamentations on those coins.

Lunawada.

Few square copper coins either with lotus flower or a lion and a sword on one side are known. The other side is illegible. Besides the lion there are the letters Lunawada in Gujarati. They bear date 1949 V. S.

Nawanagar.

Nawanagar is a first class State in Kathiawad and was founded by Jam Raval in 1540. The early design of the coins of this State was borrowed from the coins of Muzaffar III with the addition only of the letters Śrī Jāmajī in Devanāgarī. This type is to be had in gold, silver and copper. Jam Vibhaji changed the type and introduced his own name on one side and the name of the capital, the designation of the coin and the date on the other.

Radhanpur.

This is a State in Palanpur Agency ruled by Babi Nawab. Bahadurkhan, head of the family, received the grant of Radhanpur from Emperor Aurangzeb in 1723. His grandson was appointed Governor of Gujarat by Muhammad Shah, Emperor. Coins of Zorawar and Bismilla are known. They have name and titles of Queen Victoria on one side and name of the ruling Nawab on the other. Thick copper pieces have Go and Jī over them.

Porbander.

This is also a first class State in Kathiawad. The ruler is Jethwa Rajput who came to this province in 10th or 11th century. In 1785 the seat of the Rana was transferred from Chhaya to Porbander. Coins are of the same type as the

early ones of Nawanagar and have the letters Śrī Rāṇā instead of S'rī Jāma.

This brings to an end my attempt at giving the history of coinage in Gujarat describing various changes that occurred from time to time. In preparing this sketch, I have freely made use of the Indian Museum and British Museum Catalogues of Coins and my thanks are due to the compilers of these catalogues.

A NEW GOLD COIN OF BAPPA RAVAL.

By Dr. A. S. Altekar, M.A., LL.B., D. Litt.

(*Benares.*)

In J. A. S. B., 1927, Numismatic Supplement, No. XXIII, pp. 14–18 Mm. Pandit Gauri Shankar Ojha has illustrated and described a gold coin of Bappā Rāval. I shall be describing here a second variety of the gold coinage of the same ruler in this paper. The coin in question is not a new one; in fact it has been published and described earlier than the coin published by Mm. Ojha. Only its attribution was not known, and it was wrongly ascribed to a king called Śrī Dhairyarāja or Śrī Vigharaha.

The present coin was the property of one Mr. R. Nicholson of the Opium Department and was sent for inspection to the Asiatic Society of Bengal by Mr. Rivett-Carnack. It was exhibited to the Society by Dr. Hoernle, who read the legend as S'rī Dhairyarāja. A drawing of this coin was published by Dr. Hoernle in the Proceedings of the A.S.B., 1881, p. 39.

Mr. R. Burns published a further note on this coin along with its facsimile in J. A. S. B., 1904, p. 65 and Plate I, No. 2. He read the legend as S'rī Vigharaha.

There can be no doubt that both these distinguished scholars were incorrect in their reading of the legend. As far as the reading S'rī Dhairyarāja of Dr. Hoernle is concerned, the drawing of the coin as well as its facsimile make it clear that the second letter has two slanting lines on its top drawn in opposite directions, and therefore the medial vowel can neither be *ai* as taken by Dr. Hoernle nor *i* as taken by Mr. Burns; it must be clearly a medial *o*. The first letter is clearly either *vo* or *dho*. The second letter is taken as *rya* by

Hoernle and *gha* by Burns. There is no mark for the superscript *r*, and so the first has to be abandoned. *Gha* of Burns is possible, but *ppa* is more probable. The last two letters are clearly *rāja* as read by Hoernle; it is indeed surprising that they should have been read as *raha* by Burns. The medial *ā* mark above *ra* is clear in Mr. Burns' facsimile. The last letter is clearly different from *ha* of this period, and there can be no shadow of a doubt that it is *ja*. So the legend can be read either as Dhogharāja or Dhopparāja or Vopparāja or Vogharāja. The third of these proposed readings, Vopparāja, is the obvious one intended.

There can be no doubt that this coin was issued by the same ruler Vopparāja, whose coin was published by Mm. Ojha in J. A. S. B. 1927. The obverse of both these coins is identical. Immediately below the legend, at the left end of the coin, there is a *triśūla* and then to its right a *S'ivaliṅgam* on a platform of two steps. To the right of the S'ivaliṅgam, is the sacred Nandī, his effigy worn out on Mm. Ojha's coin, but quite clear on the present one. Below S'iva and Nandī, in both the coins, there is a man lying prostrate. Both the coins have a dotted border, the dots on the right half being visible in the present coin, and those on the left half in the coin of Mm. Ojha.

The reverse of the two coins shows a slight variation. The devices are the same in the two coins, but in Mm. Ojha's coin the cow faces to the right, while in the present one, it faces to left. The cow is however fuller and clearer on the present coin. Of the three symbols above the cow, the *chhatra* is quite clear in the drawing of the present coin. The *chhatra* and *chauri* are however to the left and right respectively of the sun, and not to his right and left as in Mm. Ojha's coin.

The findspot of the present coin is not known. From its palæography, the coin no doubt belongs to the early mediæval times. The emblems on the coin,–S'iva and Nandī and a man lying prostrate before them, the cow and the calf on the reverse render the theory of Mm. Ojha that the coin belongs to king Bappā Rāval of Chitor very probable. S'iva and

Nandī represent Ekaliṅgajī, the deity of King Bappā, and the man lying prostrate before them is probably the king himself. The cow on the reverse is the famous Kāmadhenu cow of Hārīta Ṛṣi, the preceptor of the king. The wheel above the cow stands for the sun, and suggests the solar descent of the king issuing the coin; while the *chhatra* and *chāmara* testify to the independent sovereign position of King Bappā.

The present coin therefore is the second coin so far attributed to Bappā Rāval.

A STUDY OF THE EARLY INDIAN TERRACOTTA FIGURINES.

By Rai Saheb Manoranjan Ghosh, M.A.

(Patna.)

I. *Introduction.*

Indian terracotta figurines have been found at different sites of India. They date from earliest time to the mediæval period of Indian history. To make a scientific study of the terracotta figurines, we have to pay attention to terracotta figurines found from excavations which have been carried on in the scientific way.

Early terracotta figurines from Mohenjo Daro and Harappa have been dated accurately with reference to seals with pictorial writings found on them.*

The excavations at Pāṭaliputra were conducted by late Dr. Spooner and by the writer of this article. There have been found a large variety of terracotta male and female figurines at Kumrhar and Bulandibagh with well marked characteristics. These terracotta figurines can be dated as they have been found associated with punch-marked and cast coins, with clay and glass seals containing legends in ancient Brāhmī and later scripts. Pāṭaliputra terracotta figurines are of three distinct periods. They are Pre-Maurya, Maurya and Śuṅga. Some of the Pre-Maurya terracotta figurines are Vedic as they contain peculiar head-dress and drapery described in the Vedic literature.

At Buxar, Dt. Shahabad, in Bihar, on the bank of the river Ganges below the ancient fort were found a large number of terracotta figurines of both male and female. The site was first studied by Dr. A. P. Banerjee Sastri, M. A., D. Phil,

Professor of Sanskrit, Patna College and later on by the writer of the present article. Patna Museum contains numerous terracotta figurines found at the above site. Terracotta figurines from Buxar appear to be of Pre-Maurya and Maurya dates and of the S'uṅga time.

At Mathurā no scientific excavation of the site containing terracotta figurines has been carried on by archæologists. A large number of terracotta figurines from Mathurā has been sold to different museums in India and in foreign countries. Patna Museum has acquired by purchase a good lot of terracotta figurines from the above site. The terracotta figurines of Mathurā belong to different periods. They show some similarity to terracotta figurines excavated from Pāṭaliputra.

In the Patna Museum, there are terracotta figurines from Basarh excavated by late Dr. Spooner. There are also terracotta figurines excavated from Bodh-Gaya by Sir Alexander Cunningham, from Belwa, Dt. Saran by late Harnandan Pandey.

The present article contains a study of the terracotta figurines from the above sites from the earliest times to the time of the S'uṅgas.

The first credit of studying the Indian terracotta figurines rests with Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy. He published a preliminary account of some of the Boston Museum terracottas in the Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin No. 152. Later on, he wrote an article on "Archaic Indian terracottas" which was illustrated with seven plates containing 51 figures and published in Leipzig, Germany in 1928. His article was criticised by Mr. M. A. Salmony in Rev. des Arts Asiatiques No. 11, 1928. Mr. M. A. Salmony has published a series of nine early Indian terracottas belonging to Messrs. Heeramaneck, New York. In Indian Antiquary, August 1931, Vol. LX, there was an article on some Indian terracotta figurines by Mr. K. de B. Codrington who described six terracotta figurines from Mathurā kept in the Indian Museum, South Kensington.

Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy's dating of Indian terracottas at an early date is not scientific and accurate as he has not relied on data supplied from excavations. Codrington's idea of dating terracottas is erroneous as the data on which he relied is not from excavation conducted on scientific lines.

At Pāṭaliputra and Buxar we have come across terracotta figurines with head-dress, shirts, apron-like drapery of a distinctly different type from terracotta figurines of later age such as those of Maurya and S'uṅga periods.

At Pāṭaliputra terracotta figurines have been found along with inscribed glass seals and coins near the wooden palisade of which we know the date of construction.

From different dates we guess that the Maurya strata at Pāṭaliputra excavation of Kumrhar and Bulandibagh extend upto 13 feet. Below 13 feet is the Pre-Maurya strata.

Similarly at Buxar Brāhmī inscriptions have been found 34 feet below the present level of the ground. Between 34 feet and 56 feet most probably is the Pre-Maurya strata at Buxar.

The terracotta figurines of Buxar and Pāṭaliputra found at Pre-Maurya strata are of two types. One type is crude and another is well developed. The developed type has peculiar head-dress, drapery and they resemble greatly descriptions of head-dress, and drapery as given in the Vedic literature.

II. *Vedic texts describing head-dress etc.*

We find from excavation that the terracotta male figurines of the pre-Maurya period used to tie their hair in knots. This sort of hair dressing is known as Kaparda. In Buxar it is always in front. At Pāṭaliputra it is on the left.

(I) (a) In Ṛg Veda Saṁhitā, Maṇḍala 7, Adhyāya 2, Sūkta 33, verse 1, we have top knot on the right.

Griffith's translation, Vol. II, p. 34 has translated the above passage:—

> "Those who wear hair knots on the right, the
> movers of holy thought, white robed have won me over.
> I warned the men, when from the grass I raised me
> not from afar can my Vasiṣṭhas help you."

(b) Another ṚgVeda passage in Maṇḍala 7, Adhyāya 5, Sūkta 83, verse 8.

Griffith's translation Vol. II, p. 80:—

"O Indra Varuṇa, ye gave Sudās your aid
when the ten kings in battle compassed him about.
Those were the white robed Tritsus with their braided hair skilled in song
Worshipped you with homage and with hymns."

(c) There is a third passage using kapardina in Ṛg Veda Maṇḍala 9, Adhyāya 3, Sūkta 67, verse 11.

Griffith's translation, Vol. II, p. 321:—

"This Soma flows like gladdening oil for him who wears the braided locks.
Bestow on us our share of maids."

(II) Female hair-dresses or hair dressing have been described in the Vedic literature by different epithets such as *Kaparda*, *Pulasta*, *Opaśa*, *Kurira*, *Kumba* and *Prithusta*.

(a) In Ṛg Veda Maṇḍala 10, Adhyāya 10, Sūkta 114 verse 3 there is the *Chatuṣkaparda*.

Griffith's translation Vol. II, p. 558:—

"The youthful one, well shaped, with four locks braided, brightened with oil, puts on the ordinances. Two birds of mighty power are seated there where the deities receive their portion."

(b) The use of *Opaśa* in Atharva Veda Saṁhitā, Kāṇḍa VI, Adhyāya 13, Sūkta 138, 1-3.

Whitney's translation modified, Atharva Veda Saṁhitā, Harvard Oriental series, Lanman, Vol. 7, p. 384:—

"Thou art listened to, Oh herb, as the most best of plants; make those now this man for me impotent, wearing head-dress *Opaśa* worn by female."

(c) *Kurira* and *Opaśa* in the sense of female hair dressing or head-dress. Atharva Veda Saṁhitā, Kāṇḍa VI, Adhyāya 13, Sūkta 138, 1-3:—

Whitney's translation, Atharva Veda Saṁhitā, Harvard Oriental series, Lanman, Vol. 7, p. 384:—

> "Do those make him impotent, wearing the head-dress worn by female over the hair *Opaśa*, likewise make him put on the covering of net over the hair, then let Indra with the (two) pressing stones split both his testicles."

(d) Use of *Kuṭira* and *Kumba.*

Atharva Veda Saṁhitā, Kāṇḍa VI, Adhyāya 13, Sūkta 138, 1-3:—

Whitney's translation modified, Atharva Veda Saṁhitā, Harvard Oriental series, Lanman, Vol. 7, p. 384:—

> "Impotent one, I have made thee impotent. Eunuch, I have made thee eunuch; Sapless one, I have made thee, the head net and head band put on."

(e) *Kurira* and *Opaśa* in the sense of women's hair dressing. Ṛg Veda Saṁhitā, Maṇḍala 10, Adhyāya 7, Sūkta 85, verse 8.

Dr. Tarapada Chaudhury in J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XVII, Pt. 1, p. 65 translates it thus:—

> "The ornaments were laudations, the net Kurira and the rim Opaśa, the metre; of Sūrya the wooer, the Agni, the forerunner.

(f) The use of *Opaśa* in the sense of female head-dress used in Atharva Veda Saṁhitā, Kāṇḍa 9, Adhyāya 1, Sūkta 3-8.

Prof. Tarapada Chaudhury in J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XVII Pt. 1, pp. 26-30 translates thus:—

> "The out-stretched thousand-eyed pole (like) a head, hung down from (avanaddha) and tied on to (abhita) the ridge, do we unfasten with our spell."

(g) The use of *Prithuslo* in the sense of women's profuse plaited hair is found in Ṛg. Veda, Maṇḍala 10, Adhyāya 7, Sūkta 86, verse 8.

Griffith's translation, Vol. II, p. 508:—

"Dame with the lovely hands and arms, with broad hair plaits and ample hips
Why, O thou Hero's wife, art thou angry with our *Vṛṣākapi*.
Supreme is Indra over all."

Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra 10. 9. 5. 6. 7 and Baudhāyana Śrauta Sūtra 6, 1; 6, 4, 5; 15, 15; 25, 4 have passages which clearly mean that *Kumba* is a circular rim made of sliced bamboo and *Kurira* is a net of sheep's wool which kept the hair of female in position. *Opaśa* is the name of whole female head dress of different varieties. Sometimes *Opaśa* meant another variety of female head-dress with voluted end.

(h) In Atharva Veda Saṁhitā we find the description of the under-shirt of a female. Atharva Veda Book XIV, Adhyāya 1, Sūkta 1, verse 25:—

Whitney's translation, Atharva Veda Saṁhitā, Harvard Oriental series, Lanman, Vol. 8, p. 744:—

"Give them away the *S'amulya*, share out goods to the priest (brahman); it becoming a walking (padrant) witchcraft, enters the husband (as) a wife."

Accordingly to Kauś. 79. 20 the verse accompanies the giving away of the bride's under garment, which is regarded as extremely ill-omened if not so disposed and expiated by gifts to the Brahman. *S'amulya* is described in St. Petersburg dictionary as a woollen shirt and is identical with *S'amula* which also means woollen shirt as explained by the commentator to Kauśika Śrauta Sūtra IX, 4. 7.

III. *Pre-Mauṛya terracotta figurines showing similarity to descriptions of male and female head-dresses, and drapery as mentioned in the above passages.*

(1) The head-dress or hair dressing.

At Pāṭaliputra there are male figurines with top-knot (kaparda) on the left.

(a) Bust of a male figurine with top-knots; bearing register No. B. 1912. No. 8. It was found at a depth of 14 feet.

(b) Smiling boy has an eleborate head-dress with top-knot on the left. It bears register No. B. 21 of 1915–16. It was found at a depth of 17 feet.

(2) Buxar male figurines have top–knot (kaparda) in front.

For illustration we refer to heads of terracotta figurines bearing Patna Museum register Nos. 6516, 6577 and 6584.

(3) Mathurā terracotta figurines have not been found from excavations but we refer to Pre–Maurya period because they resemble Pāṭaliputra and Buxar male terracotta figurines in keeping the top knot in the left and in possessing other peculiarities.

As examples showing above peculiarities we refer to heads of terracotta figurines bearing Patna Museum register Nos. 6950, 7195 and 7196.

(II) Female head–dress or hair–dressing.

(a) Kaparda in the Ṛg Vedic passage quoted above in case of female figurine does not mean top–knot but *plaited hair.*

(i) In Patna Museum register No. 6902 we have an example of a female figurine with hair arranged in two plaits hanging at the back.

(ii) In Patna Museum register Nos. 7161 and 7168 we have examples of female figurines with hair arranged in three plaits and falling at the back.

There is no example of female figurines in the Patna Museum with hair arranged in four plaits as mentioned in Ṛg Veda 10. 10, 1; 4; 3.

(b) *Opaśa* type of female head–dress. By *Opaśa* a large variety of female head–dress different from *Kumba* and *Kutira* is meant:—

(i) Band type. Head of a female figurine found at Buxar at a depth of 54 feet. It bears register No. 28.

(ii) Horn type. They have been found at Buxar at a depth of 54 feet. They bear Patna Museum register Nos. 6606 and 6607.

(iii) Volute type. They have been found at Bulandibagh and Pāṭaliputra.

(1) Serpent goddess bearing register No. B. 15 of 1915-16. It was found at a depth of 15 feet.

(2) Head of a female with high volutes. It bears register No. B. No. 112 of 1915-16. It was found at a depth of 13 feet 9 inches.

(c) Kumba and Kurira type. I take the words to mean a head-covering with raised plait of hair and a band round the head keeping in position the raised plait and other parts of head-dress. The above two examples are from Buxar and found at a depth of 54 feet. Head bearing No. 6517 was found by Dr. A. P. Banerjee Śastri and head bearing No. 6599 was found by the writer of the article.

(III) Female shirt or *S'amulya.*

(i) The serpent goddess described above bearing No. B. No. 15 of 1915-16. It was found at a depth of 15 feet. It bears a peculiar apron like drapery and a shirt (*S'amulya*). The breast is not visible and is covered by a thick garment.

(ii) Another example of female shirt with open breast. It bears register No. B. No. 29 of 1915-16. It was found at a depth of 21 feet 5 inches. The lower drapery is peculiar. It is also a female serpent goddess.

(iii) Another example of a shirt over the breast. This figurine was found at Bodh-Gaya. It was excavated by Sir Alexander Cunningham. The depth is not known. It bears Patna Museum register No. 1433.

(IV) Other varieties of female head-dress:—

(a) This female figurine was found at the Bulandibagh excavation in two parts bearing register Nos. 1071 and 1091 in 1926-27. They were found at a depth of 13 feet 4 inches. The head-dress is like a napkin or cloth bound round the head.

(b) Crown like head-dress. It bears register No. B. No. 13 of 1916. It was found at a depth of 14 feet.

(c) There is another example of a female figurine of a crude type. The female figurine has three holes on head on which were put detached head-dresses. It bears Patna Museum register No. 85 of 1915-16. It was found at a depth of 16 feet.

IV. *Examples of Pre-Vedic terracotta figurines.*

(A) For examples of early type of Pre-Vedic terracottas of which dates are known we have to go to the volumes of Mohenjo-Daro and Indus Valley Civilization Vol. III.

(a) In plate XCIV, there is a terracotta female figurine with peculiar head-dress.

(b) We have an example of a woman kneading flour in a shallow rectangular vessel. It is a terracotta. It was found at Harappa in 1926-27, see plate XXIII C of Annual Report of Archæological Survey of 1926-27. It is described on page 106 of the above report.

(B) In Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy's article "Archaic Indian Terracottas" we find examples of Pre-Vedic terracotta figurines of a later type in Plate No. 1 figurine No. 1 of his book. They are from Peshawar district and are now kept in the Boston Museum. I consider this terracotta figurine to be Pre-Vedic because of similarity of features with earlier Pre-Vedic type.

V. *Examples of terracotta figurines of the Maurya and S'unga periods.*

They have well modelled head of an advanced type.

(A) (i) Bulandibagh female figurine bearing register No. 931 of 1926-27. It was found at a depth of 11 feet 6 inches.

(ii) Bulandibagh female figurine bearing No. 71 of 1916. It was found at a depth of 11 feet.

(iii) Female serpent goddess. Bulandibagh No. 640 of 1926-27. It was found at a depth of 8 feet and 4 inches. It has a fine smiling face.

(iv) Female figurine bearing register No. 6255 from the University area, Pāṭaliputra with head slightly bent on left. Hair of female falls in two braids at back.

(B) Examples of terracotta figurines of the Śuṅga period.

They are all modelled plaques showing developed art expressive of force and feeling.

(i) The plaque is from Bir mound Taxila bearing No. 1540 probably represents S'iva and Umā.

(ii) In terracotta plaque of the winged female deity from Basarh bearing No. 661 found at a depth of 2 feet 8 inches there is a peculiar charm of its own.

(iii) In terracotta bust of a female deity bearing No. 229 from Basarh there is the representation of a peculiar head-dress.

VI. Other points.

The stylistic and cultural sequences of Indian Art are more fully illustrated in terracotta figurines than the stone sculptures. Indian terracotta figurines are very important for the study of the development of Indian Art. They are documents of everyday Indian life and manners recording simple and popular beliefs.

What do the early terracotta female figurines represent? We know that female figurines in ancient time in Asia Minor, Mesopotamia and India represented the Great Mother. For the Ægean civilisation according to Glotz (Ægean Civilisation, p. 245) she is the mother of men and animals.

In Mesopotamia female goddesses represent Anahita and Ishtar. In India they represent the great mother goddess and Tārā with serpent coil on the head. Nude goddesses in Indian terracottas according to Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy represent goddess Aditi. In Vedic literature we know of Aryan deities such as *Aditi*, *Rākā*, *Sinīvālī*, *Anumati*, *Puramdhi* and *Vainī*. Terracotta female figurines of the Vedic period probably represent the above named goddesses.

In studying terracotta figurines, I have omitted the study of demons, aboriginal and other comical figurines. There is in the Patna Museum, the figurine of a dancing girl bearing register No. 6254. It was found in the University area by late Prof. V. H. Jackson. It belongs to the Maurya period.

There is another side of the study of terracotta figurines. The study of terracotta animals is interesting and there is enough material in Patna and other museums.

From the S'uṅga period to the Mediæval there are fine terracotta plaques and reliefs illustrating grotesque animals, ornamental figures, scenes from the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa. From Bhitargaon temple, Cawnpur, from Nālandā, from Pāhārpur fine examples of terracotta reliefs have been found.

In writing this article I invite scholars to take up the subject in its varied aspects and do justice to the importance of its study.

WOODEN PALISADE EXCAVATED AT PĀṬALIPUTRA.

By Rai Saheb Manoranjan Ghosh, M. A.

(Patna.)

1. *Introduction.*

Late Dr. Spooner began his excavation at Bulandibagh Pāṭaliputra (Patna) in 1913. He excavated a big trench running north and south in the centre of the garden. In 1914, the trench was deepened and a beam lying east to west at a considerable angle was found by him, the eastern end of the beam being high and the western end low. From this slanting beam Dr. Spooner exposed cross-tie beams which lead north from the first slanting beam and eventually exposed another slanting beam parallel to the first. A portion of the northern slanting beam now exists. Three tie beams were finally excavated by Dr. Spooner of which one tie beam, the lowest one, is still in position, the other two have become detached and are lying on the floor. The maximum width of the slanting structure as noticed by him is 14′ 6″. The two slanting beams, described above, are on tops of parallel wall of upright posts running eastward. Dr. Spooner then exposed the horizontal floor beam which extended further eastward upto 100 feet in continuous line (Annual Report, Archæological Survey, Eastern Circle, 1915-16, p. 28). As the permission to dig at Bulandibagh extended upto the limit of the garden, the Collector of Patna arranged for Dr. Spooner permission to dig pits in the land on the east of the garden. Excavation in those pits disclosed mainly floor timbers. At above 350 feet he exposed some upright stakes running north and south and thought that the palisade turned northward but really the posts and the palisade proceeded further eastward. Later on this area consisting of pits east of the garden

was acquired by the Government. After Dr. Spooner's excavation, Mr. Dikshit made some pits and got some wooden structure. After Mr. Dikshit the writer of the article carried on the excavation.

2. *The wooden palisade.*

The whole structure at the western end of the palisade, as it now stands, looks like a room with a sloping western face. The northern and southern walls of this consist of massive and carefully squared upright *śāl* timbers. These timbers are protected on the exterior by thick planks of which some exist. They were fixed to the upright posts by small wooden plugs. Against these side planks are wooden pegs driven to the ground and are placed irregularly. About 22 feet from the present surface level is the floor of this wooden structure which consists of horizontal timbers laid north and south and fitted into sockets in the upright timbers of the walls. The massive upright timbers forming walls of the room go to a depth of about 5 feet more from the floor, that is, they go to a depth of about 27 feet from the surface of the ground. The northern upright timber wall is 17′4″ and consists of 9 posts. The maximum height, of the post is about 10 feet from the floor level. The minimum height is 2 feet. The southern timber wall is longer and measures 24′5″ and consists of 24 posts.

Further excavations round the wooden structure with sloping side have revealed that against the end of the floor there are four stout wooden pegs placed to strengthen it. The squared upright timbers rest on wooden planks placed on a bed of rammed *kankar* about 5 feet below the horizontal floor timbers. At the two ends of the sloping timber and placed outside are two stout wooden pegs for checking the outward thrust of the sloping timbers.

Beyond the sloping structure the horizontal floor timber proceeds without any upright post in majority of cases. The length of the horizontal beam, in majority of cases measures 13′4″, breadth of the horizontal beam varies from 9″ to 12″ while the height varies from 8″ to 9″.

The horizontal beam with posts and upright planks has been found at different distances.

In the middle of the excavation a drain-like structure with peculiar construction has been found. I shall describe the drain in detail in the end. There is a gap of the horizontal beams of 37′8″ after which the horizontal floor beams again appear and cover the floor to a distance of 20 feet. There are four small horizontal floor beams without tenons which extended upto 9′6″. After this full length horizontal floor beams with tenons again appear and end after a length of 44′ 6″.

Towards the end there are small posts and a portion of an octagonal wooden pillar of which some 13 feet have been exposed. This pillar belongs to a toraṇa or gateway.

3. *The construction of the drain.*

That the drain has been constructed at the same time as the palisade described above is probable from placing of the drain at a distance from the horizontal floor beams on both sides. The drain as a whole measuring 33′9″ excavated by me has been constructed in such a way that the two ends of the drain project equally from the end line palisades. The drain is at a distance of 7 feet from the west horizontal floor beam and at a distance of 5 feet from the eastern horizontal floor beam. There are on east side of the drain two lines of twelve posts ending in long tenons with maximum length of 1′8″, fitted with holes. These posts stand at a distance varying from 1′8″ to 2′4″ and are fixed to horizontal beams placed north to south at a depth of 32 feet from the present ground surface. The maximum height of the post is 12′6″. These posts are joined by thick beams about 12 feet long, 1′1″ broad, 1′1″ thick at a depth of 8′10″ from the top of the tenons of the post. The beams which join the parallel posts pass through them and project 9″, with a wooden pin fitted to it towards the end. The bottom of the drain consisting of very thick planks 6″ thick rests on these planks which join the parallel posts. The bottom of the drain when measured from the top of the side plank is at a depth of 5′9″. The side of

the drain is formed by thick planks of 6′ in thickness. The height of the plank on the side is 6′3″. The drain is 3′6″ broad. To keep the side and bottom planks in position there are wooden batons measuring 5′9″ in length, 10″ broad and 4″ in thickness, fixed to the high post mentioned above by two iron nails about 2 feet in length. There are also wooden batons at the bottom measuring 3½″ x 10″ x 6″ to 5″ in a line with the high side posts. All the joins of the planks forming the sides and bottom of the drain are made watertight by means of stripes of thin iron fixed to the plank by small iron nails. These stripes of iron are 3″ broad. Thickness of the posts is 9½″ and breadth of the posts varies from 9½″ to 13½″.

At both ends of the drains there were posts of which two posts on the south are still in position. They are without tenons. Joining these end posts at the floor of the drain are heavy beams of which one on the north is 1′2″ thick and one on the south is 11″. On these beams rests the floor plank of the drain both north and south, the portion of the drain which is outside the palisade line is on a higher level, the northern portion being on a much higher level than the southern portion.

The side planks of the drain are joined together by a long plank 8½″ broad, 2″ thick. It projects 9′ on the top. They are four in number. These planks join all the side planks. The two central through piece planks are at a distance of 2′6″. The two side through piece planks are at a distance of 1′4″ from the central through piece planks.

What is the significance of these projecting planks which are four in number? To these projecting planks there were side planks which are no longer in existence. These planks kept off the earth from the side. The inner batons have small beams, which have disappeared. Over these beams were planks which are no longer in existence. Joining the tenons of the high posts were also beams which have disappeared. Over these beams rested other planks and over it again were fixed beams fitted to the tenons; then there will be pins to keep in position the beams covering the drain.

From the position of three posts on the west of the drain it appears there were arrangements for a bridge over the drain. The drain is in fact not a drain but a covered room to keep arms and for concealing soldiers.

4. *Other points about the wooden palisade.*

The wooden palisade was a wooden wall hollow within and was pierced with loop holes for the discharge of arrows. There were towers at intervals.

The construction of the palisade reveals a wide knowledge of geometry and other sciences. If the wooden palisade is excavated right through the town it will reveal the military architecture of the ancient town and give an idea of the lay of the town in those ancient days.

The descriptions of Megasthenes and the Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra about defence of forts are strikingly illustrated in the portion of the wooden palisade which was excavated by me at Bulandibagh which is a garden on the south of the present town of Patna, the ancient name of which is Pāṭaliputra described by Megasthenes as Palibothra.

A SCRUTINY OF THE MINTS OF SHAH ALAM II.

By R. G. Gyani, M.A., M.R.A.S.

(*Bombay*).

Mints constitute one of the chief interests of the Mughal coinage in India. They help us in tracing the rise, decline and fall of the Empire as also in determining the geographical extent under each reign. A comparative study of the Mughal mints shows that the number of mints and the region covered by them vary in proportion with the prosperity and authority of the respective rulers. But this criterion begins to fail towards the end till at last we find that the number of mints bearing the name of Shah Alam II is the highest though it does not cover a wider range than that of Aurangzeb under whom the Mughal Empire had reached its zenith of expansion. A large number of his mints are spread throughout the North, Central India and Rajputana out of which no less than twenty were established during the reign of later Mughals and about forty-five mints make their appearance for the first time on the coins of Shah Alam II.

When we consider the miserable lot that befell Shah Alam both personally and as a ruler it seems rather doubtful if he could ever maintain his control, direct or through his agents, over all these mints. In the face of the predominating influence of the British and the Marathas and the independent Nawabs in various parts of the country it seems hardly possible for him to have been able to sway his authority over the finance of the country. As a matter of fact almost the whole of India, though professed a fealty to him as the Mughal Sovereign and impressed his name on the local coinage, had hardly any power to interfere with the local currency. This fact is admitted on all hands but still it is curious to find that

coins from any mint with the legend and dates of Shah Alam II are ascribed to him irrespective of the historical evidence to the contrary.

Fresh mints are added with every publication until at last about a hundred mints are recognised as that of Shah Alam's own, in spite of the historical evidence to the contrary. S. Lane Poole doubts Shah Alam's authority even over the fifteen mints that he noted in the Catalogue of British Museum but chooses to class all the coins as his so long as the dates on the coins tally with his reign. Nelson Wright also does so in his Catalogue of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. While preparing the Catalogue of the Lucknow Museum, Mr. Whitehead too hesitates to assign several coins to Shah Alam but still follows the beaten track. The ultimate result of this is that the coins with fish mark of the Nawabs of Awadh, the sword of the Scindhia, the Sunface of Holkars, the mace mark and the spectacles of the Peshwa, the trident of Benares with the cinquefoil of the East India Company, the Sun flower of the Chhatarpur State, various trees of the Rajput States of Jodhpur, Jaipur and other local authorities find a place under Shah Alam's coinage, though these are evidently non-Mughal.

While turning the pages of the Proceedings of the Numismatic Society of India, we find that this point was discussed at Allahabad in 1910, but unfortunately it was resolved to include all coins bearing the names of Mughal Emperors upto 1803 in a Catalogue of Mughal Coins and in case of the successors of Shah Alam II decided to recognise only the coins struck at Shahjahanabad as Mughal issues. The reason for doing so was evidently the difficulty felt in tracing the history in each case.

It is no doubt difficult in some cases to say with certainty whether or not the coins issued from a particular mint were struck under the authority of the Mughal Emperor. But in many cases it is possible to do so with the aid of historical and other evidences such as workmanship, fabric, marks and symbols etc.

An humble effort was made by the writer in this direction, the history of individual mints was investigated into, and the coins were examined with reference to their fabrics, marks and calligraphy etc. with the result that a large number of mints ascribed to Shah Alam could be styled as non-Mughal. Coins were evidently struck from these mints by the local authorities in the name and style of Shah Alam II. In some cases a particular mint was for different periods under different authorities during the reign of the same Mughal Emperor. Such non-Mughal mints of Shah Alam could be ascribed to local authorities as under.

(1) To begin with, the East India Company struck coins at Arkat, Murshidabad, Surat, Mumbai, Farrukhabad' Bareli-Qita, Benares-Muhammadabad, Shahjahanabad, Delhi (after 1803), Hansi Sahibabad, Jahangirnagar (Dhakka), Chinapattan (Madras) and Kalkatta.

(2) The Marathas (including Peshwa, Sindhia, Holkar and Gaekwar) had the authority over the following mints:—

Ajmer, Ujjain, Ahmedabad, Agra, Balanagar, Bharuch, Gadha, Balwantnagar, Jhansi, Burhanpur, Shahjahanabad, Delhi, Doulatabad, Sironj, Malharnagar, Kalpi, Muhiabad, Poona, Dilshadabad, Ravishnagar Sagar, Kunch and Gwalior.

(3) The Jats struck coins at:—

Itawa, Agra, Ajmer, Bharatpur, Brijindrapur and Mahindrapur.

(4) The Rohillas established their mints at:—

Ujhani Asafnagar, Asafabad Bareli, Abdullahnagar, Pihani, Najibabad, Najafgarh, Farrukhabad, Ahmadnagar, Anwala, Bisauli, Saharanpur and Muradabad.

(5) The Rajputs had the exclusive right over the mints at:—

Orchha, Bikaner, Shahjahanabad (under Jaisalmere), Jodhpur Darulmansoor, Jaipur (Sawai), Deogarh, Srinagar (Bundelkhand), Narwar (Gwalior), Nagor (Jodhpur) and Chhatarpur.

(6) The Nawab of Awadh is known to have struck coins from the mints at:—

Lucknow Darrussaltanat, Awadh Aktarnagar, Awadh Suba, Benares-Muhammadabad, Itawa, Farrukhabad, Allahabad, Anwala, Bareli, Muradabad and Hathras.

(7) The Nawabs of Bengal had their mints at:—

Murshidabad, Azimabad Patna, Jahangirnagar Dhakka, and did so without the Imperial interference.

(8) Besides the following were the mints whence miscellaneous powers issued coins under their direct control:-

Elichpur, Aurangabad (Khujasta-bunyad), Haiderabad (Farkhunda-bunyad), Dilshadabad, Benares, Sironj, Jammu, Srinagar, Muzaffargarh (Afghans), Bhopal, Gokulgarh, Bahadurpattan, Mahisor, Bundraban Mominabad, Mathura Islamabad, Hardwar (Tirath) and Panipat.

Thus about 75% of the mints ascribed to Shah Alam II can be safely deleted from the list of Mughal mints so far as that Emperor is concerned.

BUDDHISTIC REMAINS IN BERAR AND IN ANCIENT VIDARBHA.

BY Y. K. DESHPANDE, M.A., LL.B.

(*Yeotmal.*)

Present Berar, Marathi C. P., part of Khandesh and Marathi speaking part of the Nizām's state constitute the ancient Vidarbha.

For the first time Buddhism was introduced in Vidarbha when Mahā Rakkhita the royal missionary was sent by King Aśoka to Mahārāṣṭra. Mahārāṣṭra was then known as a colony near the river Godāvarī. Edict on pillar at Rupnāth in C. P. and the rock edict recently found in the Nizam's State show that Aśoka had some sort of control over ancient Vidarbha. A reference to the invasion of Aśoka in the province and his defeat of its king etc. in a recent Marāṭhī work appear to be a myth in the absence of any authority.

A temple of Nāgārjuna at Rāmṭek in C. P. reminds us of Nāgārjuna the great founder of the Madhyamaka school of the Buddhists. Tradition is handed down that he was born in Berar, studied at Nālandā and ultimately became the head of that university. We know of his many works through the Tibetan and Chinese languages through the efforts of the European scholars.

Caves at Ellorā and Ajaṇṭā are unique in grandeur and these Buddhistic caves were excavated in the Chālukyan and Vākāṭaka periods.

Hiuen Tsang the famous traveller found a Buddhist ruler at the capital of Kośala which has been located by Cunningham at Bhāṇḍak in Chāndā district. There is a Buddhist temple and monasteries also. The Buddhist rulers shifted from

there to Śirpur in Rāipur district and also changed their religion to Śaivism. Near Rāmṭek there are Buddhist remains at Mansār. This place is full of remains of Gupta period. Guptas were relations of the Vākāṭakas.

In Berār there are Buddhistic caves at two places, viz. at Sālbarḍi in Amrāoti district and at Pātūr in Akolā district. We are as yet in dark about their age and also about their history. There are short inscriptions on pillars at Pātūr caves but they have not been as yet deciphered.

From the materials before us it can be definitely gathered that Buddhism prevailed in Vidarbha from the period of Aśoka till the 9th or 10th century and it was ultimately made extinct by the revival of Vedic religion after the birth of Śrī Śaṅkarā-chārya, that the Buddhist monks resided in their cave residences peacefully and that they occasionally received support from the officers of the then kings.

THREE NEW KĀKATĪYA INSCRIPTIONS FROM KĀZIPET.

By M. Rama Rao, M.A., B.Ed.

(*Rajahmundry.*)

Of the several dynasties of the Deccan whose history is embedded in thousands of inscriptions scattered all over the Dominions of H. E. H. the Nizam, the Kākatīya dynasty is one and perhaps the most important. Of the inscriptions recently discovered the three from Kāzipet are of paramount importance to early Kākatīya history which has been very little known till now. The object of this paper is to discuss the importance of these three records and show what new facts they bring to light.

The texts[1] of these inscriptions have been given at the end of this paper as an appendix. Nos. 2 and 3 were found engraved on two loose stones in the compound of the Police Station and No. 1 has been inscribed on a stone slab built into a *durgah* at Kāzipet, a station on the Bezwada–Hyderabad section of the N. S. Railway.

These three records are of the utmost value to the genealogy of the early Kākatīyas. Most of the later inscriptions of this dynasty trace the genealogy from Prola II (1115–1158) while a few mention his father Beta. A Canarese inscription in front of the Padmākshi temple at Hanumākoṇḍa (4 miles off from Kāzipet) mentions Beta alias Tribhuvanamalla of the Kākatīya family and his son Prola II both of whom were subordinates of the Western Chālukyan emperor Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI. Lines 9–13 of No. 3 of App. tell us that Beta belonged to the Durjayakula, that he had the title

1. I have published the texts of these three inscriptions in the J. A. H. R. S. VIII, pt 1. pp. 25–27.

Chalamartigaṇḍa and that he was the father of Prola. Lines 15 and 16 represent Beta as a feudatory of Tribhuvanamalla. These facts enable us to identify the Beta and Prola of No. 3 of App. with the chieftains of the same names in the other Kākatīya records. Inscription no. 2 of the App. adds to this new information. This is a record set up at the time when Beta of the Kākatīya family was instituting Varuṇa, probably for the merit of his father Polalarasa. Line 10 of this inscription calls Beta a subordinate of the Chālukyan monarch Tribhuvanamalla. This description is in perfect agreement with that of Beta given in no. 3 of App. and the Canarese inscription of Hanumākoṇḍa[2] referred to above. This Beta has therefore to be identified with Beta alias Tribhuvanamalla of the other Kākatīya records. It is also necessary to place his father Prola as Prola I before him in the Kākatīya genealogy. We have to consider the genealogical importance of no. I of App. at this stage. In it three generations of kings are given–Beta, Prola and Beta. It is said that Prola and Beta II were the son and grand–son respectively of Beta I. The association of Beta II with the building of a temple at Anmakoṇḍa after his own name corresponds exactly with the contents of another record from Hanumākoṇḍa which registers a gift of Beta to God Prōlēśvara at the Betesvara temple.[3] Evidently Beta II of no. I of App. has to be identified with Beta alias Tribhuvanamalla of the other Kākatīya inscriptions. Then we have the following genealogy of the early Kākatīya kings :—

No. 1 of App. is of paramount importance for determining the origin and evolution of the Kākatīya kingdom. I

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2. E. I. IX, p. 256.
3. See my Epigraphical Notes in J. A. H. R. S. VIII–1 no. 3

have shown elsewhere[4] that the earliest known Kākatiya chieftain is a certain Guṇḍaya alias Kākartya Guṇḍyana who was one of the powerful subordinates of Ammarāja II of the Eastern Chālukyan dynasty of Veṅgī. This chieftain has been assigned to the period 940–999 A. D. and credited with the foundation of a small independent principality during the troublous days in the history of the Eastern Chālukyas in the last quarter of the 10th century. Prola I has been assigned to the period 1050–1080 A. D.[5] His father Beta I known for the first time from no. 1 of App. may be assigned to 1020–1050 A. D. We have no information about the Kākatīyas between 999 and 1020 A. D. i. e. from the time of Guṇḍyana's death to the beginning of Beta I's reign. This gap may be now filled up with the aid of no. 1 of App. The regnal periods of most Kākatīya rulers were very long, in one case extending upto 61 years.[6] It is likely that Beta I also had a considerably long reign. Another fact contained in No. 1 of App. also favours this view. It is said that Beta attained much wealth by vanquishing the forces of the Chola king. This fight must have taken place when the Cholas intervened in the affairs of Veṅgī towards the close of the 10th century. We have already stated that Kākartya Guṇḍyana founded an independent principality just about this time. It is therefore possible that Beta I might have succeeded Guṇḍyana and fought with the Cholas in Veṅgī in order to protect the principality handed over to him by Guṇḍyana, especially because it was formerly in the Veṅgī kingdom. On these grounds, I would assign Beta I to the period 1000–1050 A. D. This arrangement gives us a continuous history of the Kākatīya kingdom from the time of Guṇḍyana in the middle of the 10th century and shows how it rose on the ashes of the Eastern and not the Western Chālukyan empire as Dr. Fleet and others have supposed.[7]

It is necessary to consider briefly the exploits of the chieftains mentioned in no. 1 of App. We have already stated that Beta I is said to have fought with the Cholas and explained

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4. See Ibid vol. VI, pt 2. p. 124.
5. Ibid, p. 123.
6. Ibid, p. 124.
7. See I. A. XI p. 252.

the circumstances under which this event could have taken place. Beta's son Prola I is said to have straightened "Chakrakūṭa-viṣaya". About the year 1060 A. D. the Eastern Chālukyan king Rājarāja and his son Rājendra were actively besieging Chakrakūṭa. It is not known whether Prola and the Eastern Chālukyas were rivals or allies in this attack upon Chakrakūṭa. While explaining the rivalry of Prola I with the Cholas as mentioned in the Pillalmaṟṟi and Pālampet inscriptions,[8] I have suggested that this Kākatīya chieftain fought as an ally of the Chālukyas.[9] The same view may hold good in this connection also. Possibly the Nāgavaṁśis of Bastar attempted to enlarge their dominion at this time and thus came into conflict with the Kākatīyas in the south-west and the Eastern Chālukyas in the south-east. The conquest of Purakūdeśa, the slaying of the son of Dugga and the defeat of Gonna were the further achievements of Prola. It is said that he received the Anmakoṇḍa-viṣaya which comprised the territories of all these rival chieftains, from king Trailokyamalla. We know from no. 2 of App. that Beta II was a contemporary and feudatory of Tribhuvanamalla. Obviously Beta's father Prola I was a subordinate of Trailokyamalla Someśvara II (1068–1076) of Kalyan.

Thus the three insciiptions from Kāzipet discussed in this paper are of very great importance to the early history of the Kākatiyas.

APPENDIX.

Three inscriptions from Kāzipet.

No. 1. Kāzipet Insciiption.

1 समन्तविष्टिवग्र: श्रीमान्काकतिपु
2 राजिनाथो बेत: । चोडक्ष्मापा
3 ळ चमूपाधि प्रमथनसमार्जि
4 तोर्जितलक्ष्मी: [॥] (1) पुत्रस्तस्य जगत्य
5 भिमरित: प्रोल क्षमापाल
6 की निर्भ्रमीकृतचक्रकूटविष
7 यो मदंगविद्रावण: [।] जित्वा
8 कोंकणमण्डळो (लं) निजयश स्तं [स्तं]
9 पल्लिताख: पराकुसार्यर्वि
10 जनस्तुतस्य [स्त] विसरत्कीर्ति समावर्त
11 यत् ॥[2] स एव ॥ जित्वापन्तर मन्
12 यान् पृथुवना कोरवर्ति ह

8. J. A. H. R. S. vol. VI, pt. 2 p. 126. 9. Ibid vol. VII, pt. 3 p. 176.

13 गाम्भर्ये हृत्वाजौ गुणसागरस्य [स्स]
14 पुरकूटेशं च गोन्नह्वयः [यं] [।] तत्र
15 शुभुतमन्मकोंडविषय [यं] श्रै
16 लोक्यमल्लक्षमाधीशात्प्रस
17 नबद्ध मुद्रतजयी संलब्ध
18 वान्शाश्वतं ॥ [3] सूनुरस्य परशूपद
19 वा म्रि (न्) बोळमाळवमदेमद
20 गेशः [।] विक्रमेण भुवि विक्र
21 मचक्री बेतभूपतिरिति प्र
22 थितो भूत् ॥ [4] अन्मकोण्डपुरी वा
23 टि [टीं] तीर्थं शिवपुराह्वयं (।) कृत्वा
24 तत्र स्वनाम्ना सो देवालय मचीकर (रो) त् ॥

No. 2. Kāzipet Inscription. (In Kannada

North.

1 समस्तभुवनाश्रय
2 श्रीपृथ्वीवल्लभ महारा
3 जाधिराज परमेश्वर
4 परमभट्टारक सत्या
5 श्रय कुलतिलक च
6 लुक्याभरणः श्रीम
7 [त्त्रि] भुवनमल्लदेव
8 विजयराज्यमोत्त
9 द्राकेतारं सलुत्तमि
10 रे । तत्पादपद्मोपजीवि (वी)
11 समधिगतपंचमहा
12 शब्द महामण्डलेश्वरा
13 नमकुण्डा पुरवरेश्वर
14 परममाहेश्वर पति
15 हितचरितं । विनयविभू
16 षणं श्रीमन्महामण्ड
17 लेश्वरं काकतीय बेते
18 शनं तन्न तन्दे महीमण्ड
19 लेशरं पोळलरस

West.

20 ....संवत्सर मार्गसि [शि]
21 र शुद्ध द्वादशियुं बृहस्प
22 ति वारदयुद् वरुणप्रतिष्ठा
23 [का] लदोळ् निलिसिद शासनगं

No. 3. Kāzipet Inscription.

1 स्वस्ति श्रीस्तनपीठ
2 चारुरुचिभि स्सम्मिश्र
3 तोशो मणिज्योतै [ती] रंजन
4 पुंज शुभकलिना [ना] नात्युन्न
5 तोरस्थ........
6 ....जात तारा
7 पयं । ख्यातो....शिवःपुरा
8 णपुरुषः श्रीशौर्यनारायणः [॥] (1)
9 जयति चलमर्तिगण्ड स्सम
10 रजय श्रीविभासभूपादव्धः [।]
11 दुर्जयकुलाब्धिचन्द्र स्सत्था
12 धीन स्सकलबेतनरें
13 द्रः [॥] (2) तत्पुत्रः प्रोलनृपः प
14 रधरणिपालमौळिराजित च
15 रण स्सिंदूरमुद्रिकांकां [।] च
16 क्रं चक्रेश्वरस्य सकलधरित्रीः
17 विश्रुतसंगर सुकि [क्रि] त विक्रां
18 त निजकीर्तिधवलिताशापू
19 र्तिः [॥] [3] चक्रे समुद्रसुयश धं
20 द्रः सरि (स) समुद्र....संग
21 ळं ॥ तत ....

RARE AND IMPORTANT COINS OF BAIHMANI KINGS.

By Khwaja Mahammad Ahmad.

(Hyderabad.)

In this paper I shall deal with some unique coins of the Hyderabad Museum and point out the light they throw upon the genealogy and chronology of the Baihmani kings of the Deccan.

While cataloguing the coins of the Hyderabad Museum under the able and expert guidance of the learned President of this meeting, I had come across these coins and sought his expert opinion with regard to certain difficulties which I could not make clear, and for their solution I am highly indebted to him.

First I shall take the coins that correct the genealogy of these kings. There is a controversy with regard to the parentage of Firoz Shah and Ahmad Shah I, who were eighth and ninth kings of this line. According to Firishta both of them were the sons of Da'ud who was a son of Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah, the founder of the Baihmani Dynasty. In the Burhan Ma'sir they are however described as the sons of Ahmad Khan, son of Alauddin Hasan Bahman Shah. Sir W. Haig has attached more weight to the latter work but without bringing forward any definite reasons.

Among the coins of the Hyderabad Museum I happened to come across a few coins bearing the following legend :—

Obverse.

المستوشق با للا الحنان المنان الغنى

Reverse.

سلطان احمد شاه بن احمد بن الحسن البهمنى

We must bear in mind the reading on the reverse which says that Ahmad Shah I was son of Ahmad who was son of Hasan Baihmani. A coin which bears the same legend has been

published by Mr. O. Codrington in the Numismatic Chronicle, Series No. 3, Volume VIII, but it has been attributed by the author to the tenth king of this line i. e. Alauddin Ahmad Shah II, who was a son of Ahmad Shah I. No reason has been given by him for this view. I think that he attributed it to Ahmad Shah II because he is styled on the coins as Ahmad Shah bin Ahmad Shah. But Mr. Codrington has totally ignored the point that if we attribute this coin to Ahmad Shah II, we shall have to admit that Ahmad Shah I was a son of Alauddin Hasan, a fact which has been supported by none of the historians. Apart from this the coin published by Mr. O. Codrington bears the date 838 A. H. Upon the basis of this date, Mr. Codrington formed an opinion that the tenth king Ahmad Shah II succeeded to the throne in 838 A. H. There is a controversy as to the correet date of the tenth king's accession and it was doubtful whether he succeeded to the throne in 838 or 839 A. H. The correct date of Ahmad I's demise has been inscribed on his tomb at Bidar, and it is 29th Zil Hijjah 839 A. H. Besides I have come across coins of this type which are dated 832 to 838 A. H. only. These dates synchronize with the reign of Ahmad Shah I only, and amply prove that these coins were struck by Ahmad Shah I. This being once established we can safely say that Ahmad Shah I was the son of Ahmad, who was the son of Hasan Baihmani and as all chroniclers are unanimous in saying that Ahmad I and Firoz were brothers, it goes without saying that Firoz was also the son of Ahmad.

Practically all the historians of the Baihmani kings say that Humayun Shah was succeeded by his sons Nizam Shah and Muhammad Shah respectively. But there is no Numismatic evidence to prove that Humayun Shah's son and immediate successor was styled Nizam Shah. On the contrary according to the known coins, the king who immediately succeeded Humayun Shah and was also his son was styled Ahmad Shah. The following is the reading of the coin :—

Obverse.

المنتصر بنصر الله القوی الغنی

Reverse.

احمد شاه بن همایون شاه البهمنی

٨٦٦

Coins of this king are dated 866 and 867. The years synchronize with the period attributed to Nizam Shah. This clearly proves that Humayun Shah's eldest son, who succeeded to the throne, assumed the title Ahmad Shah and not Nizam Shah.

There is again a great controversy regarding the parentage of Kalimullah Shah, the last of the Baihmanis. Firishta himself has made contradictory statements regarding Kalimulla Shah's parentage. On page 729 (Bombay Lithograph) he calls him son of Mahmud Shah, but while describing his flight to Bijapur he mentions him as a grandson of Mahmud Shah. The author of Burhan Ma'sir has totally omitted Kalimullah Shah and Sir W. Haig prefers Firishta's latter version. But from the coins that have been discovered it is proved beyond doubt that he was a son of Mahmud Shah. The following is the reading of the coin :—

Obverse.

المرید بنصر اللک القوی الغنی

Reverse.

السلطان کلیم اللہ بن محمود شاہ البہمنی

The chronology of the Baihmani kings has got some very doubtful points. According to Firishta Humayun died in the year 865 A. H. and the fact has been taken for granted by all the historians, but there are two coins in the Hyderabad Museum which clearly bear the date 866 A.H. There is no reason to believe that these must have been posthumous issues of Humayun Shah. This necessitates a change in the chronology of Baihmani kings and makes 866 A. H. instead of 865 A.H. as the date of Humayun Shah's death and the twelfth king's accession. The following is the reading of the coin :—

Obverse.

المتوکل علی اللہ القوی الغنی

Reverse.

ھمایونشاہ بن احمد شاہ بن احمد شاہ الولی البہمنی

٦٦٨

There is a great controversy regarding the date of Kalimullah's accession. According to Firishta the seventeenth king Waliullah died in 932 A. H. and was succeeded by Kalimullah. There are two coins of Kalimullah in the Hyderabad Museum, which bear the date 930 A.H. One of these coins has been published by Mr. O. Codrington in the Numismatic Chronicle, series 3, Volume VIII. But the date has been read by him as 935. It is only because in some cases '5' is written like an English zero on Muslim coins. But on Baihmani coins we will continuously find that '5' is inscribed on them more or less like an English "E" and zero is inscribed like an English zero. To substantiate this statement I will here refer to the coin of Waliullah which has been published in the above mentioned chronicle as No. X of plate VIII. The date of this coin is beyond doubt 930. The last figure zero is inscribed like an English zero. Excluding the names of the kings, both the coins are practically identical. Thus with the help of these two coins we can decide with certainty that Waliullah was succeeded by Kalimullah in the year 930 A. H.

The date of Kalimullah's death is also obscure. Firishta mentions that Kalimullah flew from Bidar in 934 A. H. and that he died in succeeding years. Mr. O. Codrington has published a coin of Kalimullah in the Numismatic Chronicle Series 3, volume VIII, dated 942 A. H. But I have come across two coins which clearly bear the date 952 A.H. This shows that Kalimullah was alive till 952 A.H. and that coins were struck until then in his name. The following is the reading of the coin :—

Obverse.

المويد بنصر اللہ الغنی

Reverse.

السلطان کلیم اللہ البہمنی

۹۳۶

Fine Arts, Architecture and Iconography Section.

President:

NANALAL C. MEHTA, I. C. S.

CONTENTS.

TRADITION IN INDIAN ART.

By Nanalal C. Mehta, I. C. S.
(Muzaffarnagar).

The astounding thing about Indian Art that strikes even a casual student is the remarkable stability of its traditions throughout the course of centuries. Whether it be architecture sculpture, painting or music, the agelong traditions continue to exercise their dominating influence. This however does not preclude its being influenced by new streams of alien but dynamic cultures at certain epochs of its history. From the dawn of history India has been subject to manifold influences which sometimes came to her from beyond the seas—sometimes from Persia, sometimes from Babylon and sometimes from the far off countries situated on the shores of the Mediterranean. It must have been a singular event in the history of India when Chandragupta Maurya married the daughter of Seleukus Nikator—one of the generals of Alexandar the Great. It was, as it were, the fusion of the two most dynamic cultures of the ancient world. What repercussions of this marriage were on the society at that time, we can only guess.

It is however known that during the earlier centuries of the Christian era a number of Hellenic artists, who have left a veritable gallery of Buddhist sculpture, were working in what are now known as the Frontier Provinces and Afghanistan. The passionate feeling of the Greek for the representation of the human body in all its outward and athletic glory did not take root in the Indian soil. The Gāndhāran period despite many a charming and graceful sculpture remains a mere episode in the cultural history of Hindustan. It seems as if the Indian had a peculiar feeling of his own for Nature. The realism of some of the statuettes—especially of the bull

on the Mohenjo Daro seal is of a totally different character from that of the Greek or the Hellenistic artist. Years ago Dr. Spooner suspected Persian influences in the development of Mauryan art; but nothing is more remarkable than the extraordinary constancy of the fundamentals of Indian culture throughout the ages, and its amazing powers of assimilation of alien elements in its unique matrix.

THE INFLUENCE OF ISLAM.

It is rather extraordinary that even Islam in its first flush of power—more than half a millennium before the advent of the great Moghuls—failed to affect the artistic traditions of India to any appreciable extent. India has always been the great laboratory of religious experiments, and in this particular sphere the influence of Islam was indeed powerful. But so far as the outward tenor of life was concerned, life remained practically unchanged. Important edifices of a novel type began to be built, but after a short time the indigenous tradition asserted its dominance.

Throughout the centuries of its existence Islam in India has always looked up to Persia for its artistic inspiration. The Indian Musalman has always felt somewhat humble before the Persian and it is somewhat remarkable that the monumental work of Maulana Shibli has no place for a single Indian in his monumental work on the Heroes of Islam. Iran and its adjacent lands—what now constitute Russian Turkestan—were the fountain-heads, as it were, of Islamic culture. Baghdad, Samarkand, Bokhara, Herat, Ghazni and Shiraz are names to conjure with in the history of Islam. Historical circumstances fortified this tendency, for from the days of Timur the valour of the Islamic rulers made the court of Samarkand one of the greatest literary and artistic centres that the world has ever known. Babar, though a Turk by descent, was a Persian by culture. Nothing in Hindustan pleased the fancy of this valiant prince. His son Humayun brought with him two distinguished masters of painting from the court of Iran—Abdul Samad Shirazi and Mir Saiyyad Ali. The celebrated paintings of Hamzanama—unique by them-

selves in the history of Indian pictorial art—were commenced during the reign of Humayun though they were completed during the time of Jalaluddin Akbar. Abdul Samad Shirazi—*Shirin Kalam*, as he was called—master of drawing as well as of calligraphy, was given the charge of training up Indian artists in accordance with the Persian canon.

Within a few years however it was discovered that an Indian, while good at copying was a person rather difficult and peculiarly obstinate to be vitally or easily influenced. The Indo-Persian phase was therefore only a passing phase of brief duration. The patronage of the Moghuls and the magnificence of Persian illustrations—Babar, Humayun and Akbar had some wonderful Persian manuscripts in their library—undoubtedly gave an unprecedented stimulus to an Art which seemed to have fallen on evil days with the decay of a central power. The extraordinarily finished workmanship and the impeccable colour-schemes of Moghul paintings are undoubtedly in a great measure due to the influence of the Persian examples. But these only affect the surface, and the principal characteristics of the Indian tradition remained practically unaltered.

THE INDIAN RENAISSANCE.

The fifteenth century in Europe was a period of considerable movement in the history of Europe. The world has rarely witnessed such a wonderful harvest of artistic masterpieces as during this period of the Renaissance when Italy, Holland, Germany and Spain vied with each other in producing pictures of a quality that the world has never seen before or since. The Moghuls were great dilettanti and were interested in everything, especially if it was something strange or singular. Yet it is curious that such a great patron and connoisseur of painting as Jehangir did not think it worth while to copy the large-scale canvases in oil which were shown to him by the English ambassador Sir Thomas Roe. Painting had made remarkable progress in Italy since the death of Giotto in 1337. Since then the brothers Hubert and Jan Van Eyck discovered the medium of oil for painting which

was to revolutionise the entire course of painting in the European world. Problems of fore-shortening, perspective, of the true colour of shadows were solved one by one during this great period of artistic revival. The Renaissance had achieved practically all its glories almost 100 years before Jehangir ascended the throne. And yet it is remarkable that throughout the creative period of Moghul art the momentous changes that had taken place in the pictorial art of Europe had practically no effect on the royal ateliers of Agra, Delhi and Lahore. Though Abul Fazl expresses the admiration for the great European masters and mentions that some of the painters notably Dashwant and Basawan had become almost as famous as these, nowhere is it recorded that the Indian artists were induced or encouraged to take a lesson from the West or to adapt their own technique to a changing world.

It is somewhat interesting to see the copies of European paintings made by the Moghul artists of this period. It seems that they were only interested in carrying out the wishes and whims of their patrons. The pictures had themselves no message to impart to these Indian artists. There is a singular and extraordinarily fine copy of a picture by Kamaluddin Bihzad copied by Nānhā at the instance of Jehangir which has been recently published in the superb volume on Persian painting by Binyon, Wilkinson and Grey. It is truly remarkable that artists so accomplished as these, who could at will copy and reproduce every stroke of foreign masters, observed an attitude of such complete mental detachment bordering on indifference that they hardly allowed even a trace of foreign influence in any material respect in their individual productions. It is possibly an instance of what Al Beruni thought to be the extraordinary conceit of the Indian people as regards the superiority, in fact finality, of their own culture. Whatever may be the cause, it is true that up to this day none of the discoveries of Europe since the days of Giotto has been extensively made use of in this country. The old fashioned fresco, the miniature painting on paper, cloth or wood, the use of water-colours, utter indifference to linear perspective, modelling or depicting shadows, a comparative dislike for

pure Naturalism or verisimilitude, fondness for the decorative rather than the actual, a liking for the descriptive rather than representational or photographic, a penchant for the conventional and the symbolic, for the emotional or the lyrical rather than for the exact or the actual aspect of life—these are and have been the principal characteristics of the pictorial art of India during its centuries of evolution.

While the European art for the last 500 years has been experimenting with the problems of optical illusion, or simultaneous and consecutive vision, atmospheric illuminations, the true colour of shadows, the comparative strength of straight in relation to a curved line, Indian Art has pursued its placid course undisturbed by any questionings as to the relative importance of accurately rendering appearances as against conventional or symbolical expression of ideas or emotions. The scientific or the technical aspect of painting has always been a question of secondary importance in Indian Art. Call it the genius of the people or its obscurantism or conservatism, the fact is there. It is as if the Indian felt himself more confident and comfortable in his own native habitat despite his undoubted ability to adapt himself for a time to outlandish ways and methods. Occasionally he borrows, but his essential outlook on life remains unchanged.

There is perhaps another and more deep-seated reason for this singular and somewhat characteristic attitude of the Indian towards Art as a whole. Art in Asia is something comprehensive and not exclusive. This is particularly so in India. Poets, sculptors and painters are workers in the same field with their peculiar media of expression; so much so that the canons of appraisement or criticism that apply to literature are also valid for sculpture and paintings. In fact the object of the graphic and plastic arts is according to the ancient texts the expression of the same sentiments or *Rasas* which are the subject matter of poetry. The subjects therefore of painting or poetry are not infrequently the same.

From this arises, not unnaturally, an attitude of comparative indifference for portraiture or mere technical research. The expression of idea or an emotion, the rendering of a myth,

story, legend, or even a poem or a musical mode are the objects which the painter has generally in view. The frescoes of Ellora, Ajaṇṭā, Bāgh, Sittanavasal, Tanjore, Conjeeveram and countless other wall-pictures merely recite the story or the legend from the inexhaustible repertoire of the Jātakas, Purāṇas, epics and the folk-tales through the medium of line and colour. Emphasis is laid on a lucid rendering of the scenes, on the appropriate illustration of the incidents rather than on representing the actual appearances either of the environment or of the human figures. We might in fact regard the pictorial rendering as a mere substitute for a verbal rendering, generalized and effective in a country of vast spaces and many scripts and languages.

In the old Gujarati manuscripts, for instance, painted pages are merely another version of the same story told swiftly and vividly through the medium of line and colour. Pure bright tints are used in conjunction with a few strokes of the brush. There is no attempt at technical finish or optical illusion. The style is in a way similar to and the object identical with the old Buddhist sculptures illustrating the Jātakas. These mediæval paintings are somewhat in the nature of modern posters. The lines and colours are there to emphasize their message through their distinctive medium and with their peculiar vocabulary.

It is sometimes thought that the period of Moghul painting from the time of Akbar up to the death of Aurangzeb must be regarded as something of an exception to these general statements. This is, I believe, incorrect and it is primarily due to the fact that while the vast wall spaces decorated with frescoes in the mausoleums at Sikandra and the palaces of Agra, Fatehpur Sikri, Delhi and Lahore have vanished, sometimes by the lapse of time and often by misplaced zeal or religious bigotry or pure vandalism, a large number of pictures and albums consisting mostly of portraits and scenes of royal life have survived. A careful survey of the surviving material will disclose the fact that Moghul artists applied most of their time to the decoration of books such as *Hamzanama, Shahnama, Razmanama,*

Rāmāyaṇa, *Gītagovinda*, *Khamsa* of Nizami, *Diwan-i-Hafiz*, *Gulistan*, *Bostan*, *Rasika Priya* of Kesho Das, *Bahar-i-Danish*, *Kalila wa Damna*, *Anwari-Suheli* and the recently discovered exquisite manuscript of *S'ālibhadra Charita*.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE MOGHULS.

The Moghul Emperors saved the pictorial art of the country from the vulgarities of bourgeois patronage of which it appears to have been a victim between the eleventh and the sixteenth century. The artist suddenly became a man of importance, worthy of Imperial favours and had an honoured place in the royal entourage. The Muslim has always been a greater realist than the Hindu. It is possibly the result of his religious inheritance. Abul Fazl thought the preparation of pigments for the use of the painters of the Imperial atelier a matter of sufficient importance to mention in his court chronicles. The Moghul artist was interested in the use of fine paper, jewel-like pigments, dazzling illumination of borders and lovely mounts of varied designs for his pictures. A royal portfolio of Moghul pictures gives a peep into the intimate life of the Moghul Court and its scenes of unprecedented splendour. What the quality of the wall paintings executed by the Moghul artist must have been, it is easy to gauge from the wonderful inlay work to be found in the great architectural monuments of the Moghul times. The same individuals executed the pictures on paper, ivory and cloth, decorated the wall-surfaces, and provided designs for the beautiful decorations of the interiors of palaces, mosques and mausoleums. It was a time of unprecedented patronage for the artisan. The Moghul artist—*naquash* as he was sometimes called—was as versatile as his Italian *confrère* of the Renaissance period.

While the superb technical skill of the Moghul artist has been admired, the art of the Moghul dress-maker has remained hitherto unnoticed. What gorgeous combinations of colours the Moghul dress-maker was able to devise in the shape of crimson or emerald coloured sashes with flowered borders wound round the waist on cream-coloured *aṅgas* and white *pyjamas* with the loveliest of tiny and multi-coloured shoes, elaborate turbans

with rows of pearls round the neck. The setting for these superbly dressed individuals was equally marvellous—lovely carpets from India and Persia, porcelain from China—all in the snow white palaces of marble at Agra and Delhi, and for some time in the dreamland of Fatehpur Sikri.

THE RISE OF PROVINCIAL SCHOOLS OF PAINTING.

The transition from these glorious scenes of Imperial splendour to the next stage was rapid. The Court art of the Moghuls was almost dead by the end of the seventeenth century. The Imperial artists were scattered all over the country and were again working as the *proteges* of smaller princes and rich bourgeois, *i. e.* far from being a time of decline in the history of Indian art, it heralded the advent of spring tide in the domain of pictorial expression. Vernacular literatures had been developing, taking the place of Sanskrit even among the *elite* of the land ever since the eleventh century Hindi literature, the most important of that time, had got into a strange mood of erotic lyricism. Its preoccupation was practically the glorification of love and women. Poetry of this period is probably unique in the literary annals of the world. For full 250 years it was engaged in describing the physical charms of women. Woman was the principal character in all poetical themes, whether they dealt with the life of Krishna and Rādhā or with the change of seasons or the harmonies of music. The painter also fell in a line. The bulk of his pictorial output dealt with practically the same themes as his brother worker in the literary arena; but let it be said to the credit of the former that the pictorial art as a rule never degenerated into the trivial banalities of unabashed eroticism. The artist retained his mastery of fine and rhythmic lines and used it to interpret the scenes from the Purāṇas and epics as well as from the common incidents of everyday life. It was an art truly popular, for it permeated every sphere of life. The extent and output of it must have been enormous, judging from the material that is still extant.

While it was in continuation of the older tradition, it could not but be influenced by the traditions and the technique of the Moghul period, but unlike the Moghul artist the

Hindu artist of the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries working at the courts of the princes of Rajputana and the Pahari principalities was not primarily interested in matters of mere technique, or even finished workmanship. He got all what he had to say by the use of his peculiar mastery of line and pure radiant colours. He had not to seek his public. He made use of a universal language which was understood from North to South and from West to East and transcended provincial and linguistic boundaries. He was a symbol of the cultural unity of Hindustan and it is surprising what he achieved within the short space of a hundred years or more between the beginning of the eighteenth century up to about 1830.

PAHARI PAINTING.

Let me quote the reactions of a great European connoisseur to the enchanting art of the Punjab of only a century ago. Laurence Binyon writes:

"I can never forget the extraordinary pleasure and exhilaration I felt when I first made acquaintance with drawings from the Kangra Valley. How was it, I thought, that such enchanting things had remained unknown to us in the West? There was one small drawing in particular, with music played to them by attendants, and hailing with joy the moon-rise over a lake. It drew one into itself, into a world of magical radiance. It was simple and poignant as a song. Since then Dr. Coomaraswamy has made us more familiar with Kangra drawing, and more examples have found their way to England. It is true that the sweetness of them, in the later productions of the school, is apt to cloy; their grace declines to a weak prettiness. But judged by its best, as it should be, the art of Kangra is a pure delight. We are not to expect from it more than it sets out to give; but where else shall we find drawings more exquisitely expressive of natural feeling, in a lyric vein? The drawing on Greek vases, the design of Japanese prints, may have other fascinations and be richer in resource, more vigorous and varied; but in the art of Kangra there is a frankness and abandon, a spontaneous directness,

which affects one like some of our own ballad-poetry, with its stock turns of phrase and its traditional refrains, but also its heart-piercing sudden sweetness. It is something unique in the world's art."

The Punjab is now perhaps the one province where some superb examples of this unique art can still be picked up in the stray shops of dealers, who have collected, as it were, the artistic sweepings from the neglected treasure houses of the old Pahari princes. The latter have no use for their patrimony and the great educated public of the Punjab is unaware of and uninterested in it. In fact, the Punjabi is really surprised and can hardly understand how such lapses from the practical standard of his well-regulated life were possible not so very long ago. The few lovely pictures occupying the centre wing of the Lahore museum have no message or apparent appeal to the new public, and at any rate have exercised no influence whatever on the art of the two or three painters who have been working in this province of martial valour, where military skill and physical prowess were once combined with a fine sense of beauty and discrimination even at a time, when the suzerainty of the central power at Delhi had become a mere shadow and the small ancient principalities and the newly risen power of the Khalsa were in a state of perpetual war.

The short space of time during which the Pahari schools of painting worked and produced so many enchanting works, constitutes a unique chapter in the artistic history of India. It is however hardly a memory now, even like the bare and deserted mausóleum of Nur-Jahan, the light of the world. Here in the growing city of Lahore many a big and costly building has been and is being built. Golden domes attest to the afluence of the community, but Art remains a forlorn refugee on the ruined eminences of the Lahore fort or in the glazed cases of the local museum. One can hardly believe that this is the province where art and æsthetic beauty reigned supreme over every department of life only a hundred years ago. Going further north to the enchanting valley of Kashmir the disillusionment becomes complete. A whole race of exquisite and patient workers has forgotten the very elements of design

and is engaged in the artistry of copying either old patterns or the tinsel wares of Europe. The cheapness of it and utter absence of anything really artistic animating these articles are unbelievable.

SOUTH INDIA.

In the great temple-cities of the South, famous for their majestic architecture, vast pillared corridors, monumental sculptures and marvellous images of metal, the state of affairs is equally depressing. The handicrafts of descendants of these master-craftsmen have no room in the homes of the intellectual Madrasi. The exquisitely printed cottons of Tanjore or Masulipatam have no markets in the country. All over there is the same refrain of neglect, want of encouragement and consequently the creeping shadow of lingering death.

THE END OF THE TRADITIONAL EPOCH.

Indian art witnessed its doom about the middle of the nineteenth century–at the very time when systematic arrangements were being made to usher in the dynamic culture of the West. A new generation of Indians trained according to the methods of the West initiated in the knowledge and manners of a new civilization was being born, and it was felt that the indigenous culture of Hindustan had either lost its vitality or the power of regeneration without the help of an external stimulus. In any case, the new culture from the Occident was welcomed, and it was really the beginning of a new era when old values were replaced by something which was not yet properly understood or appraised. A new outlook on life was being created, and in the process it was but inevitable that a culture–a civilization, which had been unable to resist the onslaughts of a new and more dynamic civilization should succumb. India had lost herself in the maze of dialectical juggleries principally concerned with arid discussions of obsolescent dogmas, and it appeared as if the old country was really aging and had outlived the period of her creative activities.

MODERN INDIA.

Three-quarters of a century is not a long period in the history of a country like Hindustan, and yet until very

recently even the memories of a fine and sensitive culture—I am principally referring to the glorious period of the Pahari paintings towards the middle of the eighteenth and the first quarter of the nineteenth century—were forgotten. It is difficult at this distance of time to realize the urbanity of culture which delighted in such extraordinarily beautiful and tender master-pieces, primarily narrative in their subject-matter and emotional in their outlook, dealing with legend, myth, Purāṇic history, episodes from the epics and above all with the everyday life of the people including their song and dance. I have come across, such ordinary articles as fans, which have been exquisitely painted on either side. Little stools, ordinary chairs, beds, tables, handkerchiefs, pieces of cloth used for playing the game of *Chausar*, playing-cards, chess-boards, household utensils—almost everything appears to have been permeated with a sense of beauty and rhythm peculiarly Indian. It is not merely distance in time that is responsible for this enchantment. To visualize the past from the remnants in pictures, cloth, utensils, furniture, is almost like creating a new world of singular charm and beauty in comparison with and contrast to the general atmosphere of costly vulgarity and tawdriness that prevails in the pretentious homes of our princes and the new urban aristocracy of lawyers, sharebrokers, enterprising speculators, traders, businessmen and money-lenders.

I have sometimes asked myself as to the whereabouts of art in modern India. I have tried in vain to locate it in the palaces of the ruling chiefs or the mansions of the rich bourgeois. So far as the poor are concerned, the struggle for existence would harldy seem to leave any time whatever for contemplation of anything so unpractical and so irrelevant as matters æsthetic. The amazing thing about modern India, despite the artistic awakening which has now been proceeding for over twenty years or more, is the extraordinary apathy of the educated Indian and his singular incapacity to understand or to respond to artistic stimuli. In fact the atmosphere for a [illegible] instructive and sympathetic understanding of art is altogether missing in this country. It is in fact easier to interest

a cultured foreigner in the artistic productions of India, past or present, than an educated Indian, who is found to be almost temperamentally unresponsive to artistic stimuli. Modern India seems to be content with either third-rate productions of European art or no art at all. There is hardly any place for painting, sculpture, or music in a modern Indian home. The artistic perception is so dim and the response so feeble that I have sometimes felt something like despair at the utter absence of taste in the decorations of the numerous public buildings which have been rising up from year to year during the last twenty-five years.

Place of Art in Modern India.

Our public buildings have hardly been affected by artistic considerations. Both the public and the Government seem to be of opinion that there is no room for sculpture or painting in the edifices constructed for public purposes—such as universities, townhalls, libraries, museums, school and college buildings, hotels, clubs, hospitals, theatres or Dharamsalas. Picture-galleries and museums are few and far between. While the public is keenly interested in the multiplication of schools and colleges, art is apparently considered useless or an extravagant waste of money and it is therefore unnecessary to make any provision for the study of Indian art—whether it be architecture, sculpture, painting or music. There is no room for artistic training in the curricula prescribed by the faculties of arts or sciences.

The result is what could have been easily foreseen. From the humble village school to the expensive auditoria and lecture-halls of our modern universities, the prevailing atmosphere is the same—one of unredeemed gloom and dreary monotony. Rhythm, colour and harmony are qualities foreign as it were to our centres of education and enlightenment. Go where you will, a home redolent with beauty and colour is a sight altogether exceptional and uncommon in this country, especially among the classes which style themselves progressive, up-to-date and educated and are reasonably prosperous, particularly in these days of economic distress when the gaunt

spectre of poverty stalks throughout the length and breadth of Hindustan. In a country where people are never tired of vaunting their so-called spirituality, one comes across amazing unconcern and lack of interest in things of abstract beauty. It is as if the very capacity of a normal human being to feel the joy and warmth of beautiful creations had somehow or other diminished in the process of his unnatural evolution in the uncongenial atmosphere of our educational establishments.

There is no doubt that whatever may be the other shortcomings of our educational system, it is certainly responsible for enfeebling the natural instinct of a normal individual for artistic appreciation and judgment, and perverting it into something singularly crude and uninviting. The famous Jaina scholar Hemachandra—the ornament of the court of Kumārapāla and practically the last of the great encyclopædic scholars of the medieval period—compares the capacity for æsthetic perception, which he considers to be a natural gift, as something akin to the experience of realizing the great Reality—*Brahmānanda*. There is no doubt whatever that there has been a tremendous and progressive decline during the last hundred years in this ability to discriminate between what is merely pretty, ephemeral and of no artistic consequence and something beautiful, dynamic and abiding, that is responsible for a new experience altogether. People travelling in China and Japan have always marvelled at the instinctive sense of the people for things beautiful, whether they be the creations of Nature or of human hands. It is as if the individual had felt in his inmost soul and grasped the all-pervasive rhythm and harmony of the great universe. Our case is somewhat different and perhaps partly pathological. Luckily we have developed a new and unlimited capacity for debiting all our failings, shortcomings and misfortunes to the account of an alien and unsympathetic government, but for whose partial interest in our artistic monuments a good many of our surviving monuments of the past would have altogether disappeared and been long forgotten. Unfortunately, however, we cannot explain away the perversion of taste or the absence of discrimination in matters artistic by the want of education—a

new mythical phantasm which is the peculiar creation of modern India for exorcizing all the ills that the country suffers from, for it is precisely the so-called educated and sophisticated classes who are least sensible to æsthetic reactions.

ART AND NATIONALISM.

The tidal sweep of modern nationalism has strangely enough not invaded the regions of artistic perception, where it might have done unmixed good and created a new *milleu* for the growth and development of a tradition really indigenous and attuned it to the real surge of the people; where it could have brought a touch of colour, added a note of harmony to relieve the depressing monotony and lifted the pall of vulgarity from our urban homes, palaces and public buildings. It may be mentioned that just as the extension of *Swadesism* by insisting on the use of our languages as the vehicles of our higher education has hitherto encountered the opposition of our own countrymen, so our artists and artistic handicrafts are being starved also by the apathy and want of support of our own intelligentsia. Or, is cheapness at any price the slogan of the new age, that makes no exceptions and has no local bias? What is however surprising is that the vitality of Indian art should have persisted and survived even in the present depressing environment and that new shoots should have sprung forth from the age-old trunk of great æsthetic traditions.

LOSS OF ARTISTIC SENSIBILITY.

What is true of sculpture and painting is equally true of music. Barring the indomitable endeavours of a few workers here and there, millions of our middle classes, educated and uneducated, are completely uninterested in and indifferent to matters of artistic moment. What is strange is not the want of their encouragement or the absence of their support, but the utter loss of artistic sensibility. It seems as if within the last hundred years a new race has come into being, different from the people who delighted in lovely little lyrics of pictorial art, in sensuous rhythms of beautiful sculptures depicting the gods and goddesses of their pantheon.

I have sometimes asked myself the question whether Indian art, if it is not to be found in the homes of the rich, can

be discovered in the abodes of the poor. At first sight the query seems to be meaningless, almost amounting to mockery when one thinks of the tumbled down hovels and the collection of mudhouses which are called villages in this country, and which seem to proclaim the despair and misery of their poverty from the house-tops. And yet curiously enough, I have found myself an admiring witness of beautiful costumes gracefully worn by the village maids; I have seen simple and ordinary articles of daily use satisfying in their artistic completeness, I have often admired beautiful spots of colour on the walls of some village houses, depicting as of old, scenes either from the Rāmāyaṇa or the Mahābhārata. I have occasionally seen pictures depicting scenes from the urban life of India-sometimes the habits and the manners of the Europeans in this country. In a far-off village at Kalakankar in the district of Partabgarh on the banks of the Ganges, I was amazed to see entire walls and ceilings having been painted, only half a century ago, with the scenes from the lives of the Europeans and from the life of the common people. These pictures are an essential part of our own old fashioned architecture. As music is an indispensable adjunct of all our festivities, so are coloured pictures considered indispensable for the houses of the well-to-do in rural areas. The old tradition still persists in areas where people are not so sophisticated and Europeanized as the educated Indian in the cities. The artists—generally fresco-painters—are the poor village craftsmen who continue to work according to ancient conventions and transmit their knowledge from generation to generation. The apathy and ignorance of the educated Indian has almost killed the arts of music and dancing in this country. The old fashioned Ustad-the musician, the actor, the dancer and not the least, the old-fashioned master-builder-architect, sculptor and painter-the repository of the ancient Śilpsāstras is now considered a superfluous relic of the past and cannot make a living. He has almost disappeared and it is doubtful whether any amount of the so-called revival will bring back his massive knowledge, his extraordinary technique and wonderful tradition of the old master.

So far as sculpture is concerned, the obsequies were performed several centuries ago. Occasionally hereditary craftsmen have been able to put up—especially in the South—some magnificent examples of temple sculpture. The future, however, is uncertain and far from hopeful.

THE NEW REVIVAL.

In the realm of pictorial art we have been more fortunate. With the rising consciousness of the people has developed a new impulse for artistic expressions. What was in its inception an eclectic movement has now become a school of organized expression. A band of workers conscious, gifted, confident and eager to revive the lost glories of their artistic heritage has spread all over the country making experiments, evolving individual techniques, assimilating the past, all the time endeavouring to say something definite and distinctive, which will not be merely a vain echo of the past, nor a lifeless copy of something which is not their own. Considering the atmosphere in which these young men have been working with little encouragement and less public support, it is surprising that they should have been able to achieve so much. The time for polemics and provincial jealousies or mutual recriminations is not yet. The pictorial revival is still the interest of the limited few. The great public is still unconcerned. It still sleeps. It has to be interested in what appears to them to be merely a hobby of a few rich collectors or the occupation of a small number of unpractical enthusiasts.

Personally I have not been able to understand or sympathize with the controversy regarding the relative merits and distinctive outlooks of the Bombay and Calcutta schools. To me the differentiation in what are called the Bengal and Bombay schools is a matter of but little import. India is vast enough to permit of several provincial dialects living as equal members of the federation of graphic and plastic arts, each one eager and untrammelled to maintain and enhance its reputation and to develop its work in its own distinctive way. Whatever may be the opinion of the professional workers, to an outsider what really matters in the long run is the expres-

sion of an emotion or an idea, and not the manner or the method by which it is expressed; for after all the æsthetic criterion is something which transcends and is independent of the use or otherwise of the latest scientific methods as applied to the art of painting or casting. Bombay and Calcutta both swear by Ajaṇṭā. So far it is all to the good. If any of them chooses to experiment in the European fashion it is its own business. Besides, experimenting is not confined only to Bombay. Gaganendranath Tagore experimented years ago in the latest modes of cubism and some of the finest work of modern India is altogether foreign to the traditions of the old schools of Indian paintings. Recently the poet Rabindranath has struck out a path of his own. There is room enough for every kind of school in this continent What is necessary for all exponents of these schools is to achieve something of importance, and to interest the public in their artistic aspirations and accomplishments.

Art and Modern Education.

It is a strange world that we are living in at present. Practical men who have been at the helm of affairs now find that all their elaborate edifice of educational enlightenment has been somewhat in the nature of a sham, that the education imparted in the ambitious lecture-halls of our universities has failed to transfigure the man into a nobler or more powerful creature. Our so-called Art Schools have been the Cinderella of the educational system. They are said to be vocational schools only fit for the children of the poor or those that have not the necessary capacity or the resources for reaping the benefit of the ordinary educational institutions. When economic depression begins to tell, it is curious that the attention of these practical men immediately turns towards the extravagance of the attenuated budgets of these Schools of Arts and Crafts. What these eminent men sometimes forget is that the acquisition of power to understand the universal language as expressed by line, colour, rhythm, gesture and song is often more important from the point of view of a normal human being than the mere capacity to read and write in a restricted medium of a provincial vernacular. The orthodox educationist

still thinks in terms literary and has still to understand that there is one language the currency of which is unhampered either by geographical barriers or by differences of language, script, custom or manners. This is the language of Art and the capacity to understand it means the power to distil the fullest enjoyment out of the gorgeous and colourful life of trees, flowers, water, sunshine and unlimited spaces.

PERSONAL CONFESSION.

In conclusion I may be permitted to make a personal confession. I have known something of what are called Natural Sciences, for I am an old Tripos man of Cambridge; I have been a lifelong student of Economics; I have been a devotee of Sanskrit, and temperamentally addicted to literary and historical studies. For eighteen years I have been doing the varied work of administration which falls to an officer in the Indian Civil Service. Art has been a late intrusion in life, hardly more than fifteen years old. But as age creeps in, as the amount of available leisure becomes less and the futility of keeping up-to-date even within the sectional limits of a subject becomes evident and the vanity of reading piles of books and becoming learned is realized, when printed matter begins sometimes to pall and the sheer output of it becomes a veritable nightmare, what solace it is to turn to the silent creations of art! It may be a mere fragment of an old-time sculpture, a worm-eaten fragment reminiscent of the pictorial art of a by-gone age, a delicious drawing or a silhouette or a miniature painting of a modern artist. They are like the strains of music of which one is never tired, which soak, as it were, into the inmost recesses of consciousness and become an integral part of it.

The language of Art is the language of humanity. It needs nothing beyond a certain amount of sensibility and life to react to æsthetic beauty. No learned comments are required, for artistic creations are complete in themselves. They bring light and radiance, joy and happiness to all those who have the capacity to grasp them and to understand them. A long acquaintance with artistic creations brings a new understanding and reveals unexpected worlds of beauty

even in regions where the ordinary eye finds nothing to arrest it or to impart a tinge of wistfulness. Æsthetic joy is like a mother's love, something indefinite but infinite, deep, silent and strong, disinterested and utterly selfless. It can be found and experienced even in the least promising circumstances. Its abode is not always to be sought in the palaces of the rich, for it can be found in the humblest home of our poverty-stricken countryside. It is something in the nature of an elementary urge which requires development and opportunities to come in contact with the immortal creations of the past and the monumental creations of the present.

An organized endeavour is needed to train up a whole people to rise to its native sense of æsthetic enjoyment. Art cannot be ignored or banished from the life of a nation without doing irreparable damage to its soul. It must have a place in the homes as well as in the class-rooms, in the temple as well as in the hospital, in places of amusement as well as in places of worship; for it is a thing of the spirit and no nation has yet arisen without the exaltation of the spirit. When the futility of mere literary training—of book learning—has been found to be more than a mere waste of time and opportunities, is it not time for the country to turn to something the results of which cannot for a moment be doubted? The past splendour of India lay not in her mythical wealth, but in the imperishable monuments of her artistic and creative mood.

THE IDENTIFICATION OF A BUDDHIST SCULPTURE FROM JAGGAYYAPEṬA.

By T. N. Ramachandran, M. A.,

(*Madras.*)

The reliefs of the stūpa at Jaggayyapeṭa, situated on the banks of the Pāler river, a tributary of the Kṛishṇā, and 30 miles north-west from Amarāvatī are of special interest because we can speak here of a local character, a special feature of which is a preference for very slim figures, "a preference which is manifested three centuries later at Amarāvatī, where the artists never seem to have had enough of the tall and narrow figures[1]". A majority of the early reliefs both from Jaggayyapeṭa and Amarāvatī, which by a comparison with the Bhārhut ones must be assigned to the second century B. C., occurs on slabs which must have belonged to an enclosing wall (prākāra) of a Buddhist temple or stūpa[2]. Amongst the reliefs from the Jaggayyapeṭa prākāra there is one which is interesting in more ways than one. Apart from its "grandeur of conception" it has given rise to much speculation in the matter of identifying the scene or scenes carved on it, and as such can be said to present many points of iconographic interest. It shall be our endeavour to show in this paper the probable identity of the figures carved on the slab.

This slab which is now preserved in the Madras Museum has been labelled by Burgess as fig. 3 of pl. lv in "The Buddhist stūpas of Amarāvatī and Jaggayyapeṭa", 1887 and its contents are briefly described by him as follows :—

"On another slab is a tall male figure, standing on a cushion with a high turban, broad necklace, armlets and

1. Bachhofer, Early Indian Sculpture, ovl. I, p. 28
2. Coomaraswamy, A royal gesture; and some other motifs, p. 57.

bracelets, and his clothing gathered principally round his waist. An umbrella is over his head, in front is the *chakra* on a short pillar, and behind his head is an object like a drum, also on a short supporting pillar. Above are clusters of objects which may be compared to the lower ends of bags, and from five different points among them stream down square objects, which, it may be, represent pieces of money. There seem to be rude devices on them similar to what are represented on the pieces of money in the Bhārhut scene of the purchase of the Jetavana by Anāthapiṇḍika (Cunningham's *Bhārhut Stūpa*, pp. 84, f. pl. xxviii, fig, 3, and pl. lvii). Before or to the right of the man stands a woman, also on a cushion, with heavy anklets and bunches of balls attached, as is sometimes worn to the present day. She has very large ear-rings, and her head-dress is of the peculiar style only found in these very early representations. Below her is a horse saddled and with a plume, but the figure is altogether below proportion even to the woman, who is about half the height of the man. Behind the central figure are two young men paying reverence to him, each with a scarf across the chest and with heavy ear-rings and large turbans; they, like all the figures, stand on cushions-possibly a conventionalism. Below them is an elephant about half their height, saddled, and with his (its) trunk raised towards the tall man. What this represents we know not: some great person, the owner of horse and elephant, with wife and sons, and symbols of authority[1] ".

Bachhofer, the author of "Early Indian Sculpture" (1929) is nearer the mark when he observes (p. 28) that the whole is "a representation of the Chakravartin, the ruler of the world, and his seven jewels[2] ".

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1. Burgess, p. 109.
2. Here it will be interesting to quote the remarks of Bachhofer on this sculpture. They run thus:—" Here it will be interesting to point out how quickly false conclusions can be drawn when the means of expression of which a given period disposed are unknown to us. Thus, in an otherwise ingenious and instructive essay, E. Senart considers the foundations upon which the figures in a relief from Jaggayyapeta are standing to be clouds, and he is therefore of opinion that the scene is taking place in boundless space (E. Senart, Notes d'Epigraphie Indienne, iii, J. A., 1890, p. 145 note).

An improvement on Bachhofer's theory is that of Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy according to whom it cannot be interpreted except as a representation of a "Chakravartin in all his glory, and as embodying the ancient Indian idea of the king as the source and fountain-head of all prosperity[1] ", "a Chakravartin, according to a formula several times repeated at Amarāvatī and found also in Ceylon[2] ", and lastly as a "standing king, who must be either the Great King of Glory Mahāsudassana of the Sūtta, or one of the early Āndhra kings known to history, in the capacity of founder or benefactor" associated with whom are the "seven treasures (*sapta-ratna*) of a Chakravartin" and whose "right hand is stretched upwards to the sky, where from a line of clouds, there is falling a rain of square punch-marked coins in five streams[3] ".

The possibilities that have to be considered here are if the central figure can be said to represent any Chakravartin endowed with the seven precious things (*sapta-ratnas*) and the four supernatural powers or gifts (*Iddhis*) and the royal insignia (*paribhoga-bhāṇḍāni*), or the Chakravartin Mahāsudassana of the Sūtta, or neither but some other. The first possi-

A glance at the other relief (this is figured by Burgess in his Amarāvati and Jaggayyapeta stūpas as no. 2 of pl. lv) ought to have sufficed to show that the suggestion is wrong. There one sees the adoration of the sacred foot-prints, and the worshipper standing outside the structure has under his feet the same foundation which Burgess takes for cushions and Senart for clouds.

I do not say that the scene has been falsely interpreted as far as the contents are concerned. It is a representation of the Chakravartin, the ruler of the world, and his seven jewels. But the figures and animals do not stand upon clouds, the latter being indicated by small half-round figurations, sticking to the upper edge of the image. Senart's "cloud" is in reality nothing else than a piece of ground or some other firm foundation upon which the figure is imagined to be standing, otherwise it would have appeared to the Hindu of that period as soaring in space. The contrary is thus intended of what Senart had supposed. A few of the early pillars of Stūpa III at Sāñchi, where a similar phenomenon may be observed, definitely dissipate the last doubt (*A. S. R.*, 1913-14, pl. 18 b, d.). -Early Indian Sculpture, vol. I, p. 28.

1. A royal gesture; and some other motifs, p. 61.
2. Rūpam, Nos. 38-9, April-July, 1929, p. 5.
3. A royal gesture; and some other motifs, p. 58.

bility can be brushed aside for it is apparent that no general or ordinary Chakravartin was intended. The details preclude this possibility. A close study of the sculptures both at Jaggayyapeṭa and Amarāvatī reveals the fact that sculptural representations of men of fame, scenes from the Jātakas and the life of the Buddha were for the most part intended. The Chakravartin in this case ought to be one of fame, of such fame as Buddhist religious texts would think of including so that the life of the particular Chakravartin thus included might serve as a model to the Buddhist brothers and sisters. Indeed, viewed in this light, the place of honour has to go most deservedly to Mahāsudassana, the Great King of Glory of the Sūtta, than whom there was no greater Chakravartin,[1] and as such the figure may be put down as representing that Chakravartin, as Dr. Coomaraswamy had done. The only objections for this identification are the line of clouds above, the rain of coins and the particular pose of the Chakravartin's right hand which is lifted up, the palm outwards. In later literature, both Buddhist and Brahmanical, we find the association of rain of wealth, gold and the like with kings and queens in a purely figurative manner.[2] We can also discern this association of rain of gold with the king in the Mahābhārata (12, 29, 25) where Maghavat is said to have rained gold on a king.

Now that Mahāsudassana is out of the question we have to make a search for other glorious men whose life-stories would be considered to deserve sculptural representation, which would be the case only if their life-accounts are such as to bring home to the Buddhist Faithful the idea that they should take to the path of virtue and cultivate such habits and conduct as would vouchsafe for them the goals of their

1. Dialogues of the Buddha, part II-Mahāsudassana-suttanta, pp. 192-232-S. B. B., vol. iii.

2. Merutuṅga, Prabandhachintāmaṇi (translated by Tawney), p. 76- "Oh king, when the cloud of your hand had begun its auspicious ascent in the ten quarters of the heavens, and was raining the nectar flood of gold.........".

Buddhacharita, I, 22-"like a line of clouds holding a lightning-flash, relieved the people around her from the sufferings of poverty by raining showers of gifts".

models, viz, those glorious men. At the same time we have to see that those life-stories account satisfactorily for the rain phenomenon etc.

According to Milinda-pañha[1] there were four men who by giving gifts, and by the practice of virtues prescribed by the Buddhist texts, attained even in their earthly bodies to glory in the city of the gods (*tidaśapura*) and they were Mandhātā, Nimi, Sādhīna and Guttila who are the heroes in the Jātakas named respectively after them.[2]

The first three were Chakravartins while Guttila was but a musician and as such does not come within the scope of our discussion. Nimi and Sādhīna too do not come within our purview; for their life-stories do not take into account the rain phenomenon in our sculpture, though they were great Chakravartins attended by all the paraphernalia that we have described already. The Chakravarin that is left out for our consideration by the process of elimination is Mandhātā, whose life appears to have caught the fancy of the Buddhist Faithful in a remarkable manner. Not only is he made the hero in Pāli Jātaka named after him but also one of the *avadānas* is devoted to him as is clear from the inclusion of his life in the Sanskrit *Divyāvadāna* (a collection of early Buddhist legends).[3] A brief account of the *Mandhātu-Jātaka* will be as follows:—

Long ago there was a Chakravartin by name Mandhātā who was endowed with the seven *ratnas*,[4] the four super-

1. *S. B. E.*, vol. xxxvi–"The questions of King Milinda", part ii, p. 145.

2. Mandhātu-Jātaka, No. 258–Cowell's edition, vol. ii, pp. 216-218;
Nimi-Jātaka, No. 541– ,, vol. vi, pp. 53–68;
Sādhīna-Jātaka, No. 494– ,, vol. iv, pp. 223–227;
Guttila-Jātaka, No. 243– ,, vol. ii, pp. 172–178.

3. Edited by Cowell and Neil, 1886 xvii, 200–228.

4. They are, as listed in the Mahāsudassana Suttānta and Lakkhana Suttānta, wheel, elephant, horse, light-giving jewel or gem (maṇi ratna which was of "vaidūrya, bright, of the finest species, with eight facets, excellently wrought, clear, transparent, perfect in every way"), woman (queen), steward or treasurer and a minister or general (pariṇāyaka). The pariṇāyaka is according to the Lalitavistara a general, and according to Buddhaghoṣha the eldest son of the king, the Yuvarāja.

natural gifts or powers[1] and the royal insignia[2] "and he was a great monarch. When he clenched his left hand, and then touched it with his right, there fell a rain of seven kinds of jewels, knee-deep, as though a celestial rain-cloud had arisen in the sky; so wondrous a man was he."[3] His life lasted for countless ages. Though he had everything that he could possibly desire, he showed signs of discontent and began to desire for more wealth, power and the like. He was told of the heaven of the four great kings to whom he went and ruled with them their kingdom too for a long time. Still his craving was not quenched. On being told by the four heavenly monarchs that the heaven of the *Trayastriṁśa* gods was more lovely than theirs, he went to that heaven where Sakka, the king of gods, gave, him half of his kingdom. Mandhātā reigned in the heaven of Sakka for ages and ages as it were, for the text says that six and thirty Sakkas had come and gone, but still Mandhātā went on as the joint ruler of the heaven without his desire and craving being quenched. His passion grew and he determined in his heart to kill the then Sakka so that he can rule the whole heavenly realm. But kill Sakka he could not. This greed of his was the root of his impending fall. "The power of life began to wane; old age seized upon him." He fell from heaven into a park belonging to his mortal kingdom and the gardener made known his return to the royal house. All the people came and gave him a place to rest in the park where he lay in lassitude and weariness await-

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1. Four iddhis-handsome and pleasing figure, long life, perfect health, popularity with priests, laymen and all. For details see Mahāsudassanasuttānta, pp. 208-9.

2. Milinda-pañha, v, 3 (*S. B. E.*, vol. ii p. 207) The royal insignia (paribhoga-bhaṇḍāni) consist of umbrella, ushṇisha or turban, chāmara, sword, and throne.

3. The Divyāvadāna version is slightly different. In it it is said the king desired that there should be a rain of gold for seven days in his private chamber or zenana and that not even a pie should fall out. Even as he desired so it happened; not even a piece fell outside his private chamber. The text itself is :-"ahovata me'ntahpure saptāham hiraṇyam varṣham pated ekakārshāpaṇo'pi vahir na nipatet. Sahachittotpādād eva rājño Māndhātasyāntahpure saptāham hiraṇyaṃ varṣham vṛshṭam ekakārshāpaṇo'pi vahir na nipātito'- Cowell's edition, p. 213.

ing his death. Pressed for a message for his people he gave the following:—"Take from me this message to the people: Mandhātā, king of kings, having ruled supreme over the four quarters of the globe, with all the 2000 islands round about, for a long time having reigned over the people of the four great kings, having been king of heaven during the life time of six and thirty Sakkas, now lies dead". With these words he died, and went to fare according to his deserts.

There are two statements in the text that throw light on the rain phenomenon in the sculpture. The first refers to the falling of "a rain of seven kinds of jewels, knee-deep, as though a celestial rain-cloud has arisen in the sky" when Mandhātā clenched his left hand and then touched it with his right.[1]

The second statement was made by the Buddha (Master) himself after he had finished the narration of the Mandhātu-Jātaka by way of drawing out the moral from the legend for the benefit of the *saṅgha*. It is in three stanzas, the latter two being the same as verses 186 and 187 of *Dhammapada*, and they are:—

" Wherever sun and moon their courses run
All are Mandhātā's servants, every one ;
Where'er earth's quarters see the light of day,
There king Mandhātā holds imperial sway.

Not though a rain of coins fall from the sky
Could anything be found to satisfy.
Pain is desire, and sorrow is unrest:
He that knows this is wise, and he is blest.

Where longing is, there pleasure takes him wings,
Even though desire be set on heavenly things.
Disciples of the very Buddha try
To crush out all desire eternally."[2]

The stanzas drawing out the moral in the story amply justify the carving of this Jātaka on a *prākāra* slab belonging to a *stūpa*. In our opinion the crux of Buddhist thought is

1. The Jātaka (Cowell's edition), vol. ii, p. 216.
2. The Jātaka (Cowell's edition), vol. ii, p. 218.

contained in this carving for the moment the Buddhist pilgrim sees this sculpture he is at once reminded of the Lord's sayings: "Not though a rain of coins fall from the sky, could anything be found to satisfy. Pain is desire.........Disciples of the very Buddha try to crush out all desire eternally". What more noble theme does the sculptor require than the Mandhā-tu-Jātaka for his sculpture which drives home the Lord's teaching in a sweet manner that art and art alone can achieve.

Let us examine the details in the sculpture in the light of the text. The clouds are represented in a double row of overlapping forms like tiles, forming the upper margin of the whole composition, which is "envisaged from an elevated point of view, according to the method known as vertical projection". This cloud formula has been discussed at some length by Dr. Coomaraswamy in his "A royal gesture: and some other motifs", p. 58. From this line of clouds there is falling a rain of square coins looking like punch-marked coins in five streams. The left hand of the Chakravartin is clenched as required by the text and this pose may be taken as almost a permanent one for the left hand for the function of rain-producing. The right hand is lifted upwards, the palm facing the spectator and the whole is in a position suggesting that the hand is in the act of coming down to touch or more probably pat or clap the clenched left. Magicians and jugglers usually resort to such tactics to punctuate the various items in their programme and to catch the eye of the spectator, and they invariably clap or pat their hands before producing the magical effects that they are up to. We may not be wrong in supposing that even as the magician or the juggler in the performance Mandhātā is here in between his rain-producing shows, each tap with the right on the clenched left auguring a stream of coins or jewels. Thus the five streams of coins would suggest that he had touched his left with his right five times, every touch bringing on its wake a stream of coins. And now the greedy monarch (that the Buddha sufficiently represents him to be) is going on vehemently with the game, for greed knows no bounds. He has

lifted his right hand and has spread the palm sufficiently. The clenched left, as I observed already, is a permanent pose, a sign of determination so to say which sufficiently represents the king's standing and unquenchable greed. What has to follow, as follow it must, is for the right to touch the left the sixth time to produce the sixth stream and so on. By such a rendering the sculptor has brought out sufficiently the import of the Lord's maxim "Not though a rain of coins fall from the sky could anything be found to satisfy." The number five in the streams has no other special significance, though it may however be suggested that they probably represent five out of the seven kinds of jewels that the rain was said to consist of. It will be seen that this by itself is not a satisfactory explanation, more so in the light of the Divyāvadāna[1] version in which we have the rain of gold in the king's private apartments and nowhere else for seven days (*saptāham hiraṇyam varṣham vṛishṭam p. 213*). Everything considered the explanation that the five streams are the results of pattings of the hands five times and the forerunners of several more to come or in other words that the whole is symbolical of the king's greed seems to be satisfactory. The other details, *viz*, the *saptaratnas* have been well identified.

A similar scene with the cloud and coin formulæ atrophied can be seen on one of the friezes (B. 346) excavated by Mr. Longhurst recently at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Guntūr District. It may probably be said to represent the Mandhātu Jātaka. Yet another scene found on the rail pillar of the Amarāvati

1. The Divyāvadāna is a collection of very early Buddhist legends and unlike the Mahāvastu is generally written in fairly correct Sanskrit by various authors. Most of the legends belong to the Vinayapitaka; they are not translations from any Pāli original. Like the others which relate to As'oka's history they seem to come down from an independent source. According to Cowell and Neil (p. viii) "they have all suffered from the careless ignorance which characterises Nothern as opposed to Southern Buddhism; they are the isolated fragments which alone survive from what was once a large literature". Some light is thrown on their age and relation to the Buddhist schools by the fact that there is no mention in them of Avalokites'vara, Mañjus'ri or the "Om maṇi padme hūm" except perhaps in Avadāna, xxxiii, p. 613, l. 26.

stūpa[1] shows a Chakravartin in the midst of the seven ratnas. As however neither the cloud line nor the coins are in evidence we cannot say that the Mandhātu Jātaka was intended there; probably the Chakravartin represented is either Mahāsudassana of the Sūtta or Nimi or Sādhīna of the Jātakas.

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[1] Burgess, pl. v, 2.

A NEW SPECIMEN OF KĀRTIKEYA FROM RAJAHMUNDRY.

By R. Subba Rao, M.A., L.T., F.A.U.

(*Rajahmundry.*)

With a view to construct the municipal water-works at Rajahmundry, the department of public works excavated the site known as Pushpagiri on the eastern bank of the river Godāvarī and found, early in 1933, a beautiful stone image of Kārtikeya or Kumarāsvāmi, seated on a peacock. Both the god and his vehicle are wrought out in excellent finish on granite stone with correct proportions. From the projected stone-stand, found at the bottom of the image, it is learnt that it formed at one time the Mūla-virāṭ or original central figure set up in a shrine which must have existed at the same site in the 10th or 11th century A. D. A figure of Nandī or Bull in a couchant posture and other interesting specimens of sculpture in stone are also found in the same area showing that, in the ancient period referred to above, there was a Śaivite temple on the spot. A fully decorated humped bull, standing on a four-legged stand, made of copper and one big bell and two small ones as well as light jyotulu (lamps for burning lights and camphor before god), all made of copper, have since been excavated from the site. A stone slab, containing an inscription in old Tel-Kannaḍa letters and belonging to Saka year 994 or A. D. 1072 and recording gifts of lamps to God Mārkaṇḍa Maheśvara by Bhīma, the illustrious minister of the Eastern Chālukya Emperor Vijayāditya VII (A. D. 1063-1077), has also been recovered from the same site. This fixes to a large extent the age of the stone image of Kārtikeya. A Telugu work, called Bhīma Khaṇḍam, by Śrīnātha Kavi refers to the existence of a temple of Vīrabhadra on the same site long before the 15th century.

An image of this kind has not been found so far in this part of the country in any of the temples or museums and this is probably due to the fact that worship of Gaṇeśa is really more popular in these parts than that of Kārtikeya or Viśākha or Subrahmaṇya as the god is popularly known. He is the same as Kumārasvāmi or Mahāsena, a name we get in all the Eastern Chālukya plates as the tutelary or family god of the kings whose feet they worshipped for the increase of their kingdom. It is therefore gratifying to find this new image of Kārtikeya or Kumārasvāmi or Subrahmaṇya in this place, the capital of the Eastern Chālukya kings.

The height of the image is 2 feet 3 inches and that of the stand or pedestal 3 inches. The breadth of the image is 1½ feet. To the right side of the main head are found three more heads and to the left two more. Thus, we get a Shaṇmukha or six-faced god. The *Vishṇudharmottara* states that he will have six faces and twelve hands like his female counterpart called Kumārī, whose vehicle also is a peacock. We get twelve hands for this image also. On the right side, the main hand shows *Abhaya* (protection) posture and the top first hand holds *Triśūla* (trident), the second *Gadā* (mace), the third *Kukkuṭa* (cock), the fourth *Nāgali* (plough) and the fifth *Vajra* (thunderbolt). On the left side, the main hand shows *Varada* (gift-bestowing) posture. The top first hand holds *dhanus* (bow), the second *gaṇḍra goḍḍali* (battle-axe), the third *pāśam* (noose), the fourth *padmam* (lotus) and the fifth *ghaṇṭā* (bell). The god wears a crown (*kirīṭa*) and garlands in the neck and scarf and jewels for the shoulders, arms and wrists. He is thus richly decorated and made majestic.

The portrait shows an appearance of valour and strength, dignity and proportion. The vehicle of peacock is also wrought out most beautifully. Śakti or spear, *Vajra* or thunderbolt, and *Taṅka* or chisel are said to be his characteristic weapons.

It is as God of War and Might, Victory and Peace that he was worshipped by kings of several dynasties and particularly the Chālukyas. He is still worshipped by millions of people in South India for getting success and wealth.

THE PROPOSED IDENTIFICATION OF THE 'MOTHER & CHILD' IMAGES AS SADYOJĀTA.

By Niradbandhu Sanyal, M.A., B.L.

(*Rajshahi.*)

In a short note on the 'Mother and Child' images of Bengal, contributed as an appendix to the Annual Report of the Varendra Research Society, 1928–29, I attempted to review the various opinions that had there-to-fore been given with regard to the identity of these images and pointed out that they conformed very closely to the Purāṇic description of the representation of the Nativity of Kṛishṇa. Since then Mr. N. K. Bhaṭṭaśālī in his *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical sculptures in the Dacca Museum* has suggested that they represent Sadyojāta-Maheśvara. In the present paper, I propose to discuss how far his opinion is tenable.

The main ground on which Mr. Bhaṭṭaśālī seems to support his conclusion is that on the top of these sculptures are found figurines representing Śiva in the form of a Liṅga[1], Gaṇeśa, Kārttikeya and sometimes also Navagraha and other deities, which in his opinion indicate the Śaiva nature of these sculptures. On this assumption, he has endeavoured to trace out a subject in the Śaiva pantheon answering to the representations under note. One of the five aspects of Śiva is Sadyojāta. This word he takes etymologically to mean 'a child just born[2]', and hence supposes that these images are representations of this form of Śiva.

1. For similar symbolic representations of S'iva along with images of other deities, cf. Bloch, Supplementary Catalogue of the Archaeological collection of the Indian Museum, p. 92, Nos. 3831, 3828 and 3830.

2. Regarding the import of the appellation Sadyojāta, cf. Vāyu Purāṇa (Vaṅgavāsī ed), XXIII, 66–67.

But it must, however, be admitted that the justification of assuming these sculptures as Śaiva, on account of the existence of the figures referred to on the top of the slab, depends on the significance of their presence. What are they there for? Are they inserted as a sectarian symbol or as an excerpt of the whole narrative? In solving this problem, it will be observed that these narrative sculptures with a group of deities including the Śiva-liṅga appearing above the main figures of the composition differ from the images of individual gods and goddesses with single Liṅgas at the top (e.g. Manasā, No. 485, in the Rajshahi Museum, a Gaṇeśa in the Patna Museum), and may be compared with Nos. 75 and 77 of the Rajshahi Museum, representing respectively the dance of Śiva and his marriage, or with the Mahiṣhamarddinī of Dhānuka referred to in my paper mentioned above. The existence of Viṣhṇu among the gods on the top of these sculptures does not evidently indicate that they are Vaiṣhṇava. I add here another example from Tetrawan now in the Indian Museum wherein the meaning of these details is more easily understood. In this specimen, there are Viṣhṇu, Kārttikeya and other gods over the head of a Buddha figure calling the Earth to witness (Rūpam, No. 40, fig. 43). There is thus little room to doubt that in such cases the deities on the top of the stella are only meant to be represented in the air as witnesses of the scene as described in the legend. They are of little help in giving us any definite idea about the character or the theme of the representation. They are only accessories, not essentially connected with the composition, and perhaps, omitted on that account from images of 'Mother and Child' of an earlier date (cf. a specimen from Pathari, of the seventh century now in the Gwalior Museum, Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, Pl, XLVII, fig. 178). It is thus seen that the contention for accepting the 'Mother and Child' images as Śaiva is not absolutely without any doubt.

Now consider how far their identification as Sadyojāta is confirmed by iconographic prescriptions. In Iconography,

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Yasmādahañcha deves'a tvayā guhye pade sthitā |
V[illegible] svena tapasā sadyojātaḥ sanātanaḥ ||
S[illegible]ti Brahmaitad guhyañchaiva prakīrttitam |

it is hazardous to make an idea of the form of an image from the etymological meaning of the name of the deity. To cite for instance the case of Aghora, the word etymologically means 'non-terrific', but iconographically, Aghora is just the opposite. To identify an image, our only reliable authority is the *dhyānas* from which the sculptor derives the knowledge of the object he is to represent. I quote below a *dhyāna* of Sadyojāta mentioned in the *Prapañchasāra Tantra*, which agrees also with the description of the god in the *S'rītattvanidhi* (Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, Vol. II, pt. 2, p. 378, also Ibid, App. B. p. 191).

"As Sadyojāta He is white like the jasmine (Kunda) and Mandāra flowers. He is four-armed, holding in his two hands the Veda and rosary of Rudrāksha beads and in the other two he makes the gestures which grant boons (*varada*) and dispel fear (*abhaya*)". – (*Prapañchasāra Tantra*, Tāntrik texts, Vol. III, ed. Arthur Avalon, Calcutta, Intro. ch. XXVI, p. 51).

Rao refers to a *dhyāna* occurring in the *Rūpamaṇḍana* describing Sadyojāta as follows :—

"Sadyojāta has a placid face, expressive of joy. He is three-eyed, and wears a pair of ear-rings, with a white raiment and a garland of white flowers. His body is covered with white sandal paste, and his hair is dressed high, crowned with a crescent moon" (Rao, *op. cit.*, App. B, p. 190).

These *dhyānas* speak for themselves. They have not the least resemblance with the image in question. If the fancy of the Indian sculptor was limited strictly by a stereotyped iconographic convention, it hardly stands to reason that a single exception will be made in favour of Sadyojāta where the type will wholly differ from the text.

In fact, Mr. Bhaṭṭasālī himself admits, ." Unfortunately the *dhyānas* for Sadyojāta given in the *Tantras* do not describe him as a new-born babe." He is thus constrained to abandon his original position and chooses eventually to take these images as a variety of the Vaivāhika-mūrti. Sadyojāta and Vaivāhika-mūrti are entirely different in their origin and conception. In all Vaivāhika-mūrtis again Śiva and Pārvatī are

clearly recognisable with the help of the attributes they carry. Such distinctive emblems are, however, absent in the present case. Mr. Bhaṭṭaśāli refers to the presence of the Navagrahas as indicating that 'these images may have some connection with the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī.' But although Navagrahas are sometimes found on the top of some Vaivāhika-mūrtis, it is well-known that they are not connected exclusively with those alone, and appear in other images as well (e. g. Daśāvatāra slab, No. 216, Chaṇḍī No. 11 in the Rajshahi Museum). By themselves they are hardly of any value for our purpose. In support of his contention, he cites also a passage from the *Brahma Purāṇa* (Ch. XXXVIII) describing Pārvatī's *Svayaṁvara*. It is quoted below as translated in his book:

"When the divine daughter of the Mountain came with a garland in her hands to the assembly of the gods where she was to choose her husband, Śiva, in order to test her, assumed the form of a child and was found sleeping on the lap of the bride. She, perceiving the child and coming to know through meditation that he was the god himself, accepted him with pleasure. Then the daughter of the Mountain, glad to receive the husband that her heart desired for, returned from the assembly holding the child against her breast."

It will be observed that the scene of Pārvatī reclining on a cot with an attendant massaging the sole of her feet hardly answers the above description. In the natural way of representing such a story, Pārvatī should be figured either as seated or standing in the centre of the composition with child Śiva in her arms, with perhaps the divine guests around her. It may also be observed that the attitude of the 'mother' looking wistfully at the 'child', who is drinking at her breast, hardly suggests the relation of husband and wife between the two. Indeed, there are unmistakable indications of the 'mother' being attended to after her labour.

Mr. Bhaṭṭaśāli attempts also to support his views from two inscribed labels on two images of 'Mother and Child'. I would not discuss here his readings of the two inscriptions or the interpretations he puts on them, as he himself sums up the

result of his endeavour as follows:—"These two inscriptions, then, do not bring us much nearer a correct identification of these 'Mother and Child' images and we must wait for better inscriptions to turn up in future."

It will thus be observed that the contention for identifying the 'Mother and Child' images as Sadyojāta fails to carry conviction. On the contrary, as there are distinct references in the *Bhavishyottara Purāṇa* and other texts relating to *Kṛishṇa-janmāshṭamī* that the birth-scene of Kṛishṇa should be represented with an image of Devakī lying as just delivered on a couch in the centre with child Kṛishṇa as suckling on her breast, Lakshmī shampooing her feet and gods and genii of every kind as soaring above in the air (cf. *Annual Report of the Varendra Research Society,* 1928–29 App., pp. 20–21), it is only uselessly taxing our ingenuity to associate a different theme with the representations under note. As the representation of the holy nativity is an integral element in the ritual of Kṛishṇa-janmāshṭamī, the abundance of these images of 'Mother and Child' is easily accounted for. Is there any evidence that the cult of Sadyojāta was ever so popular ?

SIGNIFICANCE OF TEMPLE ARCHITECTURE.

By Dr. R. Shamasastry, B.A., Ph.D.

(*Mysore*).

A special feature of temple architecture is the carving of figures representing the stories of the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata on the towers and walls of temples and on the body of temple cars. Curiously enough, there are also seen some indecent carvings, representing the amorous sports of men or of beasts.

The purpose of these carvings seems to be the representation of the four Purushārthas or human pursuits, as stated in the Śilparatnākara and other works on temple architecture. The Rathaśāstra says that there ought to be the representations of the four Purushārthas or human pursuits on the body of a temple car (Purushārthayutam). The Śilparatnākara says that there ought to be carved figures representing the incarnations of Vishṇu or Śiva, amorous sports, and stories (Īśāvatārakrīḍādikathārūpāṇi chaiva hi).

The space on the walls of temples and on the body of temple cars is divided into four parts. The lowest part is allotted to the figures representing Dharmapurushārtha or moral law. The second is assigned to the delineation of Arthapurushārtha or wealth-producing activities. The third part is taken up for the representation of Kāmapurushārtha or pursuits of humanity in the field of enjoyment of animal passions. The top-most part is allotted to delineation of Mokshapurushārtha or religious pursuits to attain emancipation. This seems to be the order followed in the artistic carvings made on the walls of temples and temple cars.

Accordingly we find on the space at the bottom Ādi-Sesha bearing on his thousand-hooded head the globe of the

earth. Here Śesha represents moral law. On the space next above it we find representations of marriage or battle scenes of ancient kings. On the third part are seen dancing figures or carvings of persons engaged in amorous sports. On the top-most part are seen the pictures of saints, Siddhas, and Yogis who are said to have attained any one of the various forms of emancipation.

The following is an English translation of the verses found in the works on temple architecture:—

"On the right side Gaṇeśa is carved; on the north Kṣhetreśa and Īśāna dancing; at the door the door-keepers; the incarnations of Īśa together with the figures illustrating persons engaged in amorous sports; and stories around the wall, as stated". (Silparatnākara, under the head "Nasi").

"An eternal abode fit for the abode of gods and the twice-born; on the exterior and on the interior shall an expert artisan make the Chhatras (?) of all with the representation of auspicious stories and of acts of devotion and dance". (Mayamata, under the head "Towers").

"Together with the Purushārthas the measure of Karṇa is thus described. Any one measure of 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 Nāḍis; or with 12 Nāḍis; or on a small scale, as 2. On the front and back side shall an expert artisan make a dancing figure". (Rathaśāstra.)

All these works are in manuscript form and are found in the library of Mr. Siddaliṅgasvāmi, an excellent sculptor and painter in Mysore.

The verses are as follows:—

(1) Dakṣhiṇena gaṇeśānaṁ uttare nṛittarūpiṇaṁ.
kṣhetreśaṁ chaiva cheśānaṁ dvāre taddvārapālakān.
Īśāvatārakrīḍādikathārūpāṇi chaiva hi.
mūlabhittau cha parito vinyaseduktalakṣhaṇam.

(2) Devānāṁ cha dvijānāṁ cha vāsayogyaṁ sanātanam bahirantaścha sarveshām chhatraṁ yuñjīta buddhimān sumaṅgalakathopetaṁ śraddhānṛittakriyānvitam.

(3) Purushārthayutam evam karṇamānamudīritam trichatushpañchashaṭsapta-chāshṭanādyekanādikā. Ekaṁ tu bhārayuktaṁ syāt kshudre tu dvayameva vā. mukhe pṛishṭhe nāṭyabimbaṁ kuryāduktaṁ viśāladhīh.

A STUDY OF TIBETAN PAINTINGS OF THE PATNA MUSEUM.

By Rai Saheb Manoranjan Ghosh, M. A.

(*Patna*).

1. *Introduction.*

Situated on the north of the Himalayas, Tibet is the highest country in the world, comprising tablelands, averaging about 16,000 feet above the sea, the valleys being at 12,000 feet to 17,000 feet and the passes at 16,000 feet to 19,000 feet.

Secluded from the outside world, Tibet has developed a peculiar culture. Religion occupies a predominating position in the life of the Tibetan people. Their religion is the form of Buddhism which was introduced into Tibet in the 7th century A. D. under King Song-sren-Gampo. In A. D. 1013 Dharmapāla came to Tibet with several of his disciples. In 1042 A. D., Atiśa left the Vikramśila monastery at the age of 50 and came to Tibet where he died fourteen years later. He founded the Kar-ma-pa sect of Tibetan Buddhism and wrote a number of works. He translated many other works relating principally to Tāntrik theories and practices.

Before Buddhism entered Tibet, it had a long development in the soil of India. With the introduction of Buddhism, Indian Buddhist art was also introduced into Tibet.

Tibetans had no local art. The art that was introduced from Tibet was the art tradition of Nālandā and Vikramśila. Tibetans copied the master-products of sculpture and painting from India especially the Pāla art of Bihar. In course of time Chinese art influenced the Tibetan art.

2. *Descriptions of Tibetan paintings in the Patna Museum.*

Rev. Rāhula Sāṅkṛityāyana of the Mahābodhi Society who went to Tibet brought with him some 134 paintings of which 110 paintings are coloured and 20 paintings are block-printed. Out of the lot, 40 paintings are of very outstanding merit. There are 12 paintings inscribed. They belong to the 17th century A. D. They were acquired from the great monastery of Tashilumpo in Tibet. There is another set of nine paintings with portraits of eight Indian philosophers with Buddha in the centre. They are also inscribed and belong to the 17th century A. D. and were acquired from the same monastery. There is a third lot of 13 paintings of historicial personages in Tibet. They belong to first half of the 18th century A. D. and were acquired from an "incarnate" Lāmā of Lhāsā.

The subjects of the 40 Tibetan paintings are:—

(1) Buddhist Indian philosophers, (2) Historical personages of Tibet such as Tibetan scholars, mystics, Dālāi-lāmās, &c., (3) Representative of Buddha, Bodhisattvas, Mahākāla, Jātakas and lot of other male and female deities of later developed cult. There is a painting of Bodh-Gayā about 80 years old. Besides the above 40 paintings, there are 70 paintings of which some are very beautiful. They are all representations of later Buddhist deites. Some of the paintings are quite modern.

Omitting historical personages of Tibet, I shall give short biographical notes about the Indian Buddhist philosophers of which paintings are in the Patna Museum.

(1) Arhat Subhūti-He is represented as preaching against a beautiful background. He is one of the prominent disciples of Gautama Buddha and is much venerated by the followers of Mahāyāna Cult.

(2) Bhavya-He flourished in India in the 5th century A. D. He is a Buddhist philosopher and is a commentator of Madhyamaka Kārikā of Nāgārjuna of 2nd century A. D. Nāgārjuna is represented in the painting in the upper left hand corner. The painting depicts the debate of the heretic and his ordination in the Buddhist Brotherhood.

(3) King Mañjuśrīkīrti–He is a great Buddhist mystic. He propounded the Kālachakra cult of Buddhism.

(4) Ratnākaraśānti–He is a great Buddhist philosopher and a poet. He was the head of Vikramśila university in the end of 10th century A. D.

(5) Nāgendra–He is a Buddhist scholar and an authority on Vinaya.

(6) Diṅnāga–He flourished in the 5th century A. D. and was a disciple of Vasubandhu.

(7) Asaṅga–He flourished in the 4th century A. D. He was the elder brother of Vasubandhu and was born in Peshawar. He was the founder of the Buddhist idealistic philosophy.

(8) Nāgārjuna–He flourished in the 2nd century A. D. He is the founder of the Buddhist Madhyamaka philosophy and the great propounder of Mahāyāna.

(9) Āryadeva–He flourished in the 2nd century A. D. He is the disciple of Nāgārjuna and is the author of many philosophical treatises and was born in Ceylon.

(10) Vasubandhu–He flourished in the 4th century A. D. He is the author of Abhidharmakośa and is a great Buddhist philosopher.

(11) Dharmakīrti–He flourished in the 7th century A. D. at the Nālandā university. He is a great Buddhist logician and is the author of the Pramāṇa–Vārtika, a book on Indian logic.

(12) Śubhakara–He is a great Buddhist teacher.

The first four paintings are beautifully decorated with many subordinate scenes. Delineation of clouds, flowers, drapery are done with a masterly hand. The colour is bold. The portrait is conventional. Subdued tone of these early paintings is very artistic. They may have been copies but copies have deen done by experienced hands. The rest of the eight paintings of Buddhist philosphers are plain with very little docoration. Portraits are conventional but the poses and expressions of face are beautiful and attractive.

Among representations of Tibetan scholars, mystics and Dālāi-lāmās there are at least two of great artistic merit. They are real portraits. The expression of face, colour used are always fine and realistic. These two paintings, I think, are original productions and not copies.

All Tibetan paintings whether they represent Bodhisattvas or saints of Tibet and India, include representations of fierce deities, often accompanied by their female counterpart.

These fierce deities were all derived from the Śaivite cult of India. These fierce deities are however wanting in ancient paintings of Tibet which depict episodes from the life of Śākya-Muni Buddha. The Tibetans after they borrowed the fierce deities of India greatly developed them.

3. *Tibetan paintings of Buddhist philosophers and writers of ancient India and historical personages of Tibet.*

The importance of the Tibetan paintings collected by Rev. Rāhula Sāṅkṛityāyana and now deposited in the Patna Museum lies in the fact that some of them are inscribed in Tibetan characters describing the subject of the painters. They can be dated and chronologically aranged. The great historical personages of Tibet are well represented in the Museum collection. There are representations of the first seven Dālāi-lāmās in the Tibetan paintings of the Patna Museum. It is for the first time that we find representation of great Buddhist philosophers of India about twelve in number; short biographical notes about them have already been recorded.

4. *Style of paintings and their relation to paintings of Ajaṇṭā &c.*

It has already been mentioned that the Tibetan paintings although derived from Indian paintings have been influenced much by Chinese paintings in later days. We find in the Tibetan paintings the fine brush-work derived from the art tradition of Ajaṇṭā. The floral decoration in Tibetan painting is beautiful and the choice of colours is very pleasing. The pose of figures is artistic and is truly Indian. Nature in infinite variety is always portrayed in beautiful colours. Birds and beasts are there, strangely mixed with representation of fierce deities.

Tibet, situated between India on the one hand and China on the other, has mingled the beautiful traditions of Indian and Chinese arts in varying proportions. In the representations of Avalokiteśvara we find the Indian element predominating. The floral decorations in the painting is a reminiscence of the decorative devices of Ajaṇṭā. The Tibetan painting is a conventional painting but there is much that is original and the decorative devices such as delineation of clouds is very charming. There is a blending of Indian and Chinese architecture in the Tibetan paintings which although not symmetrical is not harsh.

The paintings of Buddha, Bodhisattva, Mahākāla, Tārā, Yamāntaka are always relieved and monotony broken by uses of miniatures showing monasteries, temples and other small scenes such as lotus-pond, swan etc. In drawing delicate curves, graceful folds of cloth, Tibetan artists are very successful. There is a beautiful blending of colours in Tibetan painting. The art, although conventional, is manly and vigorous.

5. *Present state of Tibetan paintings.*

All the big monastic universities of Tibet have arrangements for the study of painting. Boys are trained from early ages. In some families the art of painting is hereditary. Everyone in Tibet wants to get hold of a good artist. In Tibet the profession of a painter is very attractive. In every house at least one or two paintings adorn the walls. The climate of Tibet is cold and dry. Paintings have been found beautifully preserved.

6. *Different periods in the development of Tibetan paintings.*

The earlier Tibetan art is purely Indian and there is a complete absence of the representation of fierce deities in them. The Patna Museum has no painting of the early school. All the paintings in the Patna Museum show the Chinese influence.

In fact the Tibetan art of painting was purely Indian in the first period. Then came the influence of China when

Tibet became subordinate to China. The extant Tibetan paintings mainly belong to the second period. The third period shows a decadence of art although here and there we find traces of masterly works.

7. *Other points.*

The Tibetan paintings are known as temple banners (thang-ka). Majority of Tibetan paintings are reproduced by means of transfers. Transfers are made on a piece of cotton, canvas or silk. They are coated with a mixture of glue prepared from powdered leather well boiled and mixed with gum and other ingredients. They are then mixed with chalk-dust. Later on, the surface thus prepared is smoothed with the polished part of a sea shell.

The workers on silk are mainly good artists who copy direct without using a transfer. The outline is made by a charcoal specially burnt in a narrow copper tube. Then the subject is painted.

8. *Conclusion.*

It is fortunate that Tibet has preserved the great tradition of the art of painting of Ajaṇṭā and Bāgh. By reason of wars and political traditions the continuity of the old schools of Indian painting is broken in India, but Tibet has kept the continuity to a great extent. The old art of India disappeared during the Muhammedan period: in the Moghul period there was a revival but old indigenous art was much influenced by the Persian art and changed. Tibet has not been fully explored. There are many monasteries where very old manuscripts and early Tibetan paintings are still preserved. They may give better materials for the study of Tibetan art and its relation to the art of India.

A PRELIMINARY NOTE ON THE NEWLY DISCOVERED KURKIHĀR FINDS.

BY KSHITISH CHANDRA SARKAR, M. A , B. L.

(Rajshahi).

In November 1930, the report of a discovery of a vast hoard of relics from Kurkihār, in Bihar attracted the attention of the learned world. In company with my collaborator Mr. S. K. Saraswati, M. A., Government Research Scholar, attached to the Rajshahi Museum, I undertook a tour of Archæological exploration during the Christmas week of 1931 through some portion of Bihar.

Rai Hariprasad Lal, the Zemindar of Kurkihār was good enough to give us some facilities but our inspection of the site and relics was a short and hurried one and the following account is merely a preliminary note in order to rouse interest and stimulate study and research on this ancient site and some of the unique and precious gold-plated bronzes found therein. It is also meant to demonstrate the urgent necessity for its protection and systematic excavation of the existing mound which measures about 600 ft. square with a height of about 20-25 ft. above the level of the surrounding paddy fields.

Earlier notices.

About three miles to the north east of Wazirganj, a railway station on the section of the South Bihar Railway, lies the ancient village of Kurkihār. It is situated nearly sixteen miles to the north east of Gayā. Sir Alexander Cunningham who visited the place in 1861 believes Kurkihar[1] to be a contracted form for Kukkuṭapāda Vihāra or Kukkuṭapāda Giri, des-

1. A. S. R. Vol. I, p. 15.

ascribed by both the celebrated Chinese travellers Fa-hien and Hiuen Tsang as also by several Buddhist treatises to be the scene of some of the miracles of the Buddhist saint Kāśyapa, disciple of Buddha. According to Hiuen Tsang, Kukkuṭapāda Giri was a "three-fold cliff which projects in isolated loftiness reaching to the sky and blending with the clouds "[2] It has been sought to be identified with three bare rugged hills about half a mile to the north of the village, "rising boldly out of the plain and touching one another at their bases." There appears to have been a Stūpa, on the top of the mountain most probably the remnants of one, said to have been built by Ajātaśatru on the holy site.[3]

The ruins which abound in the village really testify to the existence of a flourishing Buddhist site and it is not unlikely that the name gradually contracting into Kurakihār (Sanskrit, Kukkuṭa = Hindi, Kurak) gave the village probably her present name, Kurkihār.

The place was next visited by Sir Aurel Stein in 1901 but he did not however lend support to the general belief of its identity[4] with Kukkuṭapāda Giri, the legendary resting place of the great saint, Kāśyapa. He, nevertheless emphasised on "the considerable importance of the place in ancient times, as can be judged from the extent of its ruined mounds and the remarkable amount of old sculptures, carved building stones and ancient bricks which have been and are still being extracted from them."

General note.

The mound bears all over its flat surface numerous pits testifying to frequent spoliations for brick contents in course of which lots of images were also found. The latest discovery was made in November, 1930; when quarrying bricks for the land-lord of the locality, the diggers came across a rich hoard of ancient relics-mostly bronze sculptures of various sizes

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2. Watters, Yuan Chwang, Vol. II, p. 143.
3. Watters, Yuan Chwang, Vol. II, p. 145.
4. A tour in South Bihar and Hazaribag, Indian Antiquary, Vol. XXX, [illegible]1, pp. 84–86.

deposited in earthen vessels——some 25ft. below the present surface of the mound. The size of the bricks are unusually large measuring $16\frac{3}{4}'' \times 10\frac{1}{4}'' \times 2\frac{1}{4}''$, the measurement coinciding with those of the Gupta bricks found at Śrāvastī.[5] A fuller excavation is, therefore, necessary to ascertain the character and plan of the building laid bare.

The most interesting feature of the Kurkihār finds may be characterised by its richness as well as by its variety. There are nearly 218 relics including large and miniature bronze images most of them being gold plated. Apart from the dislodged backplates and pedestals there are bronze votive stūpas, brorhze bells, bronze chhattras, conches, conch-stands and last of all, though not the least, a unique specimen of a crystal stūpa. Most of the relics being covereˀ over with verdigris, the details and inscriptions which most of them are found to bear could hardly be deciphered then. It is worth noticing that the inscriptions on some of these images bear "Ye dharmā hetuprabhavā etc.", the usual Buddhist creed. They are inscribed on the circular pieces soldered at the back. It is probable that these were cast from dice and then soldered at the backs of images. Again, there are sockets in the ornaments and crowns of the bronze images to show that they were originally set with jewels. In fact a splendid specimen gold-plated Padmapāṇi still bears an emerald on the crown. In most of the images, the eyes, *tilakas* and ornaments are made up of a whitish metal resembling silver. But the landlord of the locality Mr. Hariprasad informed us that Mr. K. P. Jayswal (the President-elect of this Conference) on inspection has opined that it might be platinum. Expert chemical examination however is necessary to ascertain the true nature of the metal or before anything definite can be said on the point. If Mr. Jayaswal proves right, or for the matter of that Mr. Haıiprasad, the history of platinum will go so far back as as the 9th century A. D. to which the sculptures mostly belong.

Bronze casting.

Quite a good number of bronze images being found in one centre, one is naturally inclined to learn a little about the

5. A. S. I. A. R. 1910-11, p. 23.

bronze casting in ancient India. These bronzes found at Kurkihār were evidently all cast, by what is known "cire perdue" or wax-melting process. First of all a wax model of the object is prepared to which are applied two or three coatings of fine clay mixed with cowdung. The coatings are dried in open air in shade and a few other coatings of fine clay mixed with husk are then applied, and when completely dry it is heated and the wax melts away through a hole leaving a vacuum. Molten metal is then poured into the vacuum through the hole and when cool the clay encasement is removed and the image finished off with chisel.

Gold-plating.

Some of the bronze images from Kurkihār are gold-plated and it is a wonder how in those hoary days such fine plating thinner even than an egg-shell could be made to stick so fast as not to crumble away even after centuries of underground burial. I have not as yet come by any ancient text describing the system of gold-plating in Ancient India. But the system of gilding images is still preserved in Nepāl and the method as can be gleaned from Mr. Bhikhurāj, the owner of an image factory in Nepāl seems to have kept the old tradition of the gilding process of those days.

"On the chiselled smooth surface of an image they (Newari artists) apply a preparation of mercury and then a quasi-liquid paint of which the chief ingredients are gold dust and mercury. Finally the image is heated in cowdung fire and the gold-plating thus sticks permanently to its surface."[6] In the course of heating, mercury evaporates leaving a deposit of gold dust on the surface and thus the plating is done.

Most of these finds consists of Buddhistic specimens, 6 or 7 only being Brahmanical. Of the Buddhist specimens there are nearly 51 Buddha figures and as many as 31 crowned Buddhas. The problem of the crowned Buddha still perplexes the scholars. The anomalous position of a monk in Royal garb has led scholars to describe such Buddha images as un-

6. Modern Review (1926) – A gold plated bronze image from Mahasthān.

canonical,[7] and often as presenting unorthodox forms.[8] Rai Bahadur R. P. Chanda suggests that "this group of crowned figures evidently represents a new type of Buddha that originated in Eastern India in the Pāla period".[9] Some have tried to identify such group with Ādi Buddha, the great primordial Buddha who is described as the father of Buddhas. Of the explanations so far advanced that of Mon. Paul Mus, that " the type came into existence through the copying in stone of larger statues of the Buddha of the monastic type, but adorned for ritual purposes with real jewels" seems so far to be the most plausible one."[10]

The standing Buddhas which number 26, show the usual attitude of the Gupta Buddhas, right hand showing the Abhaya and left hand holding the hem of the Saṅghāṭī which covers the whole body from neck to the ankles and to the very wrist.

Buddhistic Sculptures.

Among many interesting specimens of Bronze sculptures found at Kurkihār with regard to variety, a particular mention may be made of the Buddhist deity Kurukullā, Avalokiteśvara (Vajradharma Lokeśvara[11]), the specimen depicting the scene of the Buddha's descent from the Trāyastriṁśa heaven and a Brāhmanical deity Balarāma.

The Buddhist goddess Kurukullā is very rarely represented, the recital of whose mantra (Om Kurukulle Hrī Amukaṁ Vaśamānaya Ho Svāhā) is said to confer success in the Tantrik rite of Vaśikaraṇa or the right of subduing men women, Asuras, and even the gods. (Yasya smaraṇamātreṇa sadevāsuramānuṣāḥ, dhruvam kiṅkaratāṁ yānti tāṁ namasyāmi Tāriṇīm (Sādhanamālā, 172).

7. Sahni-Catalogue, Sarnath Museum. page 103.

8. Coomaraswamy, Museum of Fine arts Bulletin, 1924, No. 132.

9. A. S. I. Annual Report, 1921-22, p. 105.

10. Le Buddha Pare origine indienne.
S'ākyamuni Dans le Mahayanisme Moyen.
Par Paul Mus. B. E. F. E. O, XXVIII, 1928
(from a review by Coomaraswamy)

11. Already deposited in the Indian museum.

Kurukullā has got several varieties according as she has two, four, six or eight arms. At Kurkihār we could observe three specimens of the six armed variety of which Dr. Benoytosh Bhattacharya could discover no specimen when he wrote his valuable treatise on Buddhist Iconography. The specimen under review therefore requires more than a passing notice. The Dhyāna as quoted in the Sādhanamālā, No. 173 is noted below*. The three specimens at Kurkihār each one of them, a miniature ranging in height from 3″ to 6″ correspond exactly to the Dhyāna quoted below though the effigies of the five Dhyāni Buddhas have disappeared along with the missing backplates. The deity sits cross-legged on a lotus with her first pair of hands crossed at the breast and turned outward holding a vajra and a bell (Trailokyavijayamudrā) the second pair holding a goad and lotus and the third as actually charging the bow to conquer and subdue everything on earth as well as in heaven.

As regards the specimen depicting the scene of Buddha's descent from the Tuṣita Heaven where he had gone after his Enlightenment to preach Buddhism to his mother, one peculiar element noticeable in the sculpture under review is this, that "Indra" instead of holding the umbrella over the head of Buddha holds in the palms crossed in front a cup with a lid, evidently some sort of offering. The three-headed Brahmā holds the umbrella, and the rungs of the ladder by which they came down are carved below. Though the sculpture does

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* Kurukullām Bhagavatīm pas'yet Raktām Raktāṣṭadalapadma-sūryāsane Vajraparyaṅkaniṣaṇṇām ṣaḍbhujām savyāpasavyaprathama bhujābhyām Trailokyavijayamudrādharām Dvitiyadakṣiṇavāmakarābhyām aṅkus'araktapadmadharām paris'iṣṭabhujadvayenākarṇapūritadhanuḥs'arām raktāmbaradharām pañchatathāgatamukuṭim.'

Translation:—"One should conceive the goddess Kurukullā who has a red complexion, who sits in Vajraparyaṅka attitude on the disc of the sun over the red lotus of eight petals, who exhibits the Trailokyavijaya-mudrā in the first pair of hands, the Aṅkus'a and the red lotus in the second pair and the outstretched bow with the arrow drawn to the ear in the third, who is clad in red garments and bears the effigy of the five Dhyāni Buddhas on the crown."

not fully conform to the literature or scripture yet there cannot be any doubt in respect of the representation of the Descent from Trāyastrimśa Heaven (Vide Indian Museum specimen from Kurkihār). It seems that though tradition tried to hold the artist in check yet it could not always stifle the creative instinct of the sculptor.

Brahmanical Specimens.

Among the Brahmanical images there are three specimens of Umā–Maheśvara and one of Sūryya, one Viṣṇu and one of Balarāma which should deserve more than a passing notice. Of these the Viṣṇu and the Balarāma images deserve a special mention. As noticeable in early Pāla art, this Viṣṇu has all the four hands hanging down. The style and execution seem to be fairly early belonging to the 8th century A. D. The pedestal bears an inscription which may support such a date on stylistic grounds. It runs, "Ma.................Karmakāra" evidently recording the name of the artist who executed the image. But another inscription of later period appears on the right side of the pedestal in corrupt characters and it reads " Devo dharmoyam ". Probably in later times the existing engraved name was mistaken for that of the donor and a dedicative prefix was evidently added to it by a later engraver. The appellation "Karmakāra", which means one who works in metal, points to the fact that the name recorded was not probably the donor but the artist who executed the image.

The image of Balarāma (1′–2¾″) found at Kurkihār stands on a double lotus upon a Triratha pedestal and is surmounted by a seven–hooded snake canopy marking him as an incarnation of Viṣṇu's serpent, Ananta (of Balabhadrānanta–Mūrtiḥ). The deity wears Vanamālā, Yajñopavīta and the usual ornaments. He has four hands, the two upper hands hold the Hala (plough) and the Musala (mace). But the lower left hand is unfortunately broken and the lower right one holds an elongated object and does not seem to have possessed the Śaṅkha (conch) or Chakra (discus) according to the Agnipurāṇa[12] in either of the hands. There is a female

12. Agnipurāṇa, chap. 15.

attendant to his right holding a sweetmeat plate and a similar figure to the left bearing a wine flask and a cup.

Hitherto metal images from South India only have attracted attention, but the Kurkihār bronzes will now engage the attention of the scholars to their mode of manufacture and development in Eastern India as well.

Stone sculptures at Devīsthān.

Apart from the metal images which have been now brought to light, the little village Kurkihār is by no means poorer in respect of the stone sculptures also. To the north east of the village lies a Hindu shrine known as "Devisthān" where there are as many as sixty fine specimens of sculptures of various sizes of different icons both Hindu and Buddhistic arranged together in the precincts of the temple in the gallery of a museum as it were.

Traces of Gupta architecture.

The present temple at Devisthān bears some traces of an ancient one on the site, some of the old materials being utilised in the construction of the same. The ancient pillars which support the roof of the porch, mostly, belong to the Pāla period. But the door-jambs capped by a lintel seem to be earlier still. The pilaster with horizontal bands and foliages emerge out of a pot resting in the head of a Gaṇa. The upper portion is decorated with scroll-work. The whole group smacks strongly of Gupta architecture and seems to have belonged to the original temple which might have stood on the site. The principal deity in the sanctum is that of an eight-handed Mahiṣamardinī or Durgā slaying the buffalo demon with her usual weapons. Most of the collections consists of Buddhist relics belonging to the Mahāyāna pantheon though the images of Gautama Buddha are not also rare.

The vast number of Kurkihār sculptures bear inscriptions of the usual Buddhist creed and dedicatory labels in nail-headed character marking the transition between the Gupta and the old Nāgarī scripts commonly used in Eastern India in the 8th and 9th centuries A. D.

Major Kittoe is said to have visited the place in 1844 and again in 1846 when he is reported to have collected "ten cartloads of idols, all Buddhist, and many of the Tāntrik period."[13]

The prolific production of sculptures both in bronze and stone produced together in Kurkihār and stylistically belonging to one particular period (8th–9th century A. D.) naturally points either to a centre of evolution of a distinct school of sculpture or that the images were preserved in the monastery or found shelter during an incursion of iconoclasts.

Tārānāth and Pag-Sam-Jon-Zang.

The two Tibetan works Tārānāth's history of Buddhism and Pag-Sam-Jon-Zang testify to a flourishing school of sculpture in the time of Dharmapāla and Devapāla under two clever artists Dhīmān and Bitapāla[14] father and son who founded new schools of sculpture and painting in Magadha and Varendra (N. Bengal). With the establishment of the Buddhist empire in Eastern India in the 8th–9th century A. D. Magadha and Varendra came to be the chief centres of Buddhism and Buddhist art in the Pāla empire. The remarkable Kurkihār finds, their prolific production of various sizes and types and the state in which they have been found in a state of preservation in earthen vessels may suggest that Kurkihār was not only a flourishing Buddhist site but also a zone of artistic upheaval of the early Medæval period. One or two names of image-makers which could be deciphered before proper cleansing was that of "Sūtradhāra Rejhā" an artist in stone who executed a two armed Avalokiteśvara now in the Indian Museum and the other an unknown Karmakāra (already mentioned) who cast and finished the Viṣṇu image exhumed from the main mound.

Importance of the Ancient site.

It may not be altogether idle to suggest that a systematic excavation may sometime yield materials to point out that

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13. J. A. S. B., Vol. XVII.
14. Indian Antiquary, Vol. IV.

Kurkihār was once a place where foundry for bronze-casting and gold-plating and manufactory for stone sculptures had existed together in proof of the tradition recorded by the Tibetan historians Tārānāth and Pag-Sam-Jon-Zang.

In view of the close proximity to Buddha Gayā where Buddha had attained enlightenment as well as for the existing relics there can be no doubt that Kurkihār was once a flourishing Buddhist site, a monastery of far-reaching repute where pilgrims thronged from every part of India, even from far off Sākala (in the extreme North West) and from Pāṇḍya and Kerala in Dakṣiṇadeśa (South India). This is not at all a surmise but a fact gathered from an examination of the dedicative inscriptions found on architrave found at Kurkihār.[15] Kurkihār should therefore receive a particular attention of the Archæological Department and one should feel his labours fully repaid if the preliminary account of this ancient site can induce scholars to take up the study of this ancient site with remarkable amount of relics and mounds strewn over the place.*

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15. Cunningham A. S. R., Vol. I

* [These sculptures and bronzes have since been studied minutely by the learned President of the Conference, Mr. K. P. Jayaswal who published an elaborate article with numerous photographs in one of the numbers of the Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental art.]

ARCHITECTURE IN ANCIENT INDIA.

By V. V. Vadnerkar, L.R.I.B.A.

(*Baroda.*)

The science of Architecture was carefully studied and had reached all round development in ancient India. Many treatises on this subject are available but Indian scholars have not yet tried to study this subject with as much seriousness as they ought to. In the following lines therefore an attempt will be made to place before the learned gathering a rough sketch, as it is drawn from a well-known book on this subject, namely, Mayamatam. In doing this however, care has been taken to avoid minor uninteresting details and make the subject as attractive as possible.

The Indian mind was so strongly overpowered by superstitious considerations that even in such matters as those of Architecture and other similar sciences these beliefs are found to exist side by side with the principles of such sciences. Thus though in most cases people abided by the rules and regulations of particular sciences still not in a few cases they gave importance to religious and superstitious ideas.

Thus when we come to the question of the selection of a site for a building, we find these two sorts of ideas working together. First of all, naturally, the quality of a soil was tested. Care was taken to see that the soil was not very soft for in that case the whole structure would suffer immensely. For determining the strength of a soil the following process was followed. A portion of the ground was dug up and the earth was thrown back into it. If the earth so thrown exceeded in volume the capacity of the pit, the soil was considered to be of the best type. If the level remained undisturbed the soil was considered to be of common type, while if the volume of

the earth was less than that of the pit, the soil was said to be of the worst type. This was the general test applied to the soil. There were other points to which particular attention was paid. Thus a land should not lie at the point where two big roads cross each other. Further if a very big tree stood nearby it was not desirable to build a house by its side. There are several other points and though at first sight one may fail to understand their importance it must be said to the credit of the architects of those days that their views were not altogether senseless.

Before proceeding to prepare the foundation, the cardinal points were required to be exactly determined. The ground was first of all levelled and in the centre of it a S'aṅku was placed. The season selected for doing this was a bright half of the Uttarāyaṇa. With the S'aṅku as centre a circle was drawn and the points at which the shadow of the S'aṅku met the circumference of a circle at sunrise and sunset were marked, and the line joining these two points was the north and south line. With the help of this line other cardinal points were then fixed, and it was only after this that the actual work of construction began.

After the determination of the cardinal points the plan of the building was settled. These plans varied to a very great degree. The number of quarters which each plan contained was arranged in geometrical progression, each plan containing a number of quarters which included the squares of all the numbers from one to thirty two. These thirty two kinds of square plans had their own special names. Thus the smallest plan for example known as *Pada* while the biggest one was known *Indrakānta*.

After designing the plans the work of digging the foundation was taken up. The depth of the foundation was in keeping with the height of the building. Then came the important ceremony of *Garbha-Vinyāsa* or the burying of the *Garbha* vessel. This Garbha consisted of a pot which contained various kinds of precious things, and it was believed in those days that if such a pot was buried underneath the foundation it brought great prosperity and happiness to the

owner of the house. The pot was accompanied with various articles of design each of which was placed in a particular place. It bore the mark of the caste to which the owner belonged.

When the foundation was so prepared it was filled in with pieces of stone or concrete. This done elephants were made to trample upon that portion or it was pressed with big wooden logs. This completed the construction of the foundation.

Next to the foundation came the *Upapīṭha* or the plinth upon which the actual building was built. The construction of *Upapīṭha* was a precautionary measure in as much as it proved to be very beneficial from the point of view of hygiene. It also added to the grace and beauty of the house and was thus an essential feature of architecture. No fixed rule can be laid down as to the height of the plinth for it varies in different cases.

Subsequent to the erection of the plinth the construction of columns was undertaken. The bases of these columns were of various types. But the most common type was the one in which the shaft stood on a lotus which was placed on a square base.

Upon these bases shafts of different types were erected. Of these some were square, some circular, some hexagonal, and so on. At the top of the shafts there were figures of different deities, animals, etc. As far as possible the best kind of wood was used in the preparation of the shafts. Care was taken to see that these columns were strong enough to support beams and such other parts of the house, and trees struck by lightning, touched by wild fire and so on were not used for this purpose.

The plan of the house was generally divided into five courts and in front of each of them a *gopura* was built. These five *gopuras* were respectively known as the *Dvārasabhā*, *Dvāraśālā*, *Dvāraprāsāda*, *Dvāraharmya* and *Mahāgopura*.

In order to add to the grace of the structure *S'ikharas* were constructed. These were spherical roofs which resem-

bled the form of an inverted cup. There were also other types of *S'ikharas* besides this.

Buildings consisted of from one to twelve storeys. The maximum height of the building was hundred *Hastas* while the maximum length or breadth was seventy *Hastas*. The one-storied buildings which were the first of these types were of eight different forms, which were respectively known as *Vaijayanta*, *S'rībhoga*, *S'rīviśāla*, *Svastibandha*, *S'rīkara*, *Hastiprastha*, *Skandhakānta*, and *Kesara*. Each of these had a peculiarity of its own. Thus the *Vaijayanta*, for example, was furnished with round spire pinnacle and neck and so on. The two storied and other buildings were also of various types. They had their typical Śikharas and were divided into three classes, the masculine, the feminine, and neuter. The masculine buildings were built of stones and such other material, the feminine was built of bricks, wood, etc., while in the third type of buildings the material of the first two types was used.

The various rooms in a residential building were known as the *Maṇḍapas*. Each *Maṇḍapa* was utilised for a fixed purpose. Thus, there were *Maṇḍapas* where men took their food or slept or sat and so on. These *Maṇḍapas* however have nothing to do with those constructed as independent of any building or the *Maṇḍapas* of the temple. The peculiarity of such *Maṇḍapas* is that they have no walls to surround them, but only consist of a piece of ground with a ceiling over them that is supported by columns on all sides. Adjoining to the house but not exactly forming a part of it were built the *S'ālās* where horses, cows and such other animals were kept.

Doors were constructed with special care and every attempt was made to make them as graceful as possible. The proportion of the height and the breadth of a door was 2 to 1 though there were some exceptions to this rule. Whether a particular door should be erected in the centre of the wall or elsewhere is the problem that is discussed very seriously. The frame of the door was beautifully carved with images of various deities on the lintel.

So far an attempt has been made to give an idea of ancient Indian architecture in as simple words as possible. This is no place where stress can be laid on technicalities. But if we view Indian Architecture as a whole we are compelled to admit the following few points. The Indians possessed an æsthetic sense to a very high degree. In every point, be it the erection of a door or the construction of a Gopura, they tried to create grace and attractiveness in it. But in so doing they did not transgress the rules of hygiene, and a minute study of old Indian buildings will prove that these were built giving complete regard to the climatic conditions of the country. There is a good deal of similarity between the ancient Indian and the modern European architecture. But we need not go into the point at this stage, suffice to say, that a careful study of Indian Architecture is very essential, as we can even in our own day learn much from it. If Indian students of architecture come forward and try to bring the merits of this old and well-developed science and art to the notice of their modernised brethren and thus bring about its revival it would be a matter of national pride, and may we not hope that an Oriental school of architecture comes forward and takes this subject in hand and does the needful as the Oriental school of art is doing in the field of painting ?

TOWN PLANNING IN ANCIENT INDIA.

By V. V. Vadnerkar, L.R.I.B.A.

(Baroda.)

The history of town planning in India is probably of prehistoric origin. It will be very difficult to trace he history of the origin and the development of Indian town planning, but in this paper attempt has been made to show in broad outlines the system of town planning as it was followed by ancient Indians when the science had almost fully grown up. Most of the authors on this subject seems to be in complete agreement and we scarcely come across a difference of opinion which is generally the case with authors in the science and art of Architecture.

While selecting the site for the foundation of a town the old ruins of the city were selected or if they were not available fresh site was used for this purpose. This is the reason why every Indian town has some history behind it. The town was generally situated on the banks of the river in order to remove the difficulty of water supply. This was possible in India as almost the whole country is covered with a network of rivers.

According to the dimensions a town was divided into five different types which were respectively Grāma, Kheṭa, Kharavaṭa, Durga and Nagara. These towns were again divided into eight groups according to the forms which they had. These eight types of towns were Daṇḍaka, Svastika, Prastāra, Nandyāvarta, Padmaka, Sarvatobhadra, Chaturmukha, and Vajra.

Daṇḍaka type of town was of rectangular shape and had two main gates or at times four. This type of plan resembles

the so called chess-board type of town planning, where every unit has practically a rectangular shape, and in which roads run across all sides.

The Sarvatobhadra type of town plan was different from Daṇḍaka plan in this respect that it was a square type with a temple in the centre of it. The town was divided into various parts, each of which was allotted to a particular class of people.

The Nandyāvarta type of plan was circular in form with four gates facing the four principal directions. The town plan was surrounded by a rampart. At the centre there was a temple and two principal roads one running from east to west and the other north to south crossed at that point. This plan resembled the form of the flower known as Nandyāvarta. This name was also applied to another type but in dimensions this type did not exceed an ordinary village.

Next to it came the Padmaka type of town plan, which was planned after, as the name suggests, a lotus flower. This type of plan had four, eight, twelve, sixteen corners and faces. As before, the centre was occupied by a temple while other portions were clearly marked out and allotted to different purposes. Thus on the southernmost face were situated shops, while the northernmost portion belonged to the king. Vegetables and meat markets were situated on the eastern and westernmost faces respectively. The remaining portion was used for residential purposes.

The Svastika is the next type of plan. The form of the plan was not of a definite type, but there was a certain principle followed in the laying-out of roads. It had two main streets, one running from east to west and the other from south to north. But the by-roads meeting the main streets were so arranged as to give the traffic plan the form of a Svastika. Here also there was a temple at the centre and the remaining part was occupied under certain principles.

The Prastāra type of town planning was either square or rectangular. The whole rectangle was divided into four equal parts by the two main streets. And these four parts were allotted to the people according to their economic status.

Thus the richest people had their own blocks in one of the four portions, while each of the remaining three was occupied by the rich, the middle, and the poor classes. The sites of the richest persons were naturally the biggest and thus the number of blocks which their quarter contained was the smallest, while the number of blocks allotted to the poor class was the largest.

The Vajra or bow form of town plan was semicircular as its very name suggests. The main road ran at right angles to the diameter of the semicircle, while other roads ran parallel to it or crossed it at right angles. It was subdivided into three divisions which were known as Pura, Kheṭaka, and Khaḍga respectively.

The Caturmukha form was either square or rectangular and had four faces or mukhas. It was surrounded by a fort-wall and was divided into eight equal parts by means of roads crossing each other.

A study of the above eight types of plans will bring certain peculiar points to the notice of the student at the very first sight. We have seen that in each case the plan possessed a temple which was situated in the centre of the plan as far as possible. Room was also reserved for college building and this shows how education was widespread in ancient India. The next important point is in connection with the hospital buildings which were so numerous. Each town moreover possessed a tank which was situated at a very convenient place, that is, almost by the side of the centre.

Towns and villages were divided into five groups according as they possessed seventeen, nine, five, three or two roads. The city possessing seventeen roads was known as Pura. That possessing nine roads was known as Grāma, while those possessing five, three or two roads were known as Kheṭa, Kūṭa, or Kharvaṭa respectively. The width of the road depended upon the size of the town. The roads generally were cross roads except in a few cases where villages like that of the Nandyāvarta type made it impossible to have such roads.

Great care was taken to keep the road as cle possible. In the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya we read that was a special officer appointed for the purpose of supe the activities in a town. He was responsible for the u of roads, buildings, tanks, temples, etc. A fine was in on persons who threw dust and wastes on the roads or water on the roads thereby making them muddy. bodies of minor creatures were also to be thrown outsic limits of the town, which otherwise prove harmful to sa measures.

Precautionary measures were taken to stop fire spreading over a whole locality, and the owner of the was held responsible if he did not run to the rescue tenants.

Zoning of a town was based on the principle c system. People belonging to the same caste generally together in a group. Thus there were quarters of Bra of shoemakers, of blacksmiths, etc. If for example w into account the system of distribution of population village according to the Arthaśāstra we find the fol arrangement.

Royal buildings shall be constructed on strong gr

In the midst of the houses of the people of all th castes and to the north from the centre of the ground the fort, the king's palace, facing either the north or t shall be constructed occupying one-ninth of the who inside the fort.

Royal teachers, priests, sacrificial place, water re and ministers shall occupy sites east by north to the pal

Royal kitchen, elephant stables, and the store-hous be situated on sites east by south.

On the eastern side, merchants trading in garlands, grains and liquids, together with expert a and the people of Kṣatriya caste shall have their habitat

The treasury, the accountant's office, and various facturing concerns shall be situated on sites south by ea

The store-house of forest produce and the arsenal sha be constructed on sites south by west.

To the south, the superintendents of the city, c commerce, of manufacturing concerns, and of the army a well as those who trade in cooked rice, liquor, and fles besides prostitutes, musicians, and the people of Vaiśya cas shall live.

To the west by south, stables of asses, camels, an working house shall be set up.

To the west by north, stables of conveyances an chariots shall be constructed.

To the west, artisans manufacturing worsted thread bamboo mats, skins, armours, weapons, and gloves as well a the people of Śūdra caste shall have their dwellings.

To the north by west, shops and hospitals shall be set u

To the north by east, the treasury and the stables c cows and horses shall be constructed.

To the north, the royal tutelary deity of the city, iro smiths, artisans working on precious stones, as well a Brahmins shall reside.

In the several corners, guilds and corporations of wor men shall reside.

In the centre of the city, the apartments of gods sha be situated.

In the corners, the guardian deities of the ground sha be appropriately set up.

Guardian deities of all quarters shall also be set up i quarters appropriate to them.

Either to the north or to the east, burial or crematic grounds shall be situated; but that of the people of the highe caste shall be to the south (of the city).

Heretics and Caṇḍālas shall live beyond the buri grounds.

The same plan is followed with some slight chang[e] succeeding authors.

There were three main sources of water-supply. stated above, villages or towns were generally situated o banks of rivers which to a great extent removed the diff of water supply. Kings and rich people helped the ca charity, by constructing big tanks or water rese which supplied water to human beings, beasts and alike. Over and above this there were big wells dug this purpose and Kauṭilya mentions that ten families make use of one well.

This in short is the system of town planning pra in ancient India. There are various treatises dealing this subject, but the most important and useful one is known as the Mānasāra. Most of the points in this pape be more clear when the hearer places before his eyes chart of the ideal town plan, and he will no doubt be p enough to say that even in the science of town plan India can teach much to the outer world.

BUDDHIST MONASTERIES IN VALABHĪ.

By D. B. Dishkalkar, M. A.

(*Satara.*)

"In the country of Valabhī are several hundre monasteries or saṅghārāmas with about 6000 monks. Mo of them study the Hīnayāna according to the Sammitīy school. There are several hundred temples of Devas an sectaries of many sorts. When Tathāgata lived he ofte travelled through this country. King Aśoka raised monumen or Stūpas in places where Buddha rested. Among these a spots where the three past Buddhas sat or walked or preached In such terms the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsiang who visite Valabhī in about 640 A. D. describes the influence Buddhism in Valabhī in Kathiawad. But one is quit disappointed to see that practically nothing remains now th would justify the statement of Hiuen Tsiang.

Valabhī is no doubt to be identified with modern Val eighteen miles north-west of Bhavnagar. Valā is now insign ficant and shows few signs of representing an important cit In the ruins of Valabhī, which lie buried near the site of th modern town, no traces are found of any of the Buddhi monasteries or *stūpas* of which Hiuen Tsiang speaks so muc Buddhist antiquities like the Buddhist images or clay seals are found in the remains of Nālandā or Taxila or oth Buddhist sites have not so far been found in the ruins Valabhī, although the explorations of the archæologi may some day bring to light some. In fact the fe antiquities, that have been found either in the ruins Valabhī or in other places of Gujarāt which was under t Valabhī kings, testify to the preponderating influence Brāhmanism in Valabhī. Huge *S'ivaliṅgas* and *Nandīs* of w

polished stone have been found in the ruins of Valabhi. Of the 98 copperplate grants so far found of the Maitraka kings of Valabhi, as many as 76 are endowments made by the nineteen Valabhī kings to Brāhmaṇas and Brahmanical temples. Only 22 Valabhī grants have been found which were issued to Buddhist monasteries and that is the only material so far found that would justify the statement of Hiuen Tsiang.

As a Buddhist monk had no private life apart from that in the monastery nowhere do we find mention of a grant made to a particular Bhikṣu however great he may be in his learning or in his position in the monastery. Whatever was granted was in the name of the monastery and was utilized to meet the necessary expenses and comforts of all the inmates.

Of the twenty two copperplate grants two dated in the Valabhī years 216 and 217 were issued by the Valabhī king Dhruvasena I; three dated 240, 246 and 248 by Guhasena; three, two of which dated 269, 270 and the third on which the date is lost, by Dharasena II; six, three of which dated 286, one 287, one 290 and one on which the date is lost, by Śīlāditya I (Dharmāditya); two dated 310 and 319 by Dhruvasena (Bālāditya); two, one dated 326 and the other on which the date is lost, by Dharasena IV; one on which the date is lost by Dhruvasena III; and three, two of which dated 343 and 356 and the third having lost its date, were issued by Śīlāditya III.

From these copperplate grants the existence of at least ten Buddhist monasteries is known. They were named after Duḍḍā, Buddhadāsa, Mimmā, Sthiramati, Śīlāditya (Dharmāditya), Yakṣa Śūra, Gohaka, Pūrṇabhadrāchārya, Skandabhaṭa and Vimalagupta. That all these monasteries were built in and about Valabhī only is seen from the explicit mention in the copperplates themselves that they were situated in the township of Valabhī (वलभीस्वतलसन्निविष्ट). Secondly all of them were discovered in the ruins of Valabhī near modern Valā and in an extremely corroded and damaged condition. When

alabhi was destroyed by the Arabs in about 770 A. D. the ionasteries suffered the same fate and the plates granted to iem and preserved in them lay buried in the ruins until iey were brought to light, only recently.

The largest and often mentioned monastery was that uilt by Duḍḍā. In the earlier inscriptions she is said to be ie daughter of the sister of the Maitraka king Dhruvasena I. i the later inscriptions however she is styled a queen, evidently ie writer forgetting her relation to the royal family. The ame of her husband or of her father is not known. She as probably a child widow, who always stayed at Valabhī in er royal grandfather's house and was devoted and after-'ards initiated into Buddhism. She is called परमोपासिका in iscriptions. She not only became a nun herself but used er influence with her royal relative to grant funds for buil-ing a Buddhist monastery, and also to make permanent onations for its maintenance. At least two grants have been)und issued by Dhruvasena in favour of Duḍḍā's monastery ne dated Val. Sam. 216 i. e. 535 A. D. and the other dated 17 i. e. 536 A. D. It seems from this that the monastery was uilt within a few years before 535, say in 530. A. D. In ourse of time this monastery grew so much in importance iat at least five later rulers in the Maitraka family, Guhasena, ilāditya, Dharasena IV, Dhruvasena III and Śilāditya III sued further grants in its favour. From the expressions i some inscriptions it seems that the Duḍḍāvihāra had overed a vast area and had some other smaller vihāras built 'ithin its outskirts. A copperplate grant of Saṁ. 343 states that ie Buddhist monastery built by Vimalagupta was located iside the monastery of Sthiramati, which was again included i the outskirts of the Duḍḍāvihāra (दुड्डाविहारमण्डलान्तर्गतभदन्त-भिक्षुस्थिरमतिविहारे विमलगुप्तकारितविहारे). Similarly the monastery of Buddhadāsa is said to have been included in the Duḍḍāvihāra (दुड्डाविहारमण्डलान्तर्गतभदन्तभिक्षुबुद्धदासकारितविहारे).

It is not known who was Mimmā, the author of a ionastery mentioned in a copperplate grant of Saṁ. 248. But from the similarity of her name with that of the princess Duḍḍā and the epithet 'venerable' prefixed to her name it

seems that she also belonged to the royal family and was a devoted follower of Buddhism.

The monastery named after Āchārya Bhadanta Buddhadāsa and built near the Duḍḍāvihāra was the recipient of a grant of a village jointly with the Duḍḍāvihāra from Dhruvasena I in the year 217 (i. e. 536 A. D.). Nothing is known of Buddhadāsa. His name like that of Rāmadāsa or Kṛṣṇadāsa, is peculiar for a Buddhist monk.

The monastery called Bappapādīyavihāra and built by Āchārya Bhadanta Sthiramati must be the same as was referred to by Hiuen Tsiang in the following terms–"Not far from the city is a good monastery built by the Arhat Āchārya (O–che–lo) where during their travels the Bodhisattvas Guṇamati and Sthiramati (Kien–hwmi) settle and compose renowned treatises. Two villages called Maheśvaradāsenakagrāma in the Hastavapra district and Devabhadrīpallikā in the Dhārākheṭasthalī were granted by Dharasena II in Val. Saṁ. 269 (588 A. D.) for the maintenance of this monastery.

The monastery built by Āchārya Bhikṣu Vimalagupta of the village Kukkurāṇaka seems to have been the latest monastery built in the time of Śilāditya III (660 to 685 A. D.) who issued two grants dated in the Valabhī years 343 and 356 for its maintenance. The monastery must have been a small one as it was located inside the monastery of Bhikṣu Sthiramati which was again located inside the large Duḍḍā monastery.

No details are known of the monasteries of Gohaka and Pūrṇabhadra for which the grants of Sam. 310 and 319 respectively were issued by the king Dhruvasena II (Bālāditya). They were probably Buddhist monks and their monasteries were built in the compound of the Duḍḍāvihāra.

Some of the monasteries in Valabhī were built by persons who were followers of Brahmanism but had sympathy for the Buddhist faith. One of the nineteen kings of Valabhī, named Śilāditya (Dharmāditya), built a monastery at Vaṁśakaṭa, probably a suburb of Valabhī, and issued for its maintenance two grants one of which was dated Saṁ. 286 (605 A. D.). But it is not to be supposed from this that he was actually converted

Buddhism. For in all his eight grants so far discovered he ars the religious epithet [illegible] and uses another name as [illegible]. In none he uses the epithet [illegible] expressive of his nversion to Buddhism. Two of the grants were bestowed pon Brāhmaṇas, one upon a Śiva temple, one upon a ūrya temple, two upon the famous Duḍḍā monastery and ɔly two upon his own monastery. His building of the Budhist monastery therefore must be taken as an example of is extreme tolerant nature. It was probably because he was pious man and gave respect to all faiths that he was called harmāḍitya.

The monastery built by Divirapati Skandabhaṭa was the ecipient of a grant by Dharasena IV in the year 326 (645 . D.). Skandabhaṭa was a prominent heredit. ry state officer, on of Divirapati Vatrabhaṭṭi. He had also built a temple of goddess and seems to be a man of liberal religious views.

For the monastery built by Yakṣa Śūra Śilāditya issued vo grants dated 287 and 290. This S'ūra is probably to be lentified with Rājasthānīya S'ūra mentioned in the grant of al. Saṁ. 248, and to have been a scion of the Maitraka mily.

The endowments to Buddhist monasteries were generally ade to provide:—

(1) for the materials of worship of the Buddha images set up in the monasteries and for lodging, boarding, clothing and medical treatment etc. of the monks and nuns that used to come from various places and stay in them.

(विहारप्रतिष्ठानां भगवतां सम्यक्संबुद्धानां बुद्धानां पूजास्नानगन्धधूपपुष्पदीपतैलोपयोगाय पादमूलप्रजीवनाय । चतुर्दिगभ्यागताष्टादशनिकायाभ्यन्तरार्यभिक्षुसंघस्य च चीवरपिण्डपातशयनासनग्लानप्रत्ययभैषज्यपरिष्काराेपयोगार्थं)

(2) and for the repairs to the monastery (विहारस्य खण्डस्फुटितपतितविशीर्णप्रतिसंस्करणार्थं).

t is very interesting to note that sometimes a portion f the income from the endowment was spent in copying r purchasing books on Buddhist lore for the library of e monastery.

It will be seen from this that all efforts were made to make the life of the Buddhist monks comfortable and enable them to observe their religious rites and continue their studies in the Buddhist religion without any anxiety of maintenance, etc. The monks in their turn seem to have made the best of the opportunities and could produce from amongst them such renowned Buddhist scholars as Guṇamati and Sthiramati who lived in Valabhī for many years and wrote many treatises on Buddhist philosophy and whose fame for learning extended as far as China. As a centre of Buddhist learning Valabhī was famous in those days. I–Tsing, a junior contemporary of Hiuen Tsiang tells us that in his time Nālandā and Valabhī were the two places in India which deserved comparison with the most famous centres of learning in China, and were frequented by crowds of eager students from different provinces.

The inmates of these monasteries were followers of the Hīnayāna school who worshipped the images of the Buddha with all the ceremonies used by a Brahmanical Hindu in worshipping any of his deities. The expression used in connection with the Buddha was भगवान् सम्यक्संबुद्धबुद्धभट्टारक which shows that Buddha was looked upon as an actual deity to be worshipped through the medium of an image. The statement of Hiuen Tsiang that most of the monks in the Saṅghārāmas at Valabhī studied the Little Vehicle gets a good corroboration from the Buddhist grants of the Valabhī rulers.

A GOLDEN IMAGE OF TĀRA.

By S. Ganguli.

(Baroda).

Discovery.

When I was last at Darjeeling, I spent a good deal of my time in ferreting after antiques and objects of art. In the course of these peregrinations I met a Tibetan Lāmā who described himself as a direct disciple of the great Dālāi Lāmā of Tibet. He furnished evidence of this claim by showing me several group photographs taken of the Dālāi Lāmā at different ceremonial functions in which he, too, appeared in Lāmā costume. The Lāmā took me into his little monastery and as soon as I entered the perfumed room my attention was drawn to several most interesting Tibetan banners on the walls, then to the numerous illustrated Buddhist manuscripts, well preserved in glass cases, and lastly to the most interesting of all—a collection of clay and metal images tastefully arranged on a gilded repousse stool of silver. All these were gifts from the Dālāi Lāmā. The faces of these images were only visible—the remaining parts being covered with brocaded silk. The Lāmā, however, very kindly gave me a view of all the deities by unrobing them. Among these one golden image, which he identified as Tārā, appealed to me most both from aesthetic and iconographic points of view. He generously presented this to me on the express understanding that I should offer my pūjā to the deity in the same manner as he was doing. I took the opportunity of returning his kindness by making a donation for the upkeep of his little monastery.

Description.

The deity, a female figure, is seated in Vajrāsana in the attitude of Samādhi on a double conventional lotus. She wears a mukuṭa (crown), a torque, a necklace, bangles, armlets, ear-

rings, a yajñopavīta (sacred thread) and mekhalā (girdle). The lower part of the body is covered with a skirt, while the upper part is partially concealed by a scarf falling gracefully over the back, the shoulders, and the arms. She is one-faced and two-armed, and holds in the left hand the lotus, while the right shows the Abhaya mudrā. Behind the crown, the hair is made up in a peak, the lower portion flowing over shoulders and arms on both sides.

Identification.

The Tārā idols with which I am acquainted generally show the lotus in the left and the Varada mudrā (or the gift-bestowing attitude) in the right hand. The distinctive feature of this image of Tārā lies in its Abhaya pose. I have come across many illustrations of similar representations of this deity, including those in Dr. B. Bhattacharyya's authoritative work on Indian Buddhist Iconography, but nowhere have I found the Abhaya mudrā exemplified, as it is in this statuette. However, the description of the Tārā idol, which is the subject of this paper, tallies to a remarkable extent with the White Tārā described in Dr. Bhattacharyya's work, to which I have alluded, page 137, and named as Viśvamātā. So far as I am aware, and from the information given by Dr. Bhattacharyya in his book on Buddhist Iconography, images of Viśvamātā have not been recorded or reproduced anywhere, and thus the present image may at this stage be considered as a unique possession. There is, however, one marked dissimilarity in Dr. Bhattacharyya's description namely: the image he describes has a white serpent as her Vāhana. In other respects I am not aware of any difference between my image, and the one referred to by the learned author, I have mentioned. It should be borne in mind that the descriptions of deities given in the Sādhanamālā were not invariably followed by the artists in every detail: but they frequently followed preferences in minor points which were no doubt the outcome of their own creative genius.

Artistic merits.

This idol is undoubtedly a piece of art of the highest order and must have been executed by a master artist of

Golden Image of Tārā.

To face page 820.

consummate skill and with infinite care. The sublime and peaceful expression of the eyes and face, the faultless adjustment of the ornaments and garments, the vivid delineation of the limbs, and the subtle execution of details, make this little masterpiece a most remarkable specimen of Buddhist art, where the sublimity of thought is blended harmoniously with perfection in the artistic skill of the production. It is thickly encrusted with gold, partly polished and partly finished with a dull surface. No doubt the goddess, as represented in this rare piece, is displayed in conventional form; but it is not a dead convention. Within the prescribed limits of the traditional rules, the artist has been singularly successful in instilling life into his work. There is a naturalness which infuses all the decorative elements of the work, while the sweetness and daintiness of the head give particular charm to the whole, which really looks like the representation of one of the immortals.

Date.

There is a marked similarity in craftsmanship between this figure of Tārā and the golden image of Lokanātha, discovered some three years ago at Kurkihār in the Gayā district; so much so that I am inclined to believe that they were both executed by the same school of artists during the period when Buddhist art was at its zenith in Tibet. I showed this to Dr. Bhattacharyya, a great authority on Buddhist Iconography, and I am glad to say that he, too, fully accepted my view. I, therefore, feel that the perfection of execution in addition to the skilful rendering of the accessories entitles this work to be attributed to the accomplished period of Tibetan art, namely the 10th century A. D.

Conclusion.

As such, I have thought this charming specimen of the art of the past, well worth bringing to the notice of this learned audience, and I need hardly say that I shall be very pleased to receive any views which may throw further light on my researches in this matter.

SIGNIFICANCE OF NÂRI-KUÑJARA PICTURES.

By M. R. Majmudar, M. A., LL. B.

(*Baroda*).

1. The "Nārī-Kuñjara" or the Elephant-Show pictures are found mostly in Vaishṇavite temples of Gujarat, and in Bengal.

2. One tri-colour reproduction of Nārī-Kuñjara can be seen in Vaṅga Sāhitya Parichaya, pt. I (Calcutta University 1914) facing page 796 with the following note on the illustration by Rai Saheb Dinesh Chandra Sen:—

> "The Nārī-Kuñjara or the Elephant-Show produced by nine maids of the Vṛndā groves: Kṛshṇa, while grieving his separation from Rādhā and wandering in the forest in the darkness of night, meets this elephant and taking it to be a real one, rides it. Within a few minutes the elephant loses its form and dissolves and Kṛshṇa finds himself surrounded by nine merry girls of the Vṛndā groves, Rādhā being the chief of them".*

*cf. The amplication of the same episode:—

"The plate representing the Navanārikuñjara scene, depicts Kṛshṇa playing on the flute in a seated posture on the back of an elephant simulated by nine gopis who have cleverly so disposed themselves in a mutually interlocked position as to create a complete illusion of an elephant. The story tells how Kṛshṇa, in the desperation of his separation from Rādhā, wanders about through the forest of Bṛndābana, when the gopis, in their love for him, resolved to divert his mind by a practical joke.

They did this by simulating the form of an elephant as mentioned above with such success that Kṛshṇa in his absent-mindedness mistook it for a real elephant, and climbing upon it sat piping a love tune, giving vent to the pangs of his separation from Rādhā, when all of a sudden the elephant melted from under his seat, and the gopis chaffed him for being deceived by their stratagem and thus diverted his love-sick heart."

'The Indigenous Painters of Bengal' by Guru Saday Dutt, I. C. S., in "Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art" June 1933.

3. The interpretation is not supported by any poetical text so far known to me. A reference on this matter was made by me to the veteran scholar, for further light on the matter, if any. But I have not heard anything in the matter.

4. Another reproduction of a "Nava-nārikuñjara" or nine women-elephant, Modern Review for June 1926, on p. 676 is compared with Kabuki Horse of the popular stage in Japan. This horse consists of two men, who jointly carry the horse-mask and behave in a thoroughly equine manner.

5. The Japanese "Human-animal show" reminds me of the traditional Bengali and Gujarati pictures of the Nārikuñjara on which Kṛshṇa rode.

6. The Prince of Wales Museum at Dharampur has one old painting of "Shaṭ-nārī-turaṅgaṁ" six-women horse which is strikingly suggestive of the animal mask above referred to. But it is for us to suggest some interpretation of these traditional pictures. Jaipur Museum also has one Sapta-nārī-turaṅgam.

7. The Nārikuñjara is a special pattern of printing on cloth most favourite with ladies of Gujarat. It consists of alternate designs of a Gopi and an elephant. This pattern is alluded to by Poet Akho in his poem "Anubhavabindu" (composed in Saṁvat 1705) in chappa 29, wherein he utilizes the popular print-pattern to illustrate the principle of Saguṇa and Nirguṇa Brahma, by saying that the background of the cloth illustrates the Nirguṇa Brahma; whereas the Nārī represents Jiva and Kuñjara Saguṇa Brahma. Can any relation be established with this tradition to explain the significance of the Nārikuñjara picture ?

8. Narasiṁha Mehtā (circa Saṁvat 1465-1530) has, however, a beautiful explanation for this. In his poem "Govinda Gaman" describing the popular incident of Kṛshṇa's departure from Gokula, he introduces a novel and an artistic incident, which fully answers to the description of the Nārikuñjara picture.

9. The incident narrated in brief is this :—

'When Kṛshṇa is seated on the chariot driven by Akrūra, on their way to Mathurā, Rādhā in company with other Gopīs intercedes and makes it impossible for the chariot to move any further. A scuffle ensues. Kṛshṇa pretends to have a nasty fall; accordingly he puts it forth as an excuse that he cannot return unless a conveyance is brought for him. The Gopīs being pleased even at this reply, immediately asked him the type of conveyance he would like to have. Kṛshṇa, cunningly enough, knowing full well that it would be impossible to have a princely conveyance as an elephant in Gokula, asked for an elephant to carry him back to Gokula. The Gopīs were at their wits' end at this unexpected reply of Kṛshṇa. But Rādhā, in about a minute's time, regained her presence of mind, and nine of them arranged themselves in the form of an elephant. Kṛshṇa had now no other go, but to act up to his word. He, however tried to put forward another excuse. He said, "How can I mount an elephant without an aṅkuśa to control him ?" The Gopīs replied: "Just have the hardest of the hard and the softest of the soft aṅkuśa in the form of our accumulated love for you. Pray, do not put forth any more excuse." Kṛshṇa, just out of genuine love and affection for the Gopīs, agreed to return and then revisited the haunted places, surrounded by Gopīs, who behaved as lancers, holding lances of love in his front.'

(Original Gujarati text given in the Appendix).

10. A Nārīkuñjara picture, (Jaipur School) is found in the Baroda Museum with eight figures composing the elephant, and the ninth is seated, behind Kṛshṇa, flourishing a Chāmara in her hand.

11. It is suggested by some, that the group of nine Gopīs might be suggestive of the nine-entranced human body and Kṛshṇa representing the soul. The allegory, however, requires corroboration.

12. It would be really a very interesting study to investigate into the propriety, symbolism and significance of the various Vāhanas (conveyances) associated with different gods and goddesses.

APPENDIX.

गोविंद–गमन.

पद २५ मुं.

कृष्ण कहे: " रथमांथी पड्यो हुं, तेथी मुजने वाग्युं;
अहींथी उठाय नहीं माराथी, जुओ आ पगे लाग्युं –'
गोपी कहे: ' कोहो ते वाहन लावुं, पण तमने लई जावुं; "
[महेतानो स्वामी विचारी बोल्यो:] " हाथी होय तो आवुं–"

पद २६ मुं.

गोपीओ कहे: " हाथी ज जोईए, ल्यो हरि! आ रह्यो हाथी रे "

राधाए रचना करी सुंदर, हाथी कीधो सखी जे साथी रे.
चार सखी चार पाद थई, बे उदर ठामे सूती रे,
पेटपोल करवा बव्वे बाजु–एम एक एक त्यां खूती रे.
पृष्ठभाग ने पुछडुं थई, चंद्रभागा जे नारी रे;

हरिने कहे: " हस्ति हूओ; बिराजिये मुरलीधारी रे! "
कृष्ण कहे: " नासारहित गज, एनां दशन वदन कियां रे?
कुंभस्थळरहित गज निरखो, प्रसन्न केम थाय हियां रे?"
राधा कहे: " एवो गज आणुं; पछे रखे वांकु काढो रे;
गज मागो तो गज करुं हाजर, न जीतुं ज्यारे वांकु पाडो रे–"

–एम कही, राधा गई उपर. खाली जगाए सूती चती रे;
छूटी वेणी शूंढाकार बनी रही, अधे हस्त दंतुशळ वती रे;
चूडा रुडा दांत चूड दीसता, स्ववदन ते मुखनुं मूळ रे;
कुंभस्थलने स्थानक कुंच बे, हस्ति गंडस्थलथी स्थूल रे;

राधा कहे: " हरि! बिराजिये, हस्ति सज्ज थई उभो रे;" –
कृष्ण कहे: " अंकुशविण न बेसुं. " राधा कहे: " हरि! कां कूभो रे!
हरि! अंकुश आपुं अमे आणी, पछे तमे कांई मागो रे?"
कहान कहे: "पछे कांई न जोईए; पण अंकुशविण मनस्वी भागो रे–"
कठिणमां कठिण, मृदुमां मृदु एवुं अंकुश कीधुं रे;
सर्व प्रेम भेगो करी घडियो; पछे अंकुश हरिने दीधुं रे.

गोपीमन मनावा कारण, छेलबेलु सुख देवा रे;
प्रेमांकुश पकडी गजे चढिया, निरखे स्वर्गे देवा रे.
हरि न नासे माटे करी रचना, प्रेममाला सखी कर दीधा रे;
नरसैंयाना स्वामीनो हस्ती, गायो सुण्यो तेनां कारज सीध्यां रे.

[नरसिंहमहेताकृत काव्यसंग्रह पृष्ट ७०-७१]

(१९१२)

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SOME ILLUSTRATED MSS OF THE GUJARAT SCHOOL OF PAINTING.

By M. R. Majmudar, M. A., LL. B.

(*Baroda.*)

I. *Mss. of Bālagopālastuti.*

Each distinct race-group inhabiting the various provinces of India has its own distinctive art tradition, as in the case of literary expression, which have deep mutual affinities by virtue of the history of their origin and cultural contacts, but which are none the less valuable distinctive characteristics specially adapted to the race-group, whose evolutional life and character are reflected in them.

The opinion that Gujarat had a distinctive school of painting of its own, is fast gaining ground with art–critics; and as such has sufficient claims to be styled as a distinctive Gujarat School of Art. This view having been corroborated by the discovery of the Vasantavilāsa scroll of pictures, introduced to the art–world by Mr. N. C. Mehta, is further supported by the subsequent find of the fragmentary illustrated MSS of Bālagopālastuti from Southern Rajputana announced by O. C. Ganguli,[1] editor "Rūpaṃ".

A recent find of two series of the same Bālagopālastuti from Ahmedabad in Gujarat strengthens the views advanced by the above mentioned savants of Indian Painting.[2]

1. Andhra Historical Research Society Journal, Vol. IV (1929); see also Malaviya Commemoration Volume (1932), pp. 285–289.

2. I have much pleasure in announcing that I have further succeeded in tracing out a third series of the Bālagopālastuti, which is unfortunately fragmentary and limited to 24 folios only, from the Rājaratna Naranbhai Sanskrit Pāṭhas'ālā collection of MSS at Petlad (Baroda District). The MS was styled as Rāsalilā sachitra, as the colophon is missing.

My friend Mr. Bhogilal J. Sandesara of Patan-a work in the field of Gujarati literary research-had acquired the MSS from the Ahmedabad Friday Fair, only last year, an kindly placed them at my disposal. Being struck with the in portance of these finds so far as the Gujarat School of Paintin is concerned, I take an opportunity of announcing them t the scholars, assembled at the Seventh Oriental Conference.

The subject-matter of the MSS, accompanied by livel illustrations, relates to the līlās or mystic anecdotes from th life of Kṛshṇa of Gokula-Vṛndāvana days.

The leaves are in size 9½"×4⅛", each page bearing miniature illustration of the size of 5¾"x4⅛", placed on th right side, with the Sanskrit text of the hymns about nine t ten lines, on the left side. On the reverse also are texts of th hymns written between two rubricated perpendicular lines without any miniatures.

Each of these MSS has 65 folios, and is almost complet in itself, with a gap of five folios, which however, can be supp lied from the other copy, executed in rather a cruder pen The one noticed by Mr. Ganguli in "Indian Arts and Letters" (Vol. IV. 1930) has only 30 folios.

The text of the MS seems to be unpublished, although on comparison with the "Kṛshṇa Karṇāmṛta" printed in the Vān Vilas Sanskrit Series (1929) I find that about more than hal of the bulk from the MS is scattered over the printed collection of hymns by Līlā-Śuka or Bilvamangala, the well-known Vaishṇava saint and hagiologist, sometimes styled as "Jaya deva of the South", who though hailing from South India (Tirunavay, British Malabar) travelled widely and was one of the first pioneers of the development of devotional Vaish ṇavism.

Bilvamangala Svāmī lived sometime between A. D. 1250 and 1350.[1] By the end of the 14th century his Vaishṇava hymns must have gained currency throughout India inclu-

1. M. Ramakrishna Kavi's "Literary Gleanings", Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, July 1928, p. 71.

ding Gujarat, as did a verse of Jayadeva's "Gītagovinda" in the 13th century inscribed in a temple in Gujarat, so that in the early part of the 15th century an edition *de luxe* of this hymn, such as offered by this illustrated MS, must have been in request in Gujarat or the neighbouring areas. Because Gujarat with its famous pilgrim-centres of Prabhāsapaṭṭana and Dvārakā, intimately connected with the cult of Kṛshṇa, has long been specially associated with various forms of Vaishṇavism.

My conjecture, after a close scrutiny of the text of the "Bālagopālastuti" is that it may not be the work of one poet, but that it must be an anthology of verses bearing on the life of Bālagopāla compiled and embellished by Bilvamaṅgala Svāmī. We find that Kṣemendra (circa 9th century A. D.) in his "Auchityavichāracharchā" (Kāvyamālā, Part 1, p. 130) while illustrating Adbhuta Rasa gives a verse of Chandraka:—

अद्भुते चन्द्रकस्य

कृष्णेनाम्ब (v. l. द्य) गतेन रन्तुमधुना दृद्भक्षिता स्वेच्छया
सत्यं कृष्ण ? क एवमाह ? मुसली, 'मथ्याऽम्ब पश्याननम् ।
व्यादेहीति विकासितेऽथ वदने माता समस्तं जगद्
दृष्ट्वा यस्य जगाम विस्मयपदं पायात् स वः केशवः ॥

The subject of this verse is strikingly illustrated in our MS. This places at least some portions of the text of the MS before the life-time of Bilvamaṅgala.

Another verse, which beautifully illustrates the Rāsa-krīḍā with graceful movements and rhythmic gestures of the limbs, has been referred to by Vallabhāchārya in his Subodhinī Bhāshya on the Rāsapañchādhyāyī as क्वापि (somebody's) and only grammatical comments are offered on the first line. This suggests that the authorship of the verse was considered to be unknown by the Vaishṇava Achārya who flourished early in the 15th century A. D.[1]

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1. The colophon इति श्रीपरमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यश्रीपादबिल्वमंगलविरचिता बालगोपालस्तुतिः । इति श्रीमाघपुराणे (?) भगवद्वाक्यम् । seems to suggest that the text of the MS forms a part of an anthology of Vaishṇava hymns, in which Bālagopālastuti found an honourable place, for the hymn is glorified as the word or message of the Lord himself (भगवद्वाक्यम्)

The verse reads as follows :—

अङ्गनामङ्गनामन्तरे माधवो
माधवं माधवं चान्तरेणाङ्गना ।
इत्थमाकल्पिते मण्डले मध्यगः
संजगौ वेणुना देवकीनन्दनः ॥

The style of the pictorial illustration is what was so long loosely described as "Jaina Style", principally illustrated in numerous illustrated MSS dealing with the Jain canonical literature e. g. Kalpasūtra, Kālakāchāryakathā, Śrīpāla Rāsa etc. The evidence of Vasantavilāsa, Bālagopālastuti, and the Daśamaskandha (to be mentioned in the latter part of the paper) tends to indicate that the style cannot be taken to be exclusively Jaina. This style–which can better be designated as 'Gujarati' or 'Southern Rajasthani' as respectively suggested by Mr. Mehta and Dr. Coomaraswamy–seems to be the current pictorial language employed to illustrate both Jaina and Vaiṣhṇava subjects–religious as well as secular subjects–by Gujarati painters.

Illustrated Indian MSS particularly Sanskrit are so rare, that the discovery of the Bālagopālastuti series as well as that of the Bhāgavata Daśamaskandha is able to point out how the calligrapher and the artist have collaborated to produce valuable jewels of Vaiṣhṇava culture. Anyhow, the discovery of these MSS offers significant evidence of a happy link between the literary and the graphic arts at a period of Gujarati culture, when the artist and the literary man met on a common platform in a harmonious unity–the two forms–of culture living and growing under the inspiration of a religious fervour and collaborating on identical themes.

The most important significance of the Bālagopālastuti MSS lies in the fact that—

(1) A Vaiṣhṇava theme is illustrated in the same style of miniatures employed in illustrating a large volume of Jaina MSS, so that the style of the miniature illustrations is in the same general dialect of the pictorial language, used in illustrating the Vasantavilāsa pictures.

(2) The style is very much akin in the lively movements and gestures of the figures, in all general details as to colour scheme, treatment of trees, landscape and clouds, and of furniture and accessories to those occurring in the scroll of the Vasantavilāsa.

(3) This identity of manner and treatment appears to place our MS in some proximity to the Vasantavilāsa MS in date. A close comparison of treatment of details suggests perhaps an earlier date for our MS.

(4) As a rule, the form of the anatomy, particularly of the legs behind the drapery, is shown in Vasantavilāsa (Dalliance in Spring) Sometimes in outline, but very often in shaded silhouette as in an X-ray photograph. In the Bālagopālastuti the opaque treatment of the drapery does not show up the forms of the legs except in summary outlines.

(5) Another quaint convention in the miniatures of the Bālagopālastuti is the crossing of the legs in the figures of the Gopīs. In the profile views, the further leg is actually brought over the nearer leg giving a fantastically twisted shape, at the same time a quaintly awkward grace to the figures.

(6) In some figures we notice a new and developed convention of posing the standing figures on the left leg, the right leg being set free in a graceful angle behind the left leg. Sometimes the two legs are joined together to sugget a nervous and concentrated attention, as in the figure of the Sakhī, on the left side.

These developed conventions appear to suggest an earlier date for the Bālagopāla MS.

(7) The most peculiar and quaint convention of the figures is the rendering of the further eye protruding beyond a facial line–a peculiarity which Prof. Brown has very happily suggested–may have been derived from the models of contemporary Jaina images and sculptures in which the eyes are invariably represented by superimposed bits of glass or metals.

(8) The characteristic and universal features of Gujarati households and the detailed view of the life and habits of the people in Western India in the 15th century can be seen from the furniture such as the toraṇas, triple hangings, curtains, the swings, the wooden bed-stead, musical instruments, the *fly-whisk,* the mirror and water jugs which are repeated several times.

(9) The trees mostly represented are the Molsiri, plantain, cocoanut, palm, pomegranate and the mango. In the treatment of trees, they are drawn in schematic silhouettes with each leaf separately represented.

(10) Among animals and bird-life are depicted cows, deer, peacocks, parrots and the cuckoo, with an artistic taste. Cows are especially drawn with vigorous movement of limbs.

(11) The flowing streams and the hovering clouds add to the beauty of the background. Fish are seen gaily swimming in the blue waters of the Jumna. The manner of rendering the hanging clouds on the horizon in the later Rāgiṇī miniatures is probably derived from the models of clouds in waving lines depicted in these Gujarati miniatures of the 15th century.

(12) Floating draperies are painted with taste and vigour. Dress system is purely Gujarati. Among ornaments are shown those of the ears, the neck and the arms besides the anklets around the feet. Necklace and Veṇī (braided hair hanging down) mark out the feminine figures with a delicate grace.

(13) Important personages of the MSS have been shown by a halo, radiant arches, round the head.

(14) All the pictures, as contradistinguished from Vasantavilāsa pictures, are illustrative of the text.

To recapitulate, the outstanding features of these pictures are the (1) simple colour schemes, (2) angular faces, (3) eyes drawn out to the ears, (4) further eye protruding beyond the facial line, (5) eyebrows in simple curves, (6) pointed nose, (7) a certain indifference to elegance, (8) the large earrings and the floral decorations.

The entire MS—by an artist who though enjoying royal favour has strained his every nerve to present before us the life of God Śrī Kṛshṇa—produces striking effects on our imagination, and as such awaits an æsthetic interpretation from sympathetic Indian art-critics, like Mr. N. C. Mehta, our worthy president of the Fine Arts Section.

II. *Bhāgavata Daśamaskandha Ms.*

The other illustrated MS, the chance of inviting the attention of scholars to which I take to-day, is that of the Bhāgavata Daśamaskandha, though of a later date than those noticed above.

While on a tour in Marwar and Rajaputana, as a Bombay University Research Scholar in 1928, my attention was drawn to this illustrated MS lying in the Pustakaprakash, Jodhpur Fort, by Pandit Vishweshwar Nath Reu, Sāhityāchāryya, the Curator of Sumer Museum, Jodhpur.

It is a representative specimen of religious paintings, illustrated in the Sanskrit MS of Daśamaskandha, with Bhāgavata-Dīpikā of Śrīdhara with about 200 pictures, illustrative of the text. This MS claims further notice by scholars for the fact that, fortunately for us, it is dated; as well as the names of the patron, the calligrapher and the artist are given at the end in a verse.

The colophon reads:–

संवत् १६६७ वर्षे

कार्तिकासितपक्षीयचतुर्दश्यां रवेर्दिने ।
लिखितः सुरजीवेन दशम सह टीकया ॥
मधुसूदनव्यासेन ले'खतोऽयं सुबुद्धिना ।
नारदस्य सुतेनैव गोविंदाख्येन चित्रितः ॥

(In the Saṁvat year 1667 i. e. 1611 A. D. on the 14th day of the dark half of Kārtika, Sunday, Sūrji (?) transcribed the Daśamaskandha with the [Bhāgavatadīpikā] commentary, at the request of the well-disposed Madhusūdana Vyāsa, which has been richly illustrated by Govinda, the son of Nārada.)

The most convincing evidence about the location of these pictures as Gujarati, is the explanatory note on every picture, given in archaic or Old Gujarati prose, which was the current language in Gujarat of those times, written in a different hand than that of the scribe. We conclude that these must have been written by the painter Govinda [1]

The style of illustrations is slightly influenced by Moghul school, inasmuch as the head-dress of males is clearly Moghul in shape and execution. The entire MS deserves a closer scrutiny and detailed appreciation.

We conclude, from what original materials that have been introduced above to the art-world, that the supreme importance of our MS, as a datum for the characterization and classification of the school, as Gujarat School, cannot be over-rated. Whatever their date, the series of illustrations in the Bālagopalastuti MS, as well as those of the Vasantavilāsa and the Daśamaskandha-all treating of religio-secular themes taken together, distinctly add to the volume of evidence to establish a distinctive school as "Gujarati" in which, secular as well as religious, Vaishṇava as well as Jaina themes have been illustrated, without any sectarian pre-possessions, in identical conventions, with identical accessories and landscape backgrounds, and with an identical colour palette.

* * *

President's Note.

The discovery of the two further manuscripts of *Bālagopālastuti* is important. I propose to deal with the pictorial aspect of these manuscripts in a separate article. The

1. I quote below a few of these explanatory notes at random from a copy which I possess : each note signifies one specific illustration :

वसुदेव विग्रह करि जार्या छि । यशोदार्नां शय्याइं कृष्ण मूकया । उखली चढी यष्टि व ड छिद्र करी मुख धरि छि । कृष्ण नासि छि, यशोदा यष्टि लेइ पूठि धाइ छि । कृष्ण वृक्ष हेटि सता छि, गोप चमर करि छि । नंदादिक गोप कृष्ण साथि गोवर्धनोत्सवनुं विचारि छि । पाक होई छि । द्विज होम करि छि, गाई शृंगारि छि । कृष्ण वेणु वजाडि छि, मृग मयूर वत्स सांभलि छि ।....वरकन्यानि स्वामिनी कौरव, राम स्तुवइ छि । दुर्योधन रामनि पहिरामणी करी बोलावि छि । etc.

existence of a dated manuscript of ***Bhāgavata Daśama-skandha*** in the Jodhpur library is **extremely interesting, be**cause even in the beginning of the 17th century the famous school of "Western Paintings," mentioned by the Tibetan historian Tārānātha was actively at work in Gujarat. The description of the pictures in Old Gujarati leaves no doubt that the school was primarily Gujarati and it is not an accident that a good many of the court-painters of Akbar took special care in appending the word 'Gujarati' after the name e. g., Bhīm Gujarati, Kesho Gujarati, Mādho Gujarati. Gujarat in the 16th and 17th century was apparently famous for its artistic traditions. A large number of early Rāgiṇī pictures of the time of Akbar, existing in the collections at the British Museum and at the Bodelian library at Oxford and elsewhere are undoubtedly of Gujarati origin. Is it possible that these Rāga pictures have their genesis in this Lāṭa country? The pictures of the Jodhpur manuscript deserve a detail study. Mr. Majmudar is to be congratulated on his finds. Young scholars like him have unrivalled opportunities of making such discoveries in hitherto unexplored libraries and palaces of Gujarat—especially of Kathiawar.

N. C. Mehta.

Avesta and Iranian Section.

President:

DR. I. J. S. TARAPOREWALA, B. A., PH. D., BAR-AT-LAW.

CONTENTS.

SOME ASPECTS OF IRANIAN STUDIES IN INDIA.

By Dr. I. J. S. Taraporewala, B. A., Ph. D., Bar-at-law.

(*Andheri*).

Some years ago Professor A. Meillet delivered a course of three lectures on the Gāthās, at the very beginning of which he has quoted with approval the opinion of Geldner that Avestan studies are not sufficiently "fertile" to provide a scholar with a lifetime of work.[1] Professor Meillet is no mean authority among the living Orientalists of Europe, and he has himself contributed a great deal to Iranian scholarship, and so this remark of his seems to us to be all the more striking. Very probably this remark has been due to the very small amount of old and middle Iranian Literature that has been discovered hitherto, to the very limited range of subjects which this Literature covers and also (though probably quite unconsciously) to the very small number of people to whom this Iranian Literature is sacred. Because of these considerations Western scholars might have had some justification in making these remarks; still to us Easterners, and above all to Zoroastrians, they would come as somewhat of a shock. Meillet is primarily a philologist – perhaps the greatest now living – and in the domain of "comparative philology" the Iranian branch of languages does occupy a comparatively small place. To most Western scholars, therefore, Avestan (or Iranian) studies are a mere side-line taken up to help the main work in Linguistics (as with Meillet) or in Vedic studies

1. L' Avesta est un texte souvent rebutant. Quiconque l'a beaucoup pratiqué excusera M. Geldner, sinon de n'avoir pas terminer sa monumentale édition, du moins d'avoir écrit, au seuil de la préface que "l'Avesta n'est pas un de ces champs fertiles a l'étude dequels on devrait consacrer les meilleurs annés de sa vie". (Trois Conférences sur les Gāthās de l'Avesta, 1925).

(as with Geldner).[2] But even in the West we do find Bartl lomae, and Jackson, and Andreas who have spent the larg part of their energies in the study of Iranian subjects.

Under the term "Iranian" I would include all matte connected with Iran before the Islamic conquest (A. D. 65 and also all matters connected with the Zoroastrian Faith ev after that date. And we may divide the students of this subje in this country into two groups, Zoroastrian and Noi Zoroastrian.

We shall deal with the second group first. Among tl Hindu and Moslem scholars there are just a few who ha studied Iranian Languages, History and Culture. But so f as I am aware there is but one among them who has take up Iranian studies as an end in itself. In fact there are so f only three University centres in India (outside Bombay) whe students may find it possible to get any help in this directio These are the University of Calcutta, the Viśvabhārati and tl University of Allahabad. As regards Calcutta it was und the far-sighted regime of Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee that I myse had the privilege of introducing the study of Iranian Languag and Culture as a part of the M. A. Course in Comparati Philology. During my stay there I had the happiness teaching many pupils, but they have all learnt the subje either for the examination merely or as a side branch to hel them better with their Sanskrit or Philology. At the Viśv bhārati (Śāntiniketan) the beginning of Iranian studies wa made by my erudite friend Pandit Vidhuśekhara Bhattachary and I also helped a little to develop these studies a bit furthe At present we both have the satisfaction of seeing Irania studies there in charge of Professor Dr. Manilal Patel. He ha had the inestimable privilege of having been a pupil of Ka Geldner. I do not know how far he has imbibed the opinio of his Guru quoted in the beginning and how far he regard Avesta as a secondary subject. But I do hope that he wi prove that Iranian studies are really worthy of engaging ou

2. Geldner's monumental edition of the Avesta Texts did occupy him fo many years, and he has written a considerable lot on Iranian subjects yet he was first and last a student of the Vedas.

attention during all one's lifetime. At Allahabad my friends Professor Dr. A. Siddiqi and Mr. Kṣetreśachandra Chattopadhyaya are both well-trained Iranists. The latter was, I believe mainly instrumental in having selections from the Avesta made compulsory for the M. A. degree in Sanskrit, and he himself teaches the texts prescribed. Professor Siddiqi has been a pupil of the famous Andreas. In fact he is the only pupil of Andreas from among the Professors in this country. But neither has made Iranian his main subject. Siddiqi deals with Semitic languages and Chattopadhyaya with Vedic.

Then there are a number of Hindu gentlemen outside educational circles, who have been writing of late on Iranian subjects. It is a happy augury that our Hindu friends are getting interested in our Iranian Culture and Religion. But unfortunately they lack the proper training and the requisite critical acumen for producing really scholarly works, because they seem to place a great deal of reliance on perfectly amateurish works by various uncritical Parsi writers. This makes their works quite unacceptable to the world of scholars. Most of these gentlemen think that a good grounding in Sanskrit (which they undoubtedly possess, and a little knowledge of Avesta (chiefly from translations) and a mere smattering of Comparative Philology constitute ample equipment for tackling their subjects. Such works, though undertaken in a most laudable spirit, could only be called very unscholarly and hence thoroughly unreliable. The ordinary Parsi "lay" reader is keenly attracted by the compliment implied in the mere writing of such a work, but unfortunately this class of writings lay the foundations of many fallacious theories and weird notions.

Coming now to the Zoroastrian group of Iranists in India, I would not here deal with our Dasturs and scholars before the middle of the 19th century. Of course to these early teachers we owe the very preservation of our ancient texts and traditions. But I would here merely content myself with suggesting that my esteemed friend Mr. Behramgore T. Anklesaria might some day write their history in detail. One

might have expected that in these modern days the best writers on Iranian subjects, at least in this country, would be Parsis. Unfortunately we find that the output of real solid work in this direction has been getting less and less of late, and that most of the good work done by the Parsis belongs to the elder generation.

It was Kharshedji Rustamji Cama whom Darmesteter called "le Dastour laique" who first introduced us Parsis to "the methods of philology". In the fifties of the last century Cama attended the lectures of Bournouf and Spiegel and other great scholars of Europe. He made up his mind to give to his community the benefit of his learning and to start a modern school of Iranian studies among the Parsis, because they were the heirs to and custodians of this ancient Religion and Culture. When he returned from Europe to Bombay he started a class for the teaching of Avesta and Pahlavi on "modern philological lines". The best known among his numerous pupils were Edalji Kershaspji Antia, Kavasji Edalji Kanga, Tehmurasp Dinshahji Anklesaria and Sheriarji Dadabhai Bharucha. All of them were ordained priests and some were actually practising as priests. They had received really uptodate instruction from K. R. Cama and they in their turn taught pupils of their own.

Edalji Antia was a good teacher and he has given us a valuable edition of the Pahlavi *Kārnāmak-i-Artaxšīr-i-Pāpakān* and of the *Pāzand* texts and an edition of the text of the Avesta *Vandidād*. Kavasji Kanga worked chiefly on the Avesta. He has given us complete translations of the Avesta texts (excluding the so-called "fragments") into Gujarāti. These have been ever since the authoritative translations amongst the Parsi community generally. Although the march of scholarship might have made these renderings somewhat "out of date", still there is a very great deal of fine suggestive matter in his writings and, what I value most in him, he has a simple and whole-hearted fervour and reverence for his Master Zarathushtra. Kanga has also given us a very full *Avesta-English Dictionary* (indeed, the only one existing in the English

[illegible]guage)[1] and an Avesta Grammar in which he definitely [illegible]lowed the plan of the Sanskrit grammars of his days. [illegible]hmurasp Anklesaria was specially great at Pahlavi and [illegible]herited a long tradition of Pahlavi learning. His most [illegible]luable work consists of his numerous editions of Pahlavi [illegible]rks many of which are even today recognised as standard. [illegible]eriarji Bharucha I regard as the greatest of the first batch of [illegible]maji's pupils. He possessed a very thorough knowledge of [illegible]esta, Pahlavi and Persian[2] and, to it may be added, a com-[illegible]ete mastery of Sanskrit.[3] He has left us a series of extremely [illegible]luable works in print and a good many more in manuscript.[4] [illegible]eriarji was an ardent "reformer", like his great Guru, [illegible]. R. Cama, and was an uncompromising fighter against [illegible]perstition of every sort. Those were the days of the early [illegible]ationalists," amongst the Parsis; the bulk of the community, [illegible]wever moved but slowly[5] and to them Sheriarji and his [illegible]ends seemed to have gone almost to the limits of "irreligion." [illegible]ese latter belonged to the much maligned *Rahnumāi-e [illegible]āzdayasnān Sabhā* (the Society for showing the Path of the [illegible]āzdāyasna Faith). K. R. Cama was the original founder of it [illegible]th the help of many true friends. And these people worked [illegible]th puritanical and iconoclastic zeal for the cause they had [illegible]arest their hearts. But it must be confessed that they [illegible]iled to get the response and the encouragement they so [illegible]hly deserved, because the community as a whole was not [illegible]ady for it. Hence it is that many valuable papers of [illegible]eriarji are still lying unpublished. Among these is a [illegible]mplete translation of the five Gāthās.

To a later generation of Camaji's pupils belonged Jivanji [illegible]mshedji Modi whose long and honoured life ended but nine

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[1] There is the Gāthic Dictionary by L. H. Mills in English, but I believe it is not quite complete.

[2] All the older Parsi students of Avesta and Pahlavi have had a firm basis of Persian.

[3] Camaji insisted on his pupils knowing Sanskrit besides Persian, French and German as well.

[4] Most of these are with the Fort Printing Press in Bombay. The first volume of these papers has just appeared.

[5] As every community does and as the Parsi community is doing even today.

months ago. His activities were numerous and very varied. A man of encyclopaedic reading, he had the very estimable habit of noting and docketing every bit he had read or seen or heard. But the most notable thing in Jivanji Modi was his intense desire (amounting almost to a passion) of sharing his knowledge with others, especially with his own community. Hence he has been known as a truly voluminous writer on Iranian and other subjects. In fact he has done more than any other scholar to make Iranian subjects "popular".

Dastur Peshotan Dastur Behramji Sanjana and his son Dastur Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana might also be mentioned here. Dastur Peshotan was a deep student of Pahlavi, more on the old and orthodox lines. He began to edit the *Dinkard*, perhaps the most notable and the most valuable work in Pahlavi. He died before many volumes had been published, and the work was completed by his son Dastur Darab. This latter was well up in all the results of modern philology and scholarship. He was thoroughly well acquainted with French and German, and having been Principal of the Avesta-Pahlavi Madresa in Bombay he had trained up numerous pupils. He lived long enough to see the last volume of the *Dinkard* (Vol. xix) published. The publication had taken nearly forty years' work from the father and from the son, and it is an achievement of which any one might be proud.

Another scholar of the old generation who had come under strong Western influence was Dastur Hoshang Dastur Jamasp Jamasp-Asa of Poona. He was a friend of Martin Haug and for many years they worked together and produced in collaboration some important Pahlavi texts. To Dastur Hoshang Haug owed a great lot of information with regard to Zoroastrian ritual and ceremonial.

Ervad Khurshedji Erachji Pavri, happily still living, is a remarkable scholar of the older generation. Though unacquainted with European languages and though possessing a very slight knowledge of English, he has done some very notable work in the field of Avestan Literature and Iranian Philosophy. He knows Persian thoroughly well and being a

priest he is entirely at home in Zoroastrian lore. To this he adds a unique knowledge of all writings on Iranian subjects produced in Gujarati. He has written a large number of essays and many of them are characterised by deep insight and accurate scholarship. Indeed Khurshedji Pavri has proved that a man can be a fine scholar even on our purely traditional lore just through the help of hard work and strong common sense and by casting off unreasoning prejudices.

We have dealt with the older generation of Parsi scholars and before we pass on to the younger people we should turn to the first inspirer and the Guru of them all – K. R. Cama – who has remained unequalled by few and surpassed by none. It would need a paper by itself to do justice to all that he has meant to Parsi scholarship and Parsi advancement during the greater part of the nineteenth century. Suffice it to say that there is no branch of Iranian learning which he has not touched and in touching has not illumined with his versatile genius and his clear reasoning. I personally had never had the privilege of "sitting at his feet", but I well remember the gentle figure of K. R. Cama attending every meeting. His very modesty was a result of his deep learning. There was always a sweet reasonableness about his discussions and he was always ready to give up any opinion, however deeply cherished, if once he was convinced of his mistake. In his days he was one of the worst abused men by the "orthodox" party but Cama went on his way unperturbed, "in praise or in dispraise the same". He was an indefatigable worker, always with pockets bulging with books and papers and always reading even when threatened with blindness towards the end of his life. But the most priceless gift he has left us is his own example, a deeply learned man, yet very warm-hearted and firm in his devotion to his God and his Prophet. He inspired his pupils with a love and devotion that I have hardly seen equalled by any other teacher among us.

The first pupils of Cama, as already mentioned above, became teachers in their turn and our present generation of Parsi Iranists are their pupils, and thus sort of "grandsons" of K. R. Cama. Some of them have achieved fame in their

own line and proved themselves worthy of their teachers. Of these I should like to mention a few.

Dastur Manekji M. Dhalla of Karachi, was at one time a modest clerk who attracted the attention of Bombay people by his learned essays on Zoroastrian Theology. Arrangements were made for him which enabled him to study during some years with Prof. A. V. W. Jackson in the Columbia University, New York. On his return the Parsis of Sind and Baluchistan installed him as their Head-Priest and provided him with full opportunities for research. He has produced a series of valuable works on Iranian subjects and has achieved fame beyond India. But being of "reforming" and distinctly Western tendencies and not "orthodox" enough he is not much favoured by a large section of the community. Still he has proved in his books his wide reading and his desire for serving truth which must be recognised even though we may not always agree with his opinions.

Ervad Bahmanji N. Dhabhar is another erudite scholar extremely good at Pahlavi, but as modest and retiring as he is learned and accurate. He has learnt accuracy and patience in research from the great Cama, and whatever he writes deserves consideration. He is always abreast of the latest research going on in Europe and elsewhere. In short he keeps up the finest traditions of his Guru, and beats even him in his desire to avoid all limelight.

Mr. Behramgore T. Anklesaria has inherited the inspiration of K. R. Cama in a double fashion, in the first place through his father Tehmurasp Anklesaria and later by direct contact with the great teacher himself. Brought up from his very childhood in an atmosphere of Pahlavi manuscripts and accurate scholarship Behramgore has proved himself a very thorough scholar. Besides this fine training he has also inherited a valuable collection of Pahlavi manuscripts. He is easily our leading authority in Pahlavi and he unites in himself the traditional learning of the Dasturs[1] as well as the

1. He traces his descent direct from Nairyosang Dhaval, the great Dastur who translated the ancient Zoroastrian texts into Sanskrit.

latest results of western scholarship. We hope, now that he has retired from other work, that he would be devoting all his time to his beloved Pahlavi manuscripts.

Mr. Sohrab J. Balsara is a very modest and retiring gentleman who prefers to hide in his remote cottage and work at Iranian studies. He has already won fame as an excellent teacher and as editor of the particularly difficult texts of *Ehrpatastān* and *Nirangistān*. He too has worked mainly on Pahlavi.

Dr. Manekji B. Davar is a pupil of Geldner and is a very well-trained and able student. But he, too, has shown a decided preference for the quiet retirement of his study to the limelight of publicity. He has always been an indefatigable reader and has often helped with his learning in difficult problems of Iranian learning.

Dr. Jamshed M. Unwala has had the good fortune of being trained by Bartholomae.[1] He is thus my *guru-bhai*. He has plunged himself heart and soul into archæological research and has personally carried out valuable excavations at Susa. He has had a large number of papers to his credit which have marked him out to be a very accurate scholar. He was also the first to decipher the famous Hamadan gold-plate of Darius.

I must also mention here the first modern Persian scholar of Iranian subjects, Prof. Aga Pour-é-Davoud, who is presiding over the Persian-Arabic section of this Conference. He also is a pupil of Bartholomae. He has undertaken a translation of all the Avesta texts into modern Persian. He has already done the *Gāthās* and the *Yashts* and the *Khurdeh-Avesta* has also been just published. The most valuable parts of these publications are the introductions he has written. His translations follow Bartholomae in the main. Being a poet of the very first rank in Persian, his mother-tongue, he has been able to make his translations as melodious and inspiring as they are scholarly – a very rare merit indeed.

1. Dr. Unwala was in Europe during the Great War. He finished his studies at Paris.

These translations have been very warmly received in modern Iran. He has come at the psychological moment when modern Iran has been eagerly demanding knowledge of her own past, and especially about the Message of Zarathushtra, whom they all now acknowledge as the Greatest Son of Iran. Pour-e-Davoud has given to modern Iran what she has been needing most, and the future alone shall show how deeply and how fundamentally his writings have affected the shaping of the destinies of the Iran of to-morrow.

All these are worthy scholars and the Parsis among them have been doing their best to keep up the work of their first *guru*, K. R. Cama. Very unfortunately however, the vast majority of the second generation of students of Iranian subjects have failed to keep up with the progress of modern Iranian research as it is being carried on in the West and even in India by some of the Hindu scholars that I have named. Cama insisted on his pupils knowing both French and German, and the first batch of scholars did indeed pick up quite enough of both these languages to be able to read the latest works on their special branch written in either of these languages. Thus they kept their learning fresh and up-to-date. But their pupils have sadly neglected this. The result has been that the grammar and philology, as is now taught to the third generation of pupils today, is hopelessly out of date—in fact, it is very little beyond what Camaji had taught to his own pupils. The result is that the present generation of Parsi students of "Avesta and Pahlavi" get very wrong and hazy notions of what these languages really are. Their grammatical notions are those that prevailed in the sixties and seventies of the last century. The works of Bartholomae, of Andreas, of Meillet – in fact works in any language except English and Gujarati are sealed books to almost all our younger students of Iranian subjects. As a result of this neglect of grammar and philology there is a falling off in the accuracy of their scholarship, and consequently the papers and works produced by these younger scholars are rightly held to be of no value by Western scholars. Misleading translations are made of various passages and on these unsubstantial translations are erected

vast theoretical structures of cultural and philosophical theories. We are apt to forget in our enthusiasm that a reconstruction of the thought and culture of our ancestors must be based on accurate grammar and sound etymology. Not a single word could be explained away, no sentence could be twisted out of its original construction to suit our preconceived notions. One has to become steeped into "the spirit of the language", and one has to learn to appreciate "the feel of it" (the *Sprachgefühl* as the Germans so aptly call it). This can come only after long years of patient study and an accurate grasp of the principles of language - growth and the intricacies of grammar.

The very fact, that ancient Iranian literature is so very scanty in amount, makes it absolutely necessary that the language nearest akin to the Ancient Iranian should be accurately studied. All our present day Parsi students of Avesta have been neglecting the study of Sanskrit absolutely. The immense strength and the wonderful accuracy of Sheriarji's writings is certainly due to his thorough grasp of Sanskrit. About twenty years ago I examined the M. A. (Sixth Year) classes at the Bombay Madresas in Sanskrit. I found that they had done about half of Bhandarkar's First Book! And now even that has been dropped ! No wonder that when Hindu scholars steeped in Sanskrit learning take to the study of Iranian along scientific methods, they very soon leave us Parsis far behind. This I know from personal experience of teaching Iranian languages to Hindu pupils in the University of Calcutta. This is the most glaring defect in the teaching of Iranian language in Bombay today.

As regards Pahlavi, I think the teacher should possess at least a nodding acquaintance with the elements of Semitic grammar. Few pupils of Pahlavi at present even know the meaning of "trilateral roots". In Pahlavi, again there are special difficulties in reading the so-called "non-Aryan" words. I should like to suggest that in the beginning the non-Aryan word should be taught always in its original form, i. e., the pupil should be made to pronounce it just as it is written. Then as the student progresses the "Aryan reading" might be

given. This will give to the pupil a clearer notion of the true proportion of "Aryan" and "non-Aryan" in the language. Of course, each individual teacher would have his own methods, and it would not do to dogmatise in any way.

K. R. Cama certainly gave correct notions of grammar and philology as were current in his day to his pupils. But it is surely a very great mistake to give the same notions and to use the same nomenclature today. We must fall in with the modern tendencies of linguistic analysis and adapt our grammars to the language we are dealing with and not twist the language to suit a particular grammatical terminology. This is specially to be noted with regard to the grammar of Pahlavi as taught in the Bombay Madresas today. Pahlavi is largely analytic in structure, more or less like modern Persian, and it would give an utterly wrong notion of the language if its grammar were taught to the beginner on the lines of the synthetic Avesta. It would be just as bad as teaching English grammar on the basis of Latin or Greek, or Gujarati grammar on that of Sanskrit, or Persian grammar on that of Arabic. This is the main reason, it seems to me, why the vast majority of our students entirely miss the true spirit of the language even though they may be able to rattle off all the grammatical declensions and conjugations.

I think this much would be enough for the language side of Iranian studies in Bombay. Still I should like to mention in passing the recently discovered and less known Iranian languages, Sogdian, the Turfan dialects and Old Khotanese. They are of special importance to all students who desire to study seriously Avesta and Pahlavi.

Coming to some other aspects of Iranian studies among Parsis today, I would like to draw special attention to the work of Andreas, about which there is almost complete ignorance amongst our students. Andreas' outstanding work has been to trace the so-called "Avesta" script (in its present form) to an original ancient Estranghelo (a variety of Aramaic), in which the Turfan fragments had been written down. Andreas has striven to give us a much clearer appreciation of the *sounds* which these letters represented and thus we can

get a more correct and more original pronunciation of our ancient Avesta texts. Andreas, in collaboration with Wackernagel, has made a brilliant attempt to restore the original text (the *Urtext*) of the *Gāthā Ahunavaiti* along these lines, comparing it with the ordinary text, viz, Geldner's. And in this new light many difficult passages seem clearer and many of our notions of Avestan Philology need to be revised. Whether we accept all that Andreas has said is a different question, but no serious student of the Avesta, and especially of the *Gāthās* can afford to ignore this work.

Then there are rich fields in Iranian History, Archæology and Ethnology still practically untouched. In Archæology Dr. Unwala has already made a name for himself, yet he has but touched the merest fringe of the subject. The Persian Government has been wanting us Parsis to help Iran in her modern renaissance. This branch might be pointed out to scholarly-minded Parsis. It would of course need several years of preliminary training. Dr. Unwala had put in quite fifteen years of strenuous preparation. In Ethnology the first need is an ethnological survey of Modern Iran, and then there should be an organised attempt made to place the various tribes mentioned by Iranian writers themselves in the past, as well as those mentioned by foreign writers. There have been scattered attempts made in this direction, but nothing systematic as far as I know. Then there is Epigraphy. I am certain there are a lot of Pahlavi and Middle Iranian inscriptions still undiscovered, and probably a lot of Ancient Iranian inscriptions as well. Only a few weeks ago we read of a set of plates of Darius the Great having been found at Persepolis. There are a few hundred fine Sasanian seals with inscriptions in the Calcutta Museum which await decipherment.

One thing that struck me very forcibly during my student days in England and Germany was the depth of learning which some of my teachers displayed, as also their breadth of vision.[1] The wonder to my mind was how one person could have managed to acquire all that amount of

1. I will never forget the impression made on me by Geldner in this respect.

learning. During my own experience as teacher and in course of my own studies, I have found that as one tries to go deeper into one's subject the mental horizon is perforce widened. In spite of the very great specialisation of modern research work, I have found that a sure foundation for any good substantial work is an all-embracing outlook. To use the words of an ancient Pāzand text our outlook should be *Zamin pahenā rūt darānā Xvuršet bālā* (wide as the earth, extensive as rivers, and lofty as the sun). This is what is very sadly lacking in our present generation of students. Not only is their vision confined to Iran alone, but even there they do not care to look at things beyond the subject or the period they are studying. I suppose it is often the pressure of examinations that forces students thus to circumscribe their mental horizon, but a good teacher can assuredly find ample opportunities to lead his students on to wider interests.

The time has arrived, I think, when the Parsis themselves should work out the history of their own forefathers. After all they have inherited the ancient traditions and so are in the position to understand all the implications of these far better than any Westerner can hope to do. But whatever particular or special branch a student wishes to take up, he must, first of all, have a full view of the whole, so that he could understand where exactly his own particular bit fits into the whole. But our Parsi writers – admirable as some of them undoubtedly are – have confined themselves almost entirely to their own special narrow groove. This often makes their writings extremely dull for the general reader, and far too limited in scope to be of any great use to a scholar.

With many of our writers on Iranian subjects, especially when they write in Gujarati, this limited viewpoint results in an extremely exaggerated and one-sided presentation of Iranian history and culture. They write about the glories of our ancestors and of their greatness in flowery speech, which in the main consists of vague superlatives. What is wanted by the present cultured public is a sober well-balanced account, giving not their virtues alone but setting forth their weaknesses

as well. This balance can come only when we consider Iran in relation with the other contemporary peoples. We usually lose sight entirely of the cultural give and take between Iran and other lands, and we think of the Spirit of Iran as influencing all other lands without itself being influenced by these others. This is a capital mistake, and when united with our natural bent to look at the bright side only of Iran it is no wonder that our Parsi historians are one-sided. It is only by looking at both the sides, the bright as well as the dark, that we can understand why and how our once glorious and invincible spirit deteriorated time and again and led to the downfall of the Achæmenian and the Sasanian Empires. And side by side with this we must look upon Iran as one of a group of ancient nations so as to enable us to get a true perspective and to appraise her at her true value. I would like to vary slightly the words of Kipling and ask : "What does he know of Iran, who only Iran knows ? " There are the inexorable Laws of God which have been formulated by the Prophet of Iran Himself, the Laws of Karma, which govern the destinies of nations; and we must try to understand how these Laws worked in moulding the destinies of ancient Iran. Merely to say that Darius III or Yazdagard Shariyar were great and good rulers, "but singularly unfortunate" explains nothing and cannot be called history. In short Iran must not be treated as an isolated semi-divine entity, great and spiritual, but pursued by an unreasoning and unrelenting fate. On the contrary Iran has all through been essentially and intensely *human*, with all our human limitations and defects. Throughout her agelong history she has paid again and again the penalty of human follies and human frailties, thus fulfilling the Divine Law which our own Zarathushtra had formulated in such clear terms for our guidance. And believe me, this *human Iran* is far more lovable and appeals deeper to our hearts than the semi-divine, faultless, "unfortunate" pictured by so many of our writers.

At the very beginning of the history of Iranian thought and of Iranian religion we have to bear in mind that the Aryans that came into Iran found there an already hoary

civilisation. Even the first great Teacher Zarathushtra was not uninfluenced by earlier Non-Aryan thought.[1]

The Medians and the later Achæmenian and Sasanian Persians did not come to an uninhabited and an unoccupied land, and our Parsi historians often do not make even a passing reference to these earlier inhabitants. History thus loses its true perspective, because these Aryans were deeply influenced by the culture and thought of their predecessors. Then again during the course of these Aryan Empires Iran was not shut up in a sort of watertight compartment. Surely there were the Babylonians, the Egyptians and later on the Greeks and the Romans, with whom Iran had very intimate contacts politically and culturally. Then there were the various religious beliefs which were influencing Zoroastrian Theology all through these many centuries. Among these at least three are yet living religions, Buddhism, Judaism and Christianity. Without considering all these factors it is not possible to get a true history of Zoroastrianism itself, while Mithraism and the later "heresies" of Mani and of Mazdak become utterly unconnected episodes, instead of being, what they actually were, extremely important indications of the general trend of the Iranian thought and culture. These factors help us to understand why these great Iranian Empires fell. Nations cannot grow and develop in complete isolation just because "man is by nature a political animal".

Another idea in the mind of our average Parsi is that there had been a more or less complete break in Iranian culture at the Arab conquest. What actually occurred was a change merely in the outer garb of religion; the spirit and the culture of Iran remained just the same as ever. Though temporarily eclipsed under the first four and the later Umayyad Khalifs of Damascus, the spirit of Iran came into its own again and triumphed gloriously under the Abbasid Khalifs of Baghdad. The "golden prime of good Haroun-al-Rashid" was the triumph of Aryan Iran over the Arab culture. Ever

1. I have had this on the authority of Sir Muhammad Iqbal, conveyed to me in a private letter.

since that period all that has been best in Islamic thought has been in origin and in spirit distinctly Iranian. And even in the early days of Islam, in the days of Arab supremacy, some of the greatest writers in Arabic were Iranian by race and Zoroastrian by birth. Few Parsis care to study in detail the history of Islamic Iran. If they did they would rejoice to see the spirit of Ancient Iran shining glorious and triumphant most of the time, albeit in the somewhat unfamiliar garb of Islam. And this study would also enable us to understand the true inner signification, and to trace to its ultimate sources the wonderful renaissance of Iran today under Reza Shah Pahlavi.

While I am on this topic I must very strongly deprecate the tendency of many of our enthusiastic Parsi writers to see many of our modern scientific achievements and our modern institutions anticipated in ancient Iranian works. Of course the ancient Iranians were not savages, neither were they a "child humanity", but to attribute to them our modern institutions with all their modern twentieth century implications is very bad history.

I think that this tendency to exaggerate the good points of our ancestors and to suggest that they had anticipated most of our modern inventions is due to a natural reaction. It was the Westerners who first worked in these fields, and many of them (perhaps quite unconsciously) showed a distinct Western and a Christian bias[1] and consistently belittled the achievements of the Eastern nations. Naturally, therefore, when we Easterners began to write our own history, we were in our enthusiasm carried away to the other extreme. A good many Parsi writers believe that Iran was the home of all the culture of the world, just as many Hindu writers find every modern discovery already known to the Vedic Ṛṣis. Is there any wonder that serious students both in the West as well as in the East do not read such writings! But these writings give to the average reader very wrong ideas about the ancient times.

1. For instance, when Mills seems to think (in his Gāthās, p. 405) that the idea of "eternity" is "too advanced" for Zarathushtra and his age.

Serious and well-sustained evidence about any particular new idea, however startling, is a very different matter, but mere unsupported statements are extremely hazardous. Only the other day I read that the very name *saṁskṛta* was originally *zand-kṛta* and that therefore the Hindus had borrowed all their culture from Iran! Then there was the identification which was very popular a few years ago, and still quoted sometimes even today, that the *Druj Nasus* of the *Vandidād* represented disease germs![1] Surely one can explain the Druj Nasus as sound hygiene without going to this extreme of identification and all the implications that follow. I believe that there is quite enough of sound science and sublime philosophy in the extant ancient Iranian literature to establish its greatness without dragging in such misleading and extravagant ideas which bring ridicule upon the fair name of Parsi scholarship.

What I want to emphasise is that we do not need such half-learned students with just enough smattering of their subject to misinterpret passages and to rush to hasty conclusions, but we want a band of devoted scholars, who have patience enough to master their particular subject before putting pen to paper. Principal Shahpurshah H. Hodiwala of Junagadh – one of the soundest of Parsi scholars – once told me that a true student should not take up his pen until after he had read and thought over his subject for fifteen years.

The responsibility of producing such scholars amongst us rests on their teachers. The teachers themselves should have imbibed the true spirit of research. And they should guide their students in the ways of patient investigation of all sides of a question, of careful search for a fragment of truth buried underneath heaps of irrelevant matters. And both teachers and students should be strong enough in their love of truth to overcome all racial or religious bias.

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1. I do not know who started this brilliant notion. Very likely the idea originally was started by way of comparison of the hygiene of the Vandidād with that of modern times. But it was carried to the length of absolute identification.

Above all there should be a feeling of reverence for the past in all our investigations. The desire to attain a correct understanding of Iran's past should not be the outcome of mere historical curiosity. But we should firmly believe that our own roots lie deep in that past and that our present, therefore, has grown out of the past. Hence, to us the study of the past should serve as a light to guide us in our future progress. The knowledge of our past should become the *living inspiration* of our daily effort, and not a mere item of curious information. If Iranian studies are carried on amongst us Parsis in this spirit for the purposes of gaining inspiration for our present lives and for illumining our future progress–I am sure that a great many of our present troubles would be ended. Greece and Rome have served as such guiding stars to Europe through all history and are so even today. I had the great good fortune of visiting Athens many years ago and as I stood under the shadow of the Parthenon on the top of the Acropolis I realised, as I never had realised before, what Greece had meant to Europe. This is the main purpose of the study of ancient literatures and these studies are rightly called "humanities". Our minds should not become lumber rooms of old curiosities but real laboratories wherein out of these ancient ingredients we may extract the elixir of a newer and higher life. Western scholars may regard *our* ancient culture as so much interesting information. But nothing can be more painful than to see a Parsi merely echoing the sentiments of Western scholars on Iranian matters; for to us ancient Iran must be a living flame, the very source of all our being. The Pahlavi Iran of today has already begun to feel this wonderful inspiration of her glorious past and has discovered in it the rejuvenating *āb–e hayāt.* Shall we Parsis in India refuse this life-giving draught and lose our souls?

THE DIALECT OF THE GATHAS AND ITS RELATION WITH THAT OF THE YOUNGER AVESTA.

By Dr. Manilal Patel, Ph. D. (Marburg).

(*Santiniketan.*)

I

Two dialects are distinctly discernible in the language of the Avesta. The one and older of them may be termed the Gāthā (GAv) dialect in which are written the Five Gāthās of the Yasna (Y.), viz. the Ahunavaitī Gāthā (Yasna 28–34), the Gāthā Uštavaitī (Yasna 43–46), the Gāthā Spəntā-Mainyū (Yasna 47–50), the Gāthā Vohu-xšathrā (Yasna 51) and the Gāthā Vahištōištī (Yasna 53), the Yasna Haptāθhaiti (Yasna 35, 3–41, 6) and the Ā-Āiryāmā-Išyō prayer (Yasna 54, 1).[1] The other and younger one may be called the dialect of the Younger Avesta (YAv).[2] This latter is the language of all the Hās of the Yasna excepting the chapters mentioned above, the Vispered, the Yašts, the Khordeh Avesta, the Vendidād and a number of minor texts and fragments.[3] There are, no doubt, some characteristics which are common to both of these dialects, as for example, the various effects on the vowel *a* of its surrounding alphabet, the nasalization of a short vowel before *nm* and of a long vowel before *mr*, the frequent use of Anaptyxis and Epenthesis, the extension of the thematic vowel to the non-thematic stems in declension as well as in conjuga-

1. H. Reichelt: Awestisches Elementarbuch (AwEl.) § 11.

2. There are some pieces like Y. 12; 13; 14; 27, 13–15: 56; 58 which externally look like belonging to the GAv dialect but which are compositions of a later period as is proved by their defective syntax; cf. Reichelt AwEl. § 11.

3. The minor texts are Nyāishes, Gāhs, Sirozahs and Afringāns, and among the fragments the most notable is the Hadhokht Nask.

tion, the limited use of an augment, the Genitive dual ending in -ā (from Indo-germ.*-as) and the Instr. Pl. in -iš, etc.[4]

Nevertheless, the dialect of the GAv is, generally speaking, more archaic than that of the YAv. A few examples may be noted here.

The possessive adjectives *ma*-(fem. *mā*-) "my, mine,"[5] *θwa*-(fem. *θwā*-) "thy, thine"[6] are found in use only in the GAv dialect while the YAv dialect has only the reflexive *hva*- and *hava*-, which is represented in the Gāthās as *x^va*-and in the Vedas as *sva*-.

In the GAv dialect the *t*-ablative has been formed, as in Sanskrit, only in the *a*-declension, otherwise, the genitive serves also the purpose of the ablative.[8] See, for example, Ys. 32, 5: *tā dəbənaota mašīm hujyātoiš amərətātāscā.* "You cheated mankind of good life and immortality by this (deed)".[9] But in the YAv the ablative singular has been distinguished everywhere from the genitive by a special form and the typical ending-*t* (or-*at* in consonant-decl. and-*āt* in *a*-decl.) is not confined simply to the *a*-declension, but is found invariably in all the declensions (*ā*-, *ī*-, *ū*- and cons.)[10]

The first person singular present indicative of the root *pərəs*- 'to ask' is regularly *pərəsā*, while the YAv has *pərəsāmi* which is the same as the Vedic *pṛcchāmi*. The Gathic usage which exactly corresponds to the Latin *posco*, is significantly distinct from the same form ending in-*mi* in other Indo-Iranian texts.

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4. Cf. Reichelt: AwEl. § 10.
5. Cf. Greek ἐμός, Arm. *im*.
6. Cf. Greek σός, Arm. *kho*.
7. Another possessive adjective of this type *ahma*-"our" is found to have been used in both the GAv and the YAv dialects; cf. Bartholomae Altiranisches Wörterbuch (AltirWb) s. v.
8. Reichelt: AwEl. § 326; Jackson: Awesta Grammar (AG.) § 322.
9. Cf. vañcayitum brāhmanam chāgalāt (Pañcatantra 3, 117) "to cheat a Brāhmaṇa of his he-goat." Cf. also Reichelt: AwEl. § 494.
10. Cf. Bartholomae: Grundris der Iranischen Philologie I§398; Reichelt: AwEl. § 326.

Attention may also be drawn to the frequent use in the GAv of the aorist of the √*gam-*; the YAv has preserved only *jamyāt*, an optative form of the same root.

These examples which are by no means exhaustive, prove that morphologically the GAv dialect is more archaic than that of the YAv. Phonetically we reach the same conclusion despite the fact that there is, as yet, no absolute unanimity among the Avestan scholars as regards the orthography and the system of transliteration of the Avestan alphabets.[11] For, examples like the GAv *urvāzəmā* 'bliss' as against the YAv *urvāsma*, GAv *uzəmem* 'respectful' as against YAv *upasma-*, etc., point unmistakably to the same conclusion. Besides, a very remarkable case in this respect is that of the derivation of *drug + vant* which is *drəgvant-*in the GAv and *drvant-*in the YAv. This and other similar examples[12] indicate that *g* in these cases is preserved in the GAv while it is either assimilated by or dropped before *v* in the YAv. Moreover, the following table of parallel words from both the dialects bear out distinctly that the GAv dialect is phonetically less developed than that of the YAv.

GAv	YAv
aoyzā, aogədā	*aoxta*
dvaēšaṅhā	*tbaēšaṅha* (instr. sing.)
daibišyant-(from **dbišyant-*)	*tbišyant-*
daibitīm (from **dbitīyam*)	*bitīm*
dəmāna-(dissyllabic)	*nmāna-*(Pehl. and Pers. *mān*)

These facts have led to a common assumption that the language of the YAv is the continuation of the language of the GAv, and as a parallel case, the relation of the Classical Sanskrit to the Vedic or of the Attic to the Homeric Greek is cited.[13] A. V. W. Jackson's *Avesta Grammar* and H. Reichelt's

11. The system of transliteration of the Avestan alphabets as given by Bartholomae in his AltirWb is now generally followed by Avestan scholars; but there are other systems also, notably, the one established by Andreas-Wackernagel and the other followed by Merkwart.
12. Cf. Reichelt: AwEl. § 56; § 157; Jackson AG. § 187 (i).
13. See, for example, Jackson AG. Introduction § 54.

Awestiches Elementarbuch appear to share this assumption. As far as my information goes, it is only Meillet who has contested it for the first time when, in the Introduction to his *Trois Conferences sur les Gatha de l'Avesta* (Trois Conf.) he said: "It is important to note moreover, that despite the great proximity of linguistic types, the language of the Younger Avesta is not the continuation of the Gathic language. The fact has been indicated; but it has not been studied in the way it ought to be." [14] With this statement of Meillet as a starting point, the present paper aims to study and to determine if possible, the relationship between the dialect of the Gāthās and that of the Younger Avesta.[15]

II.

Let us first consider some typical words from the vocabulary which connote similar or identical ideas in both the GAv and the YAv. The YAv mentions the divisions of the society usually as three, namely, *aθaurva*–(*āθravan*–) "the priest", *raθaēštar*–"the warrior", and *vāstryō-fšuyant* "the husbandman". These three terms are in fact Indo-Iranian. The word *aθaurva*–is almost the same as the Vedic *atharva*–; the nominative *raθaēštā* is identical with the Vedic *rathesthāh* and "as regards the name *vāstryo-fšuyas*, for the 'agriculturist', it is not found in India; but the form from which is derived *fšu-ya*—the name for the 'beast', Sanskrit *paśu*, Av. *pasu*, declares itself as old by its vocalism (vocalism to the zero degree of the radical element in a derived verb)."[16] Now, if we turn to the GAv, we find that the three divisions of the society are suggested by two different groups of words: (i) *xᵛaetu*–, *vərəzəna*–, *airyaman*, and (ii) *zaotar*–, *nar*–, *vāstar*–, (*vāstrya*–). The first group is found often together in the Gāthās, but the second group has its words scattered here

4. P. 19: "Il importe d'ailleurs de noter que, malgre' la grand proximite' des types linguistiques, la langue de l'Avesta re'cent n'est pas la continuation de la langue gāthique. Le fait a e'te' indique'; Mais il n'a pas e'te' e'tudie' comme il me'riterait de l'e'tre."

5. I also gratefully acknowledge here that I have received many important suggestions from Meillet's article, Observations critique sur le texte de l'Avesta, Journal Asiatique (JA.) 1917, II, p. 183 ff.

6. Meillet: Trois Conf. p. 19.

nd there. Bartholomae[17] and Meillet[18] believe that the first roup represents the same ideas of social divisions as the bove-mentioned YAv terms. That, however, is not the case. E. Benveniste has recently proved in a very learned paper n "*Les classe sociales dans la tradition avestique*",[19] that the cattered GAv terms *zaotar–*, *nar–*, *vāstar–*(*vāstrya–*) represent he very ideas contained respectively in the YAv *āθravan–*, *aθaēštar–*, *vāstryo–fšuyant–*; and that the series *airyaman–* *xᵛaetu–*, *vərəzəna–*is not applicable to the functions of the riest, the warrior, and the agriculturer. On the other hand, t is now certain that *xᵛaetu–*, *vərəzəna–*, and *airyaman–*desig- ate the members of the YAv *nmāna–*, *vis–*, and *zantu–* espectively.[20] We cannot here fully discuss as to why *Zaraθ-uštra* transformed the social organisation of his time in terms of erritorial affinity disregarding the older traditional divisions. uffice it to say, however, that he wanted to unite the believers n Ahura Mazda, the Wise Lord, in one brotherhood known s *ašavan–*as against the non–believers in the opposite group ermed *drugvant–*. The faithful formed one 'fellowship' *haxəman–*). Be that as it may, it is clear that the traditional ndo–Iranian vocabulary is more faithfully preserved in the YAv than in the GAv.[21]

Now let us study some of the grammatical details such s variations in Inflection as found in both the GAv and the YAv dialects. First of all the noun-declension. The forms f the word *path–* m. 'path' as used in the GAv are:—

paθąm acc. sing. Y. 31, 9.
paθo acc. pl. Y. 33, 5; 34, 12; 43, 3; 53, 2.
paθō gen. sing. Y. 51, 13.
paiθī loc. sing. Y. 50, 4.

Now, the acc. sing. of the same word in YAv is generally *antąm*[22] (which is replaced at times by the analogous form

17. Cf. AltirWb. Columns 198, 1425 and 1859.
18. Op. cit. p. 19.
19. JA, 1932, Juillet–Septembre, p. 124.
20. E. Benveniste, op. cit. p. 130.
21. Cf. Meillet: Trois Conf. pp. 19f. JA, 1917, II, pp. 194 f.
22. Yt. 8, 7 and 38; 10, 3; 13, 53f; 57; H. 2, 17; Vyt. 42; etc.

pantānəm)[23] which is admittedly Indo-Iranian, cf. Vedic *pànthām* acc. sing. of *pàth* m. 'path'. The only possible explanation for the Gāthic acc. sing. *paθąm* is that it has replaced the traditional form under the influence of other forms of the same word, viz. *paθō*, *paiθī* etc. On the other hand, *pantąm* of the YAv[24] is decidedly older and more faithful to the Indo-Iranian tradition.

Another interesting example in this respect is that of the genitive (-ablative) sing. of the word *xratu*-m[25] the GAv has always *xratēus*,[26] while the YAv has kept up *xraθwo* (Y. 22, 25).[27] Now we know that the corresponding Vedic word *kratù*-m. is one of those few substantives which still preserve the vocalism to the zero degree in their instr., dative and gen.-abl. singulars. These in the case of *kratù*-are *kràtvā*, *kràtve* and *kràtvaḥ* respectively.[28] As regards the instr. sing. of *xratu*-, the GAv has *xratū* sides by side *xraθwā*. The Gāthic forms of this word, therefore, show that the GAv had already eliminated or was in the process of eliminating the older type of forms which, however, were kept in use by the YAv dialect. This statement is also corroborated by the fact that the instr. plu. of the demonstrative pronoun *aēm* 'this' (Skt. *ayàm*) in the GAv is *anāiš*. The YAv, on the other hand, has preserved *aēibiš* (Y. 22) corresponding to the Ved. *ebhìḥ*, which is undoubtedly older than the Gāthic form.

Certain adjectives in both the Avestan and the Vedic languages are declined in varying degrees pronominally

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23. E. g. V. 13, 48.

24. The YAv has paθąm four times but it is, as already noted by Bartholomae (Alt-Ir. Worterbuch Column 843), acc. sing. of paθā-f. Cf. also JA. 1917, II, p. 188.

25. Variously translated as "Will, will-power, understanding, spiritual power, plan, insight etc." For details as regards the meaning of this word, see Bergaigne Rel. véd. III, 313; Geldner Drei Yasts 95; Vedische Studien I, 267 M. W. Smith, Studies in Gathic syntax § 71.

26. Y. 32, 4; 34, 14; 43, 6; 46, 18; 49, 6 and 50, 6.

27. Only once, in Vištāsp Yašt 41, the YAv has also xratēuš but in the ablative sense; cf. xrataot in Pursišnīhā 27.

28. The forms kràtoḥ, kràtave, kràtunā have arisen at a later period under the influence of the ordinary type of stems ending in-u-.

ecause of their being either derived from pronominal roots : allied to pronouns.[29] The most conspicuous instances 'e Av. *anya*–'other', Skt. *anyà*–; Av. *vīspa*–'all', Skt, *viśva*–, ıd Av. *aēva* 'one, alone'. The pronominal forms of *anya*– ı often used in the YAv are *anye*, nom. pl. mas. *ıyahmāi* dat. sing., and *anyaēšąm* gen. pl.–corresponding ;spectively to the Vedic *anye*, *anyasmāi* and *anyeṣām*. But ıe GAv has none of these pronominal forms. As regards *spa*–, the YAv has the nom. pl. mas. *vīspe* (pronominal) ır a number of times,[30] while the GAv has the latter form *spāŋho* in Y. 32, 3; 51, 20; and 53, 8. For gen. pl. of *vispa*,– ıe YAv has frequently the pronominal *vīspaēšąm*, while the Av has only *vīspanąm* in Y. 43, 2; 44, 7; and 45, 6; and for ative sing. the GAv has *vīspāi* for sever. times in a fixed ırmula *yavōi vīspāi* or *vīspāi yavē*.[32]

The same form is also found in the YAv but it is merely ı accident inasmuch as it occurs in the same Gāthic formula *we vīspāi* reproduced in *Frahang-i-oīm* 3[h 33]. As regards *evar*, we find it used only once (Y. 29, 83 nom. sing.) in the Av while its pronominal forms like *aevahmāt* abl. sg.[34] ;and *evahmi* loc. sg.[35] occur exclusively in the YAv: This elimination f the pronominal forms in the GAv but the preservation of the ıme in the YAv strengthens our doubt that the latter cannot e held as the continuation of the former; and that their flex- ınal development has not been strictly along the same lines.

We now come to the conjugational variations. The GAv as the following forms of the Av. √*mru*–(Ved. *brū*) ' to say, › speak ': *mraomī*, *mraotū*, *mraotā*, *mraoš*, *mruyāt*, *mravaitī* Subjunct.) All these represent the older types of conjugation.

29. Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, § 522 seq.; Jackson AG § 443; Macdonell, Vedic Grammar § 403.

30. See Bartholomae; AltirWb s. v.

31. In Yt. 65, 2 we have vīspanąm (aršnąm) but it is under the influence of vīspanąm, a feminine form used side by side of the former.

32. Y. 46, 11; 49, 8; 28, 8; 53, 1, and 4; 40, 2; 41, 2.

33. Cf. Meillet, JA, 1917, II, p. 190.

34. Nīrangastān, 99.

35. Hadoxt Nask 1, 1.

In the YAv. *mraot* is a very common form. The GAv also has this form but at the same time it has, by the side of *mraot*, also *mravat*, a novel form which the YAv does not possess. This relatively younger form *mravat* is formed after **mravam* first pers. sg. (YAv. *mraom*) and **mravan (t)* third pers. pl. The older form occurs very frequently in the GAv and the metre confirms it in Y. 32, 2 and 12; 44, 5; 46, 9. On the other hand, we read *mravat* in Y. 29, 3 without any variants. Here the metre would not militate against the reading of *mraot* but the tradition prefers *mravat*. This shows the form *mravat* is firmly established and unsuspected in the GAv dialect. In Y. 45, we have both *mraot* and *mravat*, the former in verse 5 and the latter in verse 2. The vocalisation of both these forms in their respective verses is quite in keeping with the requirement of the metre. This is very remarkable.[36] We find here that a newer type of form had already found its place in. the GAv, while it was not even recognised by the YAv dialect.[37]

The Av. √*sāh*– 'to teach, to order' (Ved. *śās* –) supplies us an interesting case regarding the transition of the athematic type to the thematic one. The Gāthic forms *sāstā* (Ved. *śāsti*) pres., *sāstū*, *sāzdūm* (Y. 31, 18) imperative, and *sāhīt* (Y. 50, 6) opt. show that the root has kept up the radical athematic element so far as these forms are concerned. The Vedic language has generalised the ā – vocalisation of this root in a large number of forms; *śāsti*, *śa'dhi*, *śāstana*, *aśāt* etc; but it has also the traces of the vocalism to the zero degree in the participle *śiṣán* and opt. *śiṣyām* etc.[38] Now, the GAv dialect has preserved also the thematic forms of this root: *sīšā* imperative 2nd sg. (Y. 34, 12 and 38, 11) and *sīšōit* opt. 3rd sg. (Y. 43, 3). The YAv dialect on the other hand, has neither the older athematic, nor the later thematic type of conjugational forms of √*sāh*; it has, however, in common with the GAv, *sāstar*-m. (Ved. *śāstar*–) 'master, lord' and '*sāsnā*–f. (Cf. Ved. *śāsana*–n.) 'teaching, order'–the two nouns made from the root √*sāh*.

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36. JA. 1917, II. 190 f.

37. In Y. 51, 19 the text has mraot (without any variant), but the hemistich lacks in the required number of syllables and even the reading mravat is not enough to restore the verse entirely.

38. See Whitney, Sanskrit Grammar, § 639.

Thus we see that the GAv dialect contains certain forms more evolved and more developed than those of the YAv dialect.

III

To sum up, let me put forth the conclusions we reach from the above lines:

(a) The dialects of the GAv. and of the YAv, though closely related to each other, do not show that the latter is exactly the continuation of the former. This is not to deny that as a whole, the GAv dialect is older and more archaic than that of the YAv. But it is certain that in point of linguistic evolution the YAv dialect does not strictly follow that of the Gāthās. Both of them belong not to the same, but similar dialectical types. The dialect of the GAv represents the stage when the language was evolving and gliding to a new state. Being the language of the age when one of the greatest, all-round reforms the world had ever seen, took place, it had in it a personal touch, life, vigour, for it could not differ much from the spoken language of the time. The YAv dialect, on the other hand, appears to have been static, formal, dull and often monotonous.

(b) As regards the vocabulary, the YAv contains at times more faithful remnants of the traditional Indo-Iranian words than the Gāthās. In this case we have an interesting analogy in the religious doctrine represented in both the Gāthās and the YAv. As is well-known, the younger Avestā gives us a more faithful glimpse of the ancient Indo-Iranian religion of the ritualistic character, than the Gāthās representing pure Zoroastrianism [39] in which sacrifice had no place.

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39 For an elaboration of this point, see Meillet.-Trois Confer. p. 17 f.

SOME REFERENCES ABOUT BUDDHISM IN IRANIAN LITERATURE AND HISTORY.

By Professor Aga Pour-e-Davoud.

(*Persia.*)

In this paper, I propose to deal with Buddhism, but not with the Buddhistic doctrines or teachings, but only with the references to Buddhism in Iranian literature and history. What impels us to speak about Buddhism is the paragraph 16 of the Farvardin Yasht which runs thus:—

"By means of the Fravashis-'the Guardian Spirits' radiance and glory, there will be born a renowned wise man, who will by his learning, attract attention and confidence of the public and in discussions defeat Gaotema and become victorious."

Very interesting proper name in this paragraph is Gaotema. Except this place, no mention has been made elsewhere in the Zoroastrian scriptures of this name. We do not know what exactly the word means. In Sanskrit the word Gotama exists and it means one class of the singers of the Vedic hymns. Also the name of the founder of the Buddhist religion is Gotama. For this reason some orientalists-and amongst whom Dr. Haug-consider this Gaotema of Avesta as the same Gotama, the founder of Buddhist religion. In the paragraph mentioned above they see a discussion between Zarathushtra and Gotama the Buddha. Specially Darmesteter insists, that this discussion was verily between one of the followers of Zarathushtra and one of the disciples of Buddha. This supposition and the arguments put forth for its support, have no foundation to arrive at such a conclusion.

Spiegel before Darmesteter translated this paragraph in another way and took the word 'Gaotema' not as a proper name but as a collective noun and gave it a meaning as (landmann) countryman.

Geldner gave this word another meaning (Stammes-genossen) member of a clan.

Justi after considering Gaotema as an adversary of the Mazdayasni religion, thinks it possible, that this name is not a proper name, but a collective noun.

Tiele writes that it is not at all possible that Gaotema of Avesta and Gotama the Buddha can have any relation. He thinks it possible that Gaotema is Gotama who may be one of the Ṛishis of the Vedas. He is doubtful that in old times the word Gotama was used without Buddha, Śramaṇa or Śākya which was his family name.

In the Vedas the names of seven Ṛishis or the singers of the Vedic hymns or teachers are mentioned. One of them is Gotama. This name is often repeated in Vedas and we find it also in the Mahābhārata.

In order that we can follow the subject clearly a short life sketch of Buddha is recounted here. It is necessary because in Avesta there is another word 'Buiti' and some orientalists try to connect it with Buddha.

From the famous Indian King Aśoka (263 to 226 or 260 to 223 B. C.) who was a protector of the religion of Buddha, just as Kavi Vishtasp was of Zoroastrianism and Constantine was of Christianity, one inscription is discovered from which we can know that Buddha's death took place in 480 B. C. But generally his time of death is mentioned as 483 B. C. We know from the Buddhist scriptures that Buddha lived for 80 years, so his birth must have taken place in 560 or 563 B. C. Buddha was born in Kapilavāstu near the southern boundaries of Nepāl. His father Śuddhodana from the Śākya tribe was a noble man. His family name was Gotama. His own name was Siddhārtha. When he renounced his family and country and went out to preach his

doctrine in various places in India, his contemporaries called him as Śramaṇa meaning ascetic Gotama. The same word is used in Persian today as Shaman. It was the custom in older times, that the nobles took their names from one of the Ṛishis and the tribe of Śākya chose the name of Gotama, which was a name of a Ṛishi in the Vedas. Buddha is a title meaning Awakened or Wise, which his disciples gave him, after his guidance to reach an exalted positon of perfection. It is quite possible that the same title was also given by the disciples of another religious sects to other religious guides, who were the contemporaries of Buddha. Sometimes he was poetically called Śākyamuni meaning the wise man of the tribe of Śākyas.

The religion of Buddha in the time of the powerful King Aśoka, extending beyond the limits of India from north-western side, penetrated through the missionaries, into Kashmir Gāndhāra, Kabul and gradually reached the shores of the river Oxus. Surely before Christ, the Buddhist religion reached Bactria, the Zoroastrian country and soil, and there the Buddhist temples were built. The well-known Greek historian and writer Alexander Polyhistor who had written his book between 60 and 70 B. C. mentioned about the Śramaṇas i. e. the Buddhist monks of Bactria.

Antiochus the second king of Selucides who ruled between 261–246 B. C. at the request of Aśoka allowed to be built veterinary hospital and shelters for animals, according to the Buddhist teaching, in his country Iran and lands under his control.

Just as the Iranians had rendered a great service to the Islamic religion and science, because the group of learned men were Iranians after the Arab conquest; similarly, the Iranians rendered great service to Buddhism many centuries before, when they converted and took to Buddhism.

At this place it will be proper to refer to Kentok Hori[1] of the Imperial University of Tokio who has given an account of Persian Buddhists in China:—

1. Dastur Hoshang memorial volume, Bombay 1918, pp. 509–13.

"Ancient Persia sent a number of Buddhist missionaries to China in the early part of the history of Chinese Buddhism. We do not know exactly how many Persian Buddhist missionaries came to China, but from memoirs of eminent monks such as No. 1490 Nanjio's Catalogue of the Chinese "Tripiṭaka" and various catalogues of the Chinese Buddhist books, we learn that there were at least five Persian Buddhist translators in China in the period between the middle of the second century and the beginning of the fourth. Even in the seventh century there were several hundred Buddhist monks in the dominion of Persia. Huan Tsang, a great Chinese pilgrim, while travelling in the Western Frontier of India near Baluchistan in 644 A. D. was told by the native people about the Persian Buddhism of that time. This information is contained in a short note on Persia in his *Si-yu-ki*, chapter 11, in which he says that there are two or three Buddhist monasteries (in Persia) with several hundred monks by whom the Hīnayāna doctrine of Sarvāstivāda was followed."

Foreign Buddhist missionaries often translated their names into Chinese with particular word in the beginning to denote the native country of each one. Parthia was called An-si (Japanese An-sok) in early historical records of China. An-si is the Chinese transliteration of Arsak, another form of Arsakidoe, the name of an ancient Persian dynasty. The ancient Chinese had no sound like 'ar' and used 'an' to transliterate 'ar' in a foreign sound. In the fashion just mentioned, ancient Persian Buddhists in China should have An' in the beginning of their names. The five Persian Buddhist translators are: An-Shi-Kao, An-Huan, T'an-wu-ti, An-Fa-hien and An-Fa-chin.

An-Shi-Kao sometimes called An-Tsing was a son of the queen and the crown Prince of An-Si. He learned thoroughly various branches of art and science and was interested in religious books of foreign countries. When his father the king died, he was deeply impressed with sorrow and the unreality of the world. So he gave up his kingdom

to his uncle and becoming a monk studied the doctrine of the Buddha. He understood "Sūtra-piṭaka", was well-versed in Abhidharma and often recited Sūtras on meditation. Sometimes later, he left his country and wandered about in foreign lands until he came to China and arrived at Lo-yang, the capital of China, in 148 A. D. He soon mastered the Chinese language and worked at translation till 170 A. D. Chinese Catalogues of Buddhist books differ in numbering his works.

An-Huan was a prince and Upāsaka of the country of An-si. He was a gentleman of amiable character, learned in secular and religious literature. When he came to China the Emperor Liang honoured him with the rank of the first Colonel in the Chinese Cavalry division. So he was often known in China by the name of Prince 'An' or Colonel 'An'. With the assistance of a Chinese scholar Yen-Fo-tao he translated two works into Chinese at Lo-yang in 181 A. D.

Tan-wu-ti or Dom-mu-tai, as the Japanese call it, is a transliteration of the Sanskrit Dharma-satya or the Pali Dharma-sacca. He was a Buddhist monk of the country of An-si. He translated important passsages taken from Vinaya of the Dharmagupta School in White Horse Monastery at Lo-yang in 254 A. D. His work (Nanjio's Catalogue, No. 1146) exists.

An-Fa-hien may be the Chinese transliteration of the Sanskrit Dharma-Bhadra. He was a Buddhist monk of the country of An-si. We do not know the date of his arrival in China. Unfortunately two works of Fa-hien were lost before 730 A. D. Any way An-Fa-hien was a Mahāyānist, for both works belong to the school of the Great Vehicle.

An-Fa-chin was a Buddhist monk of the country of An-si. He came to China and translated five works at Lo-yang, in the period between 281 and 306 A. D. Chinese Buddhist Catalogues mention names of these works but three of them were lost before 730 A. D. At present we have the following two works in the Chinese "Tripiṭaka" (1) O-yu-wang-chuan (Life of King Aśoka) and (2) Tao-shan-tsu-ching (Sūtra on the supernatural footsteps)."

We have said that the religion of Buddha reached the Iranian countries before Christ, and we have seen from Huan Tsang that there were three Buddhist monasteries in Persia. Among the many Chinese pilgrim travellers who went far and wide to trace and search Buddhistic religion, books and manuscripts, Huan Tsang's report is the most interesting. Huan Tsang the Buddhist Chinese monk was born in 603 A. D. in the province of Honan. From 629 A. D. he left China for the search and investigation of the Buddhistic cult and returned back to his fatherland in 645 A. D. When he was travelling in Central Asia,–an Iranian country–his description of Balkh which he called in Chinese language Po–ho or To-ho-lo relating to Buddhist religion is the most interesting. This Balkh or Bactria as is well-known occurs in Avesta as Bakdhi and according to tradition, Zarathushtra took refuge there and under Kavi–Vishtaspa's protection promulgated his religion and later he was killed there.

In later traditions Nao–Bahar is a celebrated Zoroastrian Fire–temple. Daqiqi who was a predecessor of Firdausi and who began to write Shahnameh and after composing a thousand verses died, mentioned this Nao–Bahar as a Fire–temple, saying that when Lohrásp gave away his throne to Gushtasp, he went away to a Fire–temple in Balkh called Nao–Bahar and settled there. To the God-worshippers this Nao–Bahar was a pilgrim place as Mecca is to the Hajis today. From Daqiqi's own verses, in spite of his calling Nao–Bahar a Fire–temple, it comes out that Lohrasp settled in that Fire–temple such as was never the custom of the Iranians and the more of a king. It seems that the place under reference was a Buddhist monastery. From the Persian and Arabic geographers of the middle centuries, such as Al Kermani, Ibn-ul-Faqih, Yakut, it is clear from their description of Nao-Bahar that it was a Buddhist temple. The Barmakis, the well–known ministers and guides of the Abbasidan Khalifas of Baghdad, on whom the prosperity and greatness of the Khalifas rested, began to become Mahomedans in the last part of the first century Hijri. Before they became Mahomedans, they were the managers of the

Nao-Bahar and its large estates which were all very rich and they were the prince landlords of this important Temple Estate. Now these Barmaks were originally the Buddhists of Persia. Some orientalists suppose that Barmak is Sanskrit Parama meaning the highest.

Now by some of the Iranian geographers Nao-Bahar is taken as New-Spring, but this Bahar has nothing to do with Spring. It is verily the Sanskrit word Vihāra meaning the New Cloister. From the historical reports of Huan Tsang who travelled in the first half of the sixth century A. D. it is clear that the temple in question was purely a Buddhist temple. In his description of Po-ho (Balkh or Bactria) he gives the geographical situation of the place and its floral beauty. Afterwards he speaks of the temples and stūpas, there were about 100 convents and 3000 monks and the three relics (Buddha's washing basin, tooth and sweeping brush of Buddha) and then gives the account of the Vihāra under question as follows:—

"To the south-west of the convent there is a Vihāra. Many years have elapsed since its foundation was laid. It is the resort (of people) from distant quarters. There are also a large number of men of conspicuous talent. As it would be difficult for the several possessors of the four different degrees (fruits) of holiness to explain accurately their condition of saintship, therefore the Arhats (Lo-han), when about to die, exhibit their spiritual capabilities (miraculous powers) and those who witness such an exhibition found stūpas in honour of the deceased saints. These are closely crowded together here, to the number of several hundreds. Besides these there are some thousand others, who although they had reached the fruit of holiness (i. e. Arhatship), yet having exhibited no spiritual changes at the end of life, have no memorial erected to them".[1]

So we see that the religion of Buddha was much spread in the East Iranian countries and specially in Balkh or Bactria, which was formerly a renowned Zoroastrian centre,

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1. Si-yu-ki. Buddhist Records: (Beal), Vol. I, Book I, page 45.

became afterwards the spiritual centre of the Buddhists. The religion of Mani which appeared in Persia in the reign of Shahpur the Great, 240-271 A. D. was strongly influenced by the Buddhist religion. Buddhism with new Manism existed in East Persia with Zoroastrianism till seventh century A. D. when the Arabs conquered Persia and pushed out all these. We find some stray references in Persian history about Buddhism, such as that a tooth of Buddha was in Persian treasury, just as the original Cross of Christ was in the possession of Khusru Parviz (Chosroes II, 580-628) in the Persian treasure of Ctesiphon. After him it is stated that his daughter Purandokht who ruled from May 630 till October 630 gave it back to the Emperor of Byzantine. This tooth was formerly conserved in Peshawar. In about 520 A. D. it was in Nagarahāra near Jallalabad. But Huan Tsang while visiting this place in the first half of the seventh century A. D. had not found it there and he said: "Within the city is a ruined foundation of a great stūpa. Tradition says that it once contained a tooth of Buddha and that it was high and of great magnificence. Now it has no tooth, but only the ancient foundations remain."[1]

In a Chinese Annual Report, it is stated that in 530 A. D. an ambassador came from Persia to the Court of the Chinese Emperor and as present brought from the Shah (the King of Persia) a tooth of Buddha. This tooth must be in Persia before the crowning of Noshirwan (Chosroes I) which took place in 531 A. D. His expeditions to Kabul Valley and Punjab naturally took place after this date and this tooth could not come to Iran with the booty and reward from this expedition. Then it is possible that the Śramaṇas from the Kabul Valley in the beginning of the 6th century A. D. in their flight from the pursuit of an enemy, should have brought this tooth to Persia.

In Persian history we find the mention of Buddha's alms-bowl which according to Buddhist tradition will belong to a future Buddha. This is one very precious Buddhist relic. This

1. Si-yu-ki, Buddhist Records (Beal). Vol. I, Book II, page 92.

alms-bowl was originally in Pataliputra, modern Patna on the shore of the Ganges. After the Island of Ceylon became Buddhist, the King Aśoka sent this alms-bowl to the King of Ceylon as a present. In the first century B. C. it was plundered from there. Sometime later it came back to Ceylon. The Chinese traveller Fa-Hien who travelled from 399 to 414 A. D. did not see it in Ceylon but he saw it in Peshawar and describes it as follows:—

"Buddha's alms-bowl being in this country the Ephthalites formerly got together a large army and attacked with a view to carrying off the bowl. When he had conquered the country as he himself was an ardent believer in the religion of Buddha, he wished to take possession of the bowl and therefore began to make offerings. When he had made his offerings to the Precious Trinity he richly decorated a huge elephant and placed the bowl on its back. Thereupon the elephant collapsed and was unable to move. A four-wheeled cart was then made to convey the bowl and a team of eight elephants was harnessed to it. When these too were unable to stir, the king knew that his hour for the possession of the bowl had not yet come. Filled with shame and regret he built a pagoda on the spot and also a monastery, leaving a garrison to guard the bowl and making all kinds of offerings. They then eat their midday meal, and in the evening at the hour for vespers they replace the bowl as before. It holds perhaps over two pecks and is of several colours, chiefly black. The four joinings (of the four bowls fused by Buddha into one) are clearly distinguishable. It is about one-fifth of an inch thick, of transparent brilliancy and of a glossy lustre. Poor people throw in a few flowers and it is full; very rich people wishing to make offering of a large quantity of flowers, may throw in a hundred or ten thousand bushels, without ever filling it".[1]

Two centuries later, Huan Tsang does not see it in Kabul Valley and says that it is in Iranian palace. Giving the

1. The travels of Fa-hien, (H. A. Giles), Cambridge University Press, 1923, page 14.

description of Kien-to-lo, Gāndhāra or Kabul Valley, he says thus:—

"Inside the royal city, towards the north-east, is an old foundation (or a ruin). Formerly this was the precious tower of the *pātra* alms-bowl of Buddha. After the Nirvāṇa of Buddha, his *pātra* coming to this country was worshipped during many centuries. In traversing different countries, it has come now to Persia."[1]

The above mentioned Noshirvan (Chosroes I) was crowned in 531 A. D. It is recorded in Persian history that after his expedition to Kabul Valley and vanquishing it, he was presented with the well-known book Kalile-Damne (Bid-pâê) Kartaka Damanaka and a bowl full of pearls by the king of that country. This Kalile Damne (Bid pâê) is a well-known Indian tale in which there is a dialogue between two animals. This book is translated in the time of Chosroes I from Sanskrit into Pahlavi, the language of the then Persia. After the Arab conquest in the time of the Abbasid Khalifas, it was translated from Pahlavi into Arabic. From this last translation it came into Europe and spread there. The second present was the bowl full of pearls and it seems that it was the same alms-bowl of Buddha.

Now we come to the word Buiti and we have said that some orientalists take it for Buddha. The French Scholar Darmesteter without any sound reason was inclined to indentify it with Buddha. No doubt the same word in Persian language became 'bot' and is a common name for idols. The word Buiti is repeated in Avesta three times and always with the word 'Daeva' in Vendīdād, chapter 19, paras 1, 2 and 43. In all these paragraphs, he is spoken together with another Daeva like Indra the greatest Deity of the Hindu pantheon; Sāurū Sanskrit 'Sarva'; Naonghaithya Sanskrit Nāsatya, Taurvi Zairicha; Marshaona; Druj; Aeshma; Drivi; Kasvish; Paitisha. It must be said here that all these words are mentioned specially with the word Daeva. That most of these Daevas are the opponents of the Mazdyasnan angels, is clear from the Zoroastrian

1. Si-yu-ki, Buddhist Records; (Beal): London 1906, page 98.

scriptures. It is not at all logical that amongst all these Daevas, only one can be a historical personage like Buddha. If we try to find in Sanskrit the equivalent for Avesta Buiti we must draw our attention to the word Bhūta meaning ghost or bad spirit. Some orientalists join this last word with Avesta Buiti and Persian Bot. No doubt in Avesta Buiti means the name of the Demon of Idol-worship.

In conclusion we can say that in Zoroastrain scriptures neither Buddhism nor its founder Buddha are mentioned directly or indirectly. The above-mentioned Gaotema (Farvardin Yasht, para 16) is one famous Daevayasna an adversary of the Mazdayasna not Gotama the Buddha. We have many such examples of Devayasna opponents of Mazdayasna mentioned in Avesta. It is true that the Buddhist religion was well-known in East-Iranian countries. It would not at all have been surprising if Buddha were mentioned in the Zoroastrian scriptures. But the Zoroastrian scripture is much older than the penetration of Buddhist religion in East Iran. In order to find out a comparison and a correspondence of the Zoroastrianism, we must first look to Brahmanism which was in all respects a parallel of it and not to later Buddhism.

Arabic and Persian Section.

President;

PROF. AGA POUR-E-DAVOUD.

CONTENTS.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

BY PROF. AGA POUR-E-DAVOUD.

(*Persia.*)

GENTLEMEN,

The honour of presiding over the Persian and Arabic section of the All-India Oriental Conference, came to me, I must confess, as a very pleasant surprise. I naturally accepted it with pleasure because it gives me an excellent opportunity of furthering the very cause viz. the strengthing of bond between Persia and India-a cause which I cherish highly.

Believe me, when I say that there is nothing more inspiring for friendship and understanding between different peoples than their meeting on purely intellectual plane where they are able to appreciate the vital and real characteristics of each other. When people of different countries and cultures meet in the realms of trade or politics, they meet as enemies or at best as rivals. Understanding and fellowship are lost rather than gained, and unfortunately the contacts of people now-a-days are mostly of this type. But when we meet in a conference like this we meet on common ground and for a common cause. Every contribution that each one of us makes is for the progress of all and the common good achieved carries each individual forward. I hope that we, conferring in this Persian and Arabic section, will also be able to contribute our little towards the advancing of learning and friendship amongst the oriental scholars assembled for this conference.

It is hardly necessary for me to emphasize the close relation between the Persian and Indian cultures. Indeed, it is difficult to distinguish where cultural patterns emanating from their predecessor the Indo-Iranian culture, and common

to both Persian and Indian cultures end, and where either the distinctly Indian or the distinctly Persian characteristics begin. Both history and philology seem to prove conclusively that the people of Persia and those Aryans of India are descended from the same stock. The language of the Avesta and that of the time of Achæmenian kings is so much similar to Sanskrit that oriental scholars of the old Iranian language find it necessary to know Sanskrit in order to understand the Avesta. And, similarly, much light is thrown on Sanskrit philology by the study of the Avesta. As we go further and further into the history of these peoples we find not only the language but even the religious manners and customs of the people resemble each other. In fact, it is the settling down of one branch of the Aryans on the eastern side of the Indus that gave them the name of Hindus. While the Persian branch of the Aryans having to face the rigours of a dry and bracing environment, developed the Iranian civilisation, those who migrated to the Gangetic Plain, and found a salubrious and fertile country developed a highly complex culture which was the product of leisure and meditation.

Many centuries later when Babar made his first invasion in 1505 he brought with him a Central Asian Culture which was, however, very much Persianized owing to the fact that the Moghuls were closely associated with that country. Besides, it must be remembered that the cultural patterns of Islam too did not come to India direct from Arabia. Except for some trade relations that had existed between Southern India and Arabia even prior to the time of the Prophet, the greater part of Islamic culture came to India through Persian channels. Indeed, so great a part has Persia played in the spread of Islam, the religion of her conquerors that even today many of the holy texts of Islam are to be found in China, not in Arabic but in the Persian language.

Even as late as a hundred years ago, Persian was the official language of the greater part of India and many illustrious Muslim as well as Hindu names are to be found among the Arabic and Persian scholars. In spite of the check that this mingling of cultures received owing to the introduction of

a foreign element, namely the British Government, the close relation between Persian and Indian cultures is evidenced in the development of the Urdu language which I find has as much root in the Sanskrit as in the Persian language, and has borrowed from Arabic only those words which had become current in Persian itself. But while Urdu and Hindi are the best examples of this commingling, it is surprizing how many Persian words have been incorporated in the Sindhi, Gujarati, Marathi and Bengali languages. Indeed, for the philological study of any language of Northen India, a knowledge of Persian would, I believe, be of immense help.

And yet, I find that the language which goes by the name of Persian in India is far from being Persian in reality. Pure Persian was, no doubt, written and spoken in India a century ago, but now the corrupt form of Persian for which those who use it excuse themselves by believing it to be old Persian, is highly corrupt. There are no such things as old and new Persian. It is a remarkable fact that while almost all the languages of the world have changed during the past centuries, the Persian used by Firdausi a thousand years ago, is still the language of modern Persia. Therefore, a close study of Persian by all Indian peoples is not only likely to throw some light on the make up of the Indian vernaculars themselves, but will be conducive to bring about a closer contact between India and a renascent sister nation.

I am glad to tell you that such an interest in the affairs of India is already existing in Persia. We have been following the national awakening of India very closely and the welcome which the Persian nation gave to Rabindranath Tagore, the well-known Indian Poet, was one that is seldom enjoyed by monarchs of other nations. It was in fact at the request of Dr. Tagore that the Government of His Majesty Reza Shah Pahlavi, deputed me to stay for some time in Śāntiniketan and try my humble best towards the interpretation of Persia by writing and lecturing in that university and elsewhere. During the several months that I have been in the "Abode of Peace", I have had the pleasure of coming in contact with a small group of people whom I have learned to love and respect.

Although I realize that this is a very selected group gathered together by the influence of Dr. Tagore, I feel that its characteristics are not unique and that many people like these are scattered all over this sub-continent. But whether in Śāntiniketan or outside, I find that tolerance, even to the extent of being a fault, is a characteristic of the Indian peoples in general. They are calm, docile, obeissant and friendly. If these characteristics are to be of use and value to mankind, they must be accompanied by freedom and I, therefore, above all else, wish you all the achievement in the near future of what is the birth-right of every people. I give this message to you not from myself alone, but on behalf of the Persian people as a whole. And indeed gems of culture our two ancient and sister countries have possessed, and how fruitful it is to exchange our views about the same: for political bonds may sever, economic friendships may not stand the strain of national jealousies and rivalries, but cultural bonds of friendship are the strongest and the best and those we wish to cement today between India and Iran.

Gentlemen, I need not take much more of your time. As I have already said, I regard it a privilege and an honour to preside at this important occasion and hope that the proceedings of our section will be of real help to this session of the All-India Oriental Conference as well as to the world of knowledge, itself—a world to which something is being added every day and which nevertheless is perplexed today as it has never been before. I thank you all for the honour and trust given to me.

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE "MIRAT-I-AHMADI."

By Diwan Bahadur K. M. Jhaveri, M. A., LL. B.
(*Bombay.*)

The Mirat-i-Ahmadi is a remarkable work; it gives a political and statistical history of the province of Gujarat from the earliest times upto the battle of Panipat (A. D. 1761). It is considered very important from a historical point of view as the author narrates events of which not only was he an eye-witness, but in the happening of which either he, his father or his friends took part, and thus made history. The author is at special pains to observe "that he has summarised events of which he was an eye-witness free from doubt[1] and partiality; without favor or prejudice", (p 13, Persian Text, Part I, Volume XXXIII. Gaekwad's Oriental Series), and therein lies its great value.

2. Although till His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwad's Government very generously undertook to bring out the whole work in its present shape (Volumes XXXIII, XXXIV, XLIII, L. Gaekwad's Oriental Series)-(and thus lay Oriental scholars

1. Dr. James Bird, who has translated what the author calls the Mukaddamah (Preface) in his History of Gujarat (A. D. 1834), has not done so literally and has omitted certain passages and verses. If the same were translated in its entirety it would bring out the author's object, in writing this history,—which in fact is but a part of a larger work,—much more plainly. Dr. Bird translates the words "Bi shāyabeh" and what follows, as "with care and attention"; but the author meant something more than that as would be gathered from the translation given here. That it was so is borne out by what he states at the end of Part II, while finishing his labors. "May it not remain concealed that as he had promised and (also) considered proper and essential for his task that in narrating events he should abstain from showing favour to relatives and prejudice (='adāvat, ill-will) against strangers and (should) indite only that which had happened, truly and really," [he has done so]. p. 613. Persian Text: Part II Volume XXXIV. Gaekwad's Oriental Series.

under a deep debt of gratitude)–very few copies[2] –transcripts of the book were available,–the larger number being full of errors, copyists' mistakes and incomplete,–writers on the history of Gujarat have not failed to make extensive use of it. No translation however of the complete work exists. Dr. Bird has translated a small portion of Part I, Sir E. C. Bayley has also made use of that portion. There is a Gujarati translation made by Pathan Nizamkhan Nurkhan of Part I (1913) and the *Khatimah* (1919). Part II however, which is by far the most valuable section of the Mirat, has not been translated into English[3] though Mr. Seddon promises "to attend to it later on". (p. xii Foreword, Supplement; Volume XLIII. Gaekwad's Oriental Series). All the same, it has been extensively utilised, for the contents of the different volumes of the Bombay Gazeteer, (Volume I, Part I, and also those relating to Ahmedabad, Surat and Cambay),—the basis being Col. Watson's translation of a large part of it. William Irvine in Later Mughals, has also based a large portion of chapters VIII, Vol. II, Mahrattas in Gujarat, pp. 155–215, sections 47 to 68 (ed. of 1922, edited by Sir J. Sarkar) on this part of the Mirat.[4] Sir J. Sarkar has also made great use of it in his various works. The part containing the *Khatimah*–concluding portion–is translated into Gujarati by the same Mahommedan translator as of Part I and into English by Syed Nawab Ali and Mr. Seddon and published as Volume XLIII of the Gaekwad's Oriental Series.

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2. See, as to some of such copies Dr. Bird's and Sir E. C. Bayley's Prefaces to their respective works and Sir J. Sarkar's Foreword to Vol. XXXIV of the Gaekwad's Oriental Series.

3. The writer of this paper has translated the whole of Part II into Gujarati and it is being published by the Gujarat Vernacular Society of Ahmedabad. The first two hundred pages are already out.

4. This excellent summary suffers in places on account of the inaccurate text from which it was made, and also from want of knowledge of the correct names of places and men referred to in the original. For instance—

   (i) on p. 175, Vol. II, the name of the manager is more probably Navnidh Rai, and Bharmal is the Faujdar of Dholka and not Duraha. This mistake of calling Dholka Duraha is repeated all throughout. See pp. 197 and 210. Patia is the agent of the Zamindar (Thakor) of Jhabwa as correctly surmised by Sir J. Sarkar and not Jhalod;

3. The Gujarati translation of the *Khalimah* suffers from all the faults of an incorrect original text. The later-English-one is indeed of a very high order, but as "in parts the original has been freely rendered, and in parts it has been condensed" (p. xiii, Foreword) it does not offer as much help to the general public as a close or literal translation would. A curious example of this drawback came to the notice of the writer of this paper a couple of years ago. Government wanted to acquire and declare by the help of the Civil Court the private property of a certain gentleman, an ancient monument under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act (VII of 1904) in the city of Ahmedabad, and had issued a notification for that purpose, pointing out that the property was the same as that described on p. 31 of the Mirat-i-Ahmadi, *Khatimah* (Karnic Press Edition), viz., the tomb of Shah Ghazni near the Raikhad gate. The party affected contended that the property he possessed was on Jamalpur road and not a tomb but a Roza, and that therefore the notification would not apply to him. The writer was asked to make a translation of the various relative passages bearing on the question, that is, those relating to Shah Bhikhan, Shah Ghazni and Shah Aliji. It was pointed out to him that two translations, one in Gujarati and the other in English, already existed and a fresh translation was not necessary.

He was told in reply that the Gujarati translation was not reliable,[5] and that the English translation omitted certain

(ii) on p. 177 it is the Kankariya Talav (=tàlàb, a lake) that is meant by Tal which should read Tàlàb, the usual camping ground of armies approaching Ahmedabad;

(iii) on page 181, Basu is the town of Vaso near Petlad;

(iv) on p. 183, the fine referred to as "baburz" is the Gujarati word "Vero", which on account of the interchange of the letters "b" and "v" is written Bero misspelt Beeiorah. It is Bero=Vero, a tax;

(v) on p. 192, Gangadin should be Gangadas. Din as a suffix is used in North India, while Das is used in Gujarat;

(vi) on p. 198, Chandula is really Chandola;

(vii) on p. 207. Durgai Khan Gujarati is Darya Khan Gujarati.

5. The mistake pointed out was on p. 69, to the effect that while giving an account of Shah Aliji, in appreciating his Diwan (verses) it was really compared to that of Shaikh Maghrebi, but the Gujarati translation gave the name of Shah Ghazni in its place.

thing,[6] and moreover was very general. The passages required were those on pp. 39,40,65, of the Persian Text Vol. I., corresponding to pp. 37, 43, 57 of the Supplement, Vol. XLIII of the Gaekwad's Oriental Series.[7]

4. It is indeed very gratifying to see that the particulars so laboriously gathered by the author–who by instinct was a chronicler–nearly two hundred years ago bearing on this part of the subject matter of his treatise should be utilised in a British Indian Court of Law in support of one's claim, as reliable and authentic.

5. Neither in style nor in elegance of language could the Mirat be compared to the well-known standard historical works like the Rauzat-us-sofā or the Habib-us-Sujar. The language is not the language of a writer born and bred in Persia. It is that of one, who though a scholar and a close student of Persian, has still not been able to shake off the influence of the language spoken round about him, and has therefore got affected,–may be imperceptibly–by the Hindustani idiom, the turn and phrases of that language. Indeed, to one who has read the above mentioned standard works, it takes some time and study to make oneself familiar with the style and idiom of the author of Mirat. This was, however, inevitable. Even, Ferishta has not been able to steer clear of it.

6. In addition, the factor common to all such writers–padding the text with verses, making the style stilled–what Dr. Bird calls "laboured"[8] – by a number of quotations from the Holy Book, (Koran) is not absent from this work.

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6. For instance in giving the account of Shah Aliji (p. 57) the name of the locality where his tomb is situated, which is definitely given as Raikhad in the Persian Text, has been omitted. There is a printer's mistake, in so far as Shah Ghazni is printed as Shah Ghazi. There is a further mistake in reading Gaondhani, owner of village as Kanodhani: really speaking the Kaf should be read as Gáf, it would then be Gáon=Gám, a village.

7. Shah Bhikhan's burial place in the Persian Text is shown to be on the south of the city and not on the west as translated in the English version.

8. "His style is more laboured and verbose than that of most Mahommedan historians." p. 3. of the Preface, Dr. Bird's History of Gujarat. As to the verbosity, it is rather less than what is found in others.

7. The same learned translator—Dr. Bird—in his estimate of Mahommedan historians mentions the fact, that "they generally tire the patience of the reader by too minute a detail of sieges and battles, of murder and intrigue, without relieving the fatiguing sameness of their narratives, by the more pleasing and instructive accounts of individual character, or the policy and domestic manners of a people".[9] He, however, exempts and rightly exempts, the author of the Mirat from "this general censure".[9] Though in some places his narrative reads like a page from the present day Government Gazettes announcing transfers of officers—Imperial and Provincial—from one place to another or their appointments (e. g. pages 3 and 4 of Part II. Volume XXXIV, Persian Text Gaekwad's Oriental Series), on the whole the story is so well told that it presents a vivid picture of the events and incidents related. As an instance, take the two important events in the chronicle of affairs of Surat, one being the ambitious schemes of the millionaire, the Merchant Prince, Umdat-ul-Tujjār Mulla Mahommad' Ali, for founding a fortified town of his own near Surat, and ultimate sad end, both of the schemes and himself, and the other the ambition of Syad Achhan, its nominal Governor, and the part played by the members of the English factory at Surat. The narrative is detailed but not fatiguing. Indeed it is so well told that it reads like an interesting story.[10] Further it is authentic: the authenticity of the latter incident can very well be established by a comparison of the incidents as set out by the author with those set out in the correspondence now published of the Company's local officers at Surat with their Chiefs at Bombay and in England.

8. Similarly for those incidents which relate to the Marathas, the authenticity of each and every one of them can be tested, and its accuracy found out by what is found in the ample materials now available as to the history of those

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9. Page 1. of the Preface, Dr. Bird's History of Gujarat.

10. It was the writer's intention to give extracts in support of the statement from the text, but fearing that it would make the paper very long he has refrained from doing so.

times, in the published Marathi Records, Bakhars, &c. relating to those early days of their rule.

9. In numerous places the narrative is distinguished by the human touch : the author does not write from a stranger's detached point of view. He lived in Gujarat, and felt for Gujaratis and suffered with them. In narrating the levy of unfair and oppressive taxes (Vero) at the hands of the Subas, Hindu and Mahommedan, he laments the fate of the inhabitants feelingly and distributes blame equally between the Hindu and Mahommedan Hākem. Narrating the advent of the Marathas, he very feelingly sums up the situation in one sentence, viz, that from that date onward they established themselves in Ahmebabad [Gujarat] and never quitted it.

10. The spirit of impartiality which he considers to be the keystone of the edifice of his work has been on the whole very well preserved by him in his narrative. Whereas in other histories one would find Hindus called *Kafirs* (infidels), *Jahhāl* (ignorant people) &c, the author of the *Mirat* has been very restrained and considerate in his language, and never once loses sight of the principle laid down by him. Even when he talks, in describing the severe famine of A. D. 1732, of the Marwadis purchasing for a trifle, men and women belonging to the higher classes of Mahommedans, with a view to remove them to Jodhpur and convert them to Hinduism, in retaliation of Hindus having been captured and taken away from Jodhpur for being converted to Islam in the time of Emperor Aurangzeb[11], he takes care to see that not even one harsh word escapes him.

11. Very few Mahommedan authors give such details as the author of the Mirat does, as to the why and wherefore of the composition of their book. Dr. Bird has translated the autobiographical part of the Preface giving the genesis of the writing of the book. Unfortunately it is not a translation of the entire Preface and not even a close translation. For this reason the full force of the author's object is

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11. Page 146, Volume XXXIV. Persian Text: Gaekwad's Oriental Series.

not brought out. It seems he had written a far more ambitious work comprising not only the Rules and Regulations of the Finance and Revenue Departments of the Imperial and Provincial Governments but also a treatise solving the riddle of the difference between the Fasli and the Hijri eras; and in the elucidation of which he had passed long sleepless nights[12] burnt the proverbial midnight oil; in addition he had narrated the political history of the Province. It details also the difficulties he had to contend with in collecting the materials for his work, and specially the death of Mithalal Kayastha, whose valuable services were lost to him when most wanted. He narrates as to how he had to content himself with a restricted field of work, which did not give full play to his aspirations, resulting in the production of the present Chronicle. Concluding the historical part of his work,[13] he writes that he is conscious of the short-comings of his work, and that he would have liked to proceed further after narrating the events relating to the movements of Surajmal Jat, and that if God granted him life and if he could procure peace of mind, he would write out a second volume commencing with the accession to the gadi of the then auspicious Emperor of Delhi. But apparently that was not to be.

12. He was a poet himself and in the body of the book one comes across verses composed by him. He was a deep student of Koran, and well-versed in mathematics also. His zeal for learning was so keen that he never missed tapping any source of information which would add to his stock of knowledge. Folklore he did not despise and the contents of the Volume of *Khatimah* (Volume L. of the Gaekwad's Oriental Series) speak most eloquently as to how vast must have been his reading and how vast the number of persons from whom he must have collected information embodied in that compilation.

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12. P. 10. Part I. Volume XXXIII. Persian Text: Gaekwad's Oriental Series.

13. P. 612. Part II. Volume XXXIV. Persian Text, Gaekwad's Oriental Series.

13. Though out of modesty he styles himself at the end of his work[14] a "*hich madān*"–an ignoramus,–the opinion of all those who have gone over the three sections of his work, would undoubtedly be that he is fit to stand in the ranks of the best Indian historians of India as their equal, and that his historical sense and ability were in no way inferior to any of them.

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14. P. 612. Part II Volume XXXIV. Persian Text, Gaekwad's Oriental Series.

THE CONTROVERSY OF 'SHAKH-I-NABAT'.

By Prof. N. N. Bharucha, M. A.

(Bhavnagar).

Introduction.

This short article does not make any high pretensions to scholarship or research. It just tries to offer a fresh point of view about the long-standing controversy of 'Shakh-i-Nabat' by carefully sifting the existing critical material on the subject, in the light of the European mystical poetry of the time of Hafiz. No doubt, both the internal and external evidences in this case are so slender as not to enable one to prove anything conclusively. Moreover, the difficulty is enhanced all the more as the greater part of the life of Hafiz, like that of Kālidāsa, is shrouded up in mystery. As this article does not profess to have exhausted all available material on the subject it would like to invite the opinions of other students of Hafiz who have devoted ample thought to the controversy of 'Shakh-i-Nabat'.

So far as I know no attempt has been made till now to explain away this controversy in the light of the European mystical poetry of the time of Hafiz except by one critic, Miss Gertrude Lowthian Bell in her magnificent introduction to the "Poems from the Diwan of Hâfiz" (1897), but she, too, while striking a beautiful comparison between Hafiz and his contemporary Dante, does not throw any new light on this controversy. Hence this attempt.

Position of Critics.

Most of the critics of Hafiz, without any careful study of the ghazals in which the word 'Shakh-i-Nabat' occurs, and without properly understanding the real spirit of the mystical

poetry of the Middle Ages both in the East and the West, try to point out that the story of 'Shakh-i-Nabat' is false. By quoting various lines from the Diwan of Hafiz in which the word 'Shakh-i-Nabat' occurs they point out that 'Shakh-i-Nabat' in all these lines means, and can mean nothing else than a "reed-pen" (symbolically standing for the *lucidity* and *sweetness* of the ghazals). It will not be therefore, out of place to shortly review the exact position of the critics before proceeding any further with the thesis.

Dawlatshah's "Memoirs of the Poets" (A. D. 1487), written just a century after the death of Hafiz, does not make any reference whatsoever to this part of our subject. With the exception of M. Shibli Nu'mani's Urdu work on Persian poetry entitled "Shiru'l' Ajam" and the late Professor Browne's biography of Hafiz in his "History of Persian Literature" (Vol. III. pp. 271-319), it bears testimony to the fact that there is a deplorable paucity of real creative criticism of the life and works of Hafiz in Persian. The late Prof. Browne dismisses this controversy by saying: "For the statement that he (Hafiz) fell in love with and ultimately married a girl called Shakh-i-Nabat ('the alleged sweetheart of Hafiz') there is no weighty authority, nor are such domestic particulars to be expected from Persian biographers, in view of their reticence on all matrimonial matters......To the death of his wife he is supposed to allude in a ghazal but there is nothing in the poem to show that his wife is the person referred to" (Vide "History of Persian Literature", Vol. III. pp. 287-88). Thus, the late Prof. Browne, in spite of his critical acumen, leaves this controversial topic perfectly vague and inconclusive. It is natural that in absence of a "weighty authority" he was not able to decide the question either way conclusively, and, therefore, in absence of any weighty authority either way, he leaves a scope for handling this controversy from a fresh point of view.

Some biographers of Hafiz, including M. Shibli Nu'mani, maintain that Hafiz observed a vigil at the shrine of Pir-i-Sabz Baba Kuhi to win over a girl named Shakh-i-Nabat, but by good luck got the gift of poetry. Mir Wali Ullah, as quoted by Prof. Verma in his introduction to the Diwan of Hafiz

(first seventy-five odes), takes a bold step and maintains in his excellent Urdu work "Lisan-ul-Ghayb" that this story has been built upon the occurrence of the word Shakh-i-Nabat in the poems of Hafiz, and that by this word Hafiz means a "reed-pen", and not a particular girl, and in the support of his argument he quotes three couplets from the Diwan which are again quoted by Prof. Verma together with one more reference in his introduction to the first seventy-five ghazals of Hafiz (p. 2). But Mir Wali Ullah, in his enthusiasm to prove that 'Shakh-i-Nabat' only means a 'reed-pen', ignores the other possibility of interpreting this ambiguous mystical term as standing for the sweetheart of Hafiz; for there is no extant authority or evidence precluding us from so doing. Prof. Verma himself dismisses this topic by saying: "All the four walls of this house of fancy are groundless." But I personally aver that even when a fancy it is based on reality and *common human experience*. Looking to the short compass of this article I have not referred to other sources of the life and works of Hafiz like "Habibus Siyar" of Khwandmir, the "Mayakhana" of Abdun Nabi Fakhruz-Zaman, Jami's "Baharistan" and "Nafahatu'l-Uns", Lutf Ali Beg's "Atash-Kada", the "Haft Iqlim" and the quite modern "Majmaul Fusaha" and "Riyaz-ul-Arifin", firstly because they give particulars of "doubtful authenticity" and secondly because they are of no use to the purpose in hand as they do not even distantly refer to the controversy of 'Shakh-i-Nabat'.

This, then, is the position of the critics.

So, if we satisfy ourselves with this meaning (i. e. lucidity and sweetness) of 'Shakh-i-Nabat', that in itself puts an end to this controversy. But this position on the part of these critics I consider to be, more or less, uncritical as they seem to refuse to look to the other side of the shield and to ignore the possibility of interpreting the mystical ghazals of Hafiz in terms of the European mystical poetry of the Middle Ages, especially at a time when any national literature or poet is interpreted in terms of world literature. Let us, therefore, look to the other side of the controversy before we accept the position of these critics as conclusive.

Mystical Poetry of Europe in the Middle Ages.

A very strong wave of mystical experience, thought and teaching swept over Europe in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and even earlier, specially over England, France, Germany, Italy and Sweden and also over many lands in the East. If one were to trace the progress of allegory and symbolism in the mystical poetry of the Middle Ages, he will find Love to be the most predominant theme with the poets of the time—Love either in the semi-religious form it assumes as in the Vita Nouva of Dante or Love with the semi-pagan attributes assigned to it as in the "Romance of the Rose". Symbolism in such mystical poetry is of immense importance; symbolism and mythology are, as it were the language of the mystic. To any casual student of the mystical poetry of Europe in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries it will strike that the mystical poets of the time had to express themselves through the medium of conventional symbolism and imagery and through no other. The symbolical terminology of the mystical poetry of the time, looking to the *intolerant 'time-spirit'* was perfectly vague and ambiguous and was, therefore subject to a double interpretation, the one profane, and the other spiritual. This fact may be well illustrated by a close reference to Dante's (Hafiz's contemporary) "Divine Comedy" in which Beatrice, the symbol of human love, figures as the idealized beloved of the poet and also as a symbol of "Theology" (of the Middle Ages). So with Petrarch's Laura, to say nothing about Shakespeare's Dark Lady of the Sonnets, Spenser's "Hymns" to Heavenly Love and Heavenly Beauty, and the half-imaginary, half-real mistresses of the Metaphysical poets of the seventeenth century.

The Sonnet and the Kasida: the Crusades.

Here it will be significant to note that the mystical poets both in the East and the West made use of a form of expression which was peculiarly well suited for being the vehicle of mystical ideas and symbolical terminology. W. J. Courthope in his "History of English Poetry" (Vol. I. pp. 76-77) remarks on the authority of Amari's "History of the Mussulmans of

Sicily": "As the old fashioned Arab *Kasida*, with its strophe of verses connected by a single rhyme, seems to have furnished the model for the "Chanson de Geste," so the metrical germ of the *canzone* and *sonnet* is found in the "Mowascehat" or "Azgial", a composition made up of verses in stanzas with corresponding rhymes recurring at fixed intervals", and again he says: "So close a resemblance of metrical structure [between the *kasida* and the sonnet] can scarcely have been the result of *accident* and taking into account the popularity of the "Mowascehat" among the Arabs, it is a fair conclusion that it first suggested to the poets of *Sicily* and *South Italy* the idea of metres with interlacing rhymes". This in itself will go a long way to show that the mystical poetry both in the East and the West had a *common* source of inspiration both in point of its choice of a form of expression and subject-matter and the part that the Crusades played in bringing the East and the West in a closer contact with one another and in making the interchange of their individual cultures possible is, no doubt, too significant to be ignored.

'Shakh-i-Nabat' as a Symbol.

'Shakh-i-Nabat' in the poetry of Hafiz is such a vague symbol as we find in the mystical poetry of mediæval Europe. If we recognise that true mysticism is an *experience* and a life, as also the fact that the essence of mysticism is to believe that every thing we see and know is symbolic of *something greater*, we need not be satisfied by interpreting 'Shakh-i-Nabat' as literally meaning a 'reed-pen' and nothing more. 'Shakh-i-Nabat,' *in being what it is*, is significant or symbolic of *something more*—at once a veritable symbol of *human* and *divine* love, which becomes the fountain-source of Hafiz's poetic inspiration.

Internal Evidence.

One gathers from the Diwan of Hafiz that he, in the beginning of his spiritual career was a man of the world, subject to the faults and foibles of an average man, that he was blessed with a good wife (whom he has idealized in one of his ghazals quoted by Sir Gore Ouseley in his "Notices of

Persian Poets" as also by the late Prof. Browne in his "History of Persian Literature "), and that he was subject to several moral lapses. If we admit this, as we do in absence of any reliable account of his youth, it goes without saying that he might have, at a particular period in his life, fallen in love with a certain girl (or girls) who, later on like Dante's Beatrice or Shelley's Epipsychidion, might have been idealized and immortalized in 'Shakh-i-Nabat'.

Testimony of Sir William Jones.

Out of all critics of Hafiz only Sir William Jones believes in this tentative theory and remarks: "Hafiz never pretended to more than human virtues, and it is known that, he had human propensities, for in his youth he was passionately in love with a girl surnamed 'Shakh-i-Nabat', 'branch of sugar-cane' and the Prince of Shiraz was his rival......and to win the girl he observed several vigils at the shrine of "Pir-i-Sabz Baba Kuhi" (for details, vide Sir Gore Ousley's "Notices of Persian Poets", pp. 36-37). Several other critics consider this girl whom they identify with Prophet Khizr to be a symbol of the Muse of Poetry that rewarded Hafiz with a nectar of poetic inspiration for his vigils at the shrine.

Significance of Persian Mystical Poetry.

The very tone of most of the ghazals* of Hafiz is reminiscent of the poet's love for some *earthly* woman who, about the fortieth year of his life when he sincerely repented of his devotion to a mortal and thought of devoting himself to God, becomes instrumental in making the poet conscious of the higher purposes of life. The very significance of the Persian mystical poetry is that a poet, after devoting himself for years to an earthly object of love, ultimately feels that he can never realize the immortal and the eternal in a *mortal* form, and then, with all the strong reaction, both psychological and spiritual, of a mystic, surfeited with life, he recoils from the life of pleasure to the life of introspection and self-denial in a

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* I have purposely avoided all references to the ghazals of Hafiz to keep myself within the scope of this article.

perfect spirit of renunciation and considers the Ideal to be the only Real and attains that beatific vision and 'Sovereign Light', which are his eternal portion. He attains—

"......................that blessed mood
In which the burden of the mystery,
In which the heavy and the weary weight
Of all this unintelligible world
Is lightened."

Elemental Passion of Hafiz's Ghazals.

Thus a careful student of the Diwan of Hafiz will realize that to consider all the ghazals of Hafiz as those addressed to *a purely imaginary beloved* or the Muse of Poetry is like doing considerable injustice to the poet. Most of his ghazals are surcharged with an atmosphere of strong human passion and ardour that are not altogether spiritual. And so we have to admit that even the conception of his idealized beloved is primarily based on some *earthly* object. Were it not so, the conception of a merely imaginary beloved throughout his ghazals will certainly detract so much from the *human* quality, the *passion* and the *ardour* of his ghazals.

Platonism and Hafiz.

This controversy brings us face to face with Platonism. Plato, the source of speculative mysticism in Europe, and Plotinus, his Neo-Platonist disciple, the father of European mysticism in its full sense, had a considerable influence on Hafiz as also on other Persian poets. I need not here emphasize what Persian Sufism owes to Plato. Plato had discovered the analogy between physical passion and intellectual aspiration, and had made use of Eros (painted in the "Symposium") as a symbol of the dialectical process, by which the mind, in its pursuit of the highest forms of beauty, mounts from the perceptions of sense to the conception of universal ideas. For him imperfect earthly love became a virtual symbol of perfect divine love, that Archetype that is laid dawn in Heaven, which all mortals aspire to and never attain. Thus the Platonic conception of love is not based on anything merely imaginary, but on something real, earthly,

which however perfect, is a dim, far off reflection of that Archetype which is Beauty, Truth or God or all in One. This fundamental belief in unity leads naturally to the further belief that all things about us are but forms or manifestations of the *one* divine life, and that these phenomena are fleeting and impermanent, although the spirit which informs them is immortal and endures. The illustration of such metaphysical conceptions by means of symbolical terminology became almost an essential part of Hafiz's philosophical method.

Conclusion.

Thus, a study of the mystical ghazals of Hafiz in the light of the mystical poetry of mediæval Europe just broadens our narrow outlook as critics of this controversial problem, helps us see it in its proper perspective, and settles our doubts as to the exact meaning of 'Shakh-i-Nabat'. On the strength of the arguments I have advanced in the preceding pages and the fresh point of view I have offered I am led to interpret 'Shakh-i-Nabat' as a *symbol* of the poet's human and divine love, and not merely as a 'reed-pen.'

THE GENUINE COLLECTIONS OF THE RUBA'IYYAT OF KHAYYAM.

By Dr. Mohammad Iqbal, M.A., Ph. D.

(Lahore.)

Various criteria have already been suggested by some of the critical writers on Khayyām for judging his genuine quatrains. These are generally based on the theme of the quatrains, or on the comparative antiquity of the authority quoting them, or on the name of Khayyām occurring in the text etc, but none of them has been taken to be decisive. The one that I am going to suggest is not conclusive either, but I am convinced that if my suggestion is developed into a thesis, with the help of adequate sources, it will lead to some helpful conclusions.

The criterion which I have thought out concerns the form and not the matter of quatrain. Going back to the origin of the form of رباعی , we find that in its primary stage it was named ترانہ , and a little later چہاربیتی , because it consisted of four verses (بیت). The word رباعی is only an Arabic equivalent of چہاربیتی . Subsequently (probably in the 5th century) it began to be called دوبیتی . Thus in the معیار الأشعار (ascribed to Naṣīrud-Dīn Ṭūsī) under the discussion of the form of ترانہ in the metre called هزج :

و ایشان هر مصراعی را قافیہ آورده اند و آنرا
بیتی می شمرده مانند رجز مشطور یا بیتهای مقفّد
از اشعار تازیان کہ آنرا منتصفی معیّن نباشد
و بدین سبب ترانہ را قدما چهار بیت می گرفتہ اند
و آنرا چهار بیتی خوانده اند و بتازی رباعی ' و در

هر چهار قافیہ آوردن لازم می شمردہ اند ، اما بنزدیک
معاً خران چون مربعات این اوزان مستعمل نیست این اوزان
متروک است و هر بیتی را ازین ابیات مصراعی می شمرند
و رباعی را دوبیتی می خوانند " (زر کامل عیار ترجمہ معیار
الاشعار در اردو ، ص ۱۵۰) ،

Ṭūsī has explained in this passage why the چهاربیتی came to be called دوبیتی. According to the Persian conception, *bait* is a synonym of مزدوج, i. e. a verse with rhyme in both hemistichs. The term *du-baiti* therefore is applicable to *rubā'ī* only if it consists of two *baits* with rhyme (قافیه) in all the four hemistichs, as in fact has been stated above by Ṭūsī. The name *rubā'ī* was definitely given to it *after* the rhyme (قافیه) in the third line was abolished. Rashīd Waṭwāṭ in his حدائق السحر (written betwen 551 and 568) defining the term خصی says :—

خصی دوبیتی را گویند کہ مصراع سوم اورا قافیت نباشد
(p. 85, Teheran edition).

He does not mention that it is otherwise called *rubā'ī*, which shows that upto that time the name *rubā'ī* was not yet given to the castrated (خصی) type of *du-baiti*. The author of the *Chahār Maqāla* (written 551) has quoted as many as five quatrains in his book, but he invariably calls them *du-baiti* and never *rubā'ī*. In the *Rāḥat-uṣ-Ṣudūr* (written 600) the word رباعی is nowhere to be found, while the term *du-baiti* is used about ten times. In المعجم في معايير اشعار العجم (written 617) the name *du-baiti* is *more* often used than *rubā'ī*. But on the other hand 'Awfī, writing about the same time, has, so far as I have been able to ascertain, *always* called it *rubā'ī*, even when the rhyme is to be found in all the four lines. Our conclusions from the above must therefore be that up to the end of the 6th century, the quatrian, whether stallion or castrated, was called *du-baiti*; the name *rubā'ī* was originally given to the castrated quatrain, but was subsequently applied indiscriminately to both forms. But

for the sake of convenience or rather correctness, I shall, throughout my essay, call the castrated form *rubā'ī*, and the stallion form *du-baitī*.

Now the point that I wish to bring out is that at the time when Khayyām lived and wrote, the quatrain was not only *named* " du-baitī ", but in fact in its form it *was* " du-baitī ". In other words the castrated form of it, the *rubā'ī*, was rare. I do not mean to say that the *rubā'ī* did not exist, in fact I find a *rubā'ī* by so early a poet as Rūdakī, quoted in المعجم (p. 203):—

واجب نبود بکس بر افضال وکرم   واجب باشد هر آئنہ شکر نعم
تقصیر نکرد خواجہ در نا واجب   من در واجب چگونہ تقصیر کنم

What I mean is that the percentage of the *rubā'ī* in the collections of quatrains at that time was extremely low, and that the majority of them were *du-baitīs*. I have endeavoured to calculate this percentage with reference to different periods up to the end of the 6th century of the *hijra*, and in the following lines I propose to submit the results of my calculations.

I have not been able to trace any genuine quatrain belonging to the 3rd century or earlier[1]. Shams-i-Qais, author of المعجم (p. 88) attributes the invention of the metre of *rubā'ī* to

1. In the Majma'ul-Fuṣaḥā however (Vol. I, p. 304) a rubā'i is given as having been written by Shaqiq Balkhi (*d*. 174), and three by Bayazid Bisṭāmi (*d*. 234):—

(۱) صوفي کہ بخرقہ دو زیش بازاریست
گر بخیہ بفقر می زند خوش کاریست
ور خواهش طبع دست او جنباند
هر بخیہ و رشتہ اش بت و زناریست

(۱) ای عشق تو کشتہ عارف و عامی را
سودای تو گم کردہ نکو نامی را
ذوق لب میگون تو آوردہ برون
از صومعہ بایزید بسطامی را

Rūdaki (*d.* 329), but we find at least one quatrain, a *rubā'ī*, by an older contemporary of Rūdaki[1], viz Shahīd of Balkh :

دو شم گذر افتاد بویرانه طوس — دیدم جندی نشسته جای طاؤس
گفتم چه خبر داری ازین ویرانه — گفتا خبر اینست که افسوس افسوس

(*Majma'ul-Fuṣaḥā*, Vol. I, p. 304),

and another, a *du-baitī* by Abū Shakūr of Balkh, a contemporary of Rūdaki :—

ای گشته من از غم فراوان تو پست — شد قامت من زبار هجران تو شست
وی شسته من از فریب دستان تو دست — خود هیچ کسی بسیرت وسان تو هست

(op. cit. p. 66). Whoever the inventor, the quatrain began to be composed in the first half of the 4th century. There are only three poets of this period on whose quatrains I have been able to lay my hands. Some more may be collected with greater number of books if accessible. It is needless to give the text, but I shall name the poets and mention the number of *du-baitīs* so as to give an idea of percentage.

Name of the poet.	No. of quatrains.	No. of *du-baitis.*	Authority.
1. شهید بلخی	1	Nil.	مجمع الفصحاء, I, 304
2. ابو شکور بلخی	1	1	do, 66
3. رودکی	7	4	دیوان رودکے
Total.	9	5	

(۲) مارا همه ره بکوی بدنامی باد
وز سوختگان نصیب ما خامی باد
ناکامی ما چو هست کام دل دوست
کام دل ما همیشه ناکامی باد

(۳) گر قرب خدا می طلبی دلجو باش
وندر پس و پیش خلق نیکو گو باش
خواهی که چو صبح صادق الوعد شوی
خورشید صفت با همه کس یکرو باش

(Majma'ul-Fuṣaḥā, Vol. I, p. 65).

But they are obviously spurious, as are, as a rule, all quatrains ascribed to saints (اولیاء).

1. بحسب زمان بر حکیم رودکے تقدم دارد (مجمع الفصحاء p. 303).

This gives a percentage of 56 for the *du-baitīs.* But it must be remarked that all of them are not genuine specimens of that period. As an example I may quote one of the *rubā'īs* of Rūdakī :—

چون کار دلم ززلف او ماند گره   درهر رگ جان صد آرزو ماند گره
امید زگریه بود افسوس افسوس   کان هم شب وصل درگلو ماند گره

The language distinctly points to a much later period. Moreover, to establish a percentage from such a small number as 9 would of course be unreliable. We can therefore give no verdict until some more genuine specimens of the quatrains of this period are available. But I have no doubt that we shall be right in thinking that the poets of this period as a rule wrote *du-baitīs* and not *rubā'īs,* for even at a much later period we find the percentage of *rubā'īs* exceedingly low.

To the second half of the 4th century belong the poets of the later Sāmānī period whom 'Awfī mentions under the heading شعرای آل سامان , notable among whom are : Manjīk, Lawkarī. Mantiqi-i-Rāzi, Khusrawī Sarakhsī, Qumrī Jurjānī, Khabbāzī of Nishāpūr, Daqīqī and Firdausī. But to none of these is any quatrain ascribed, so that specimens of this period are even rarer than the first. I have come across only 5 quatrains, 3 by the royal poets out of which one is by Amīr Abu'l Muzaffar Ṭāhir Chaghānī (*d.* 377), and two by Qābūs b. Washmgīr (*d.* 403)[1]. All three are *du-baitīs.* The other two are by Bundār Rāzī, (*d.* 401) both *du-baitīs.* Percentage of *du-baitīs* = 100.

Next comes the 5th century and the Ghaznavī period. Poets of the first half of it are comparatively more numerous and their poetical works better accessible, though quatrains in the collections of their poems are scarce. But they are sufficient to indicate that the fashion was still to write *du-baitī* and not *rubā'ī.*

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1. See Lubāb'ul Albāb Vol. I. p. 29, and Majma'ul Fuṣaḥā, Vol. I, p. 38.

Name of the poet.	No. of quatrains.	No. of *du-baitis.*	Authority.
1. عنصری	36	34	دیوان
"	1	1	چهار مقاله
"	4	3	مجمع الفصحاء
2. فرّخی	3	2	مجمع الفصحاء
3. منوچهری	4	3	دیوان فرّخی و مجمع الفصحاء
4. ناصر خسرو	1	1	دیوان
5. عطاردی خراسانے	2	2	لباب الالباب
6. مسعود رازی	1	1	"
7. ابو منصور الهروی	1	1	"
8. عسجدی	8	2	مجمع الفصحاء
"	1	1	لغات فرس
9. کاؤس بن قابوس	11	8	مجمع الفصحاء
10. ابو علی سینا	5	3	"
11. حفوری هروی	1	1	"
12. محسن فراهی	1	1	"
13. بدری غزنوی	1	1	لباب الالباب
14. ناصر لغوی	1	1	"
15. لبیبی	1	1	لغات فرس
Total.	83	67	

Percentage of *du-baitīs* = 82. I have not included among poets of this period the well-known Saints who are popularly believed to have been writers of quatrains, e. g. Abū Sa'īd b. Abi'l Khar, Shaikh Abu'l Ḥasan Kharqāni and Shaikh Abdullah Anṣāri. Doubts have already been cast at the genuineness of their poetry and I confess that I share those doubts.

The second half of the 5th century is important to us, for to this period belongs the poetic career of Khayyām. As before, I would show the percentage of the *du-baitīs* from out of the available quatrains of this period :

Name of the poet.	No. of quatrains.	No. of *du-baitīs*.	Authority.
1. مسعود سعد سلمان	227	216	دیوان طبع بمبئی ۱۲۹۶
2. ابو الفرج رونی	57	51	دیوان طبع طهران
3. ابو حفص خوزی *d.* 472	1	1	مجمع الفصحاء
4. احمد غزالی *d.* 517	3	3	"
5. راشدی سمرقندی	3	2	"
6. ارزقی *d.* 526	12	10	"
7. عطاء رازی *d.* 471	1	1	"
8. باخرزی صاحب دمیة القصر *d.* 468	8	8	"
9. قطران تبریزی	15	13	"
Total.	327	308	

Percentage of *du-baitīs* = 94.

Poets of the early 6th century, some of whom were younger contemporaries of Khayyām are:

Kuhyāri Ṭabari, Sanāi, 'Uthmān Mukhtāri, Sūzani, Mu'izzi, Abū Ḥanīfa Iskāf, 'Abdul Wāsi'Jabali, Ḥasan Ghaznawi, Dihqān 'Ali Shaṭranji, 'Am'aq Bukhāri, 'Ali Asadi, Jawhari Mustawfi, Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān al-'Utbi and Farīd-i-Kātib. Of these the *dīwāns* were accessible to me of four, *viz*, Sanāi (lithographed), Sūzani (Ms. in the Library of the Punjab University), 'Uthmān Mukhtāri (Ms. in the possession of my friend Professor Shairani), and 'Am'aq (recent Teheran edition). In two of these four *dīwāns*, *viz*, 'Uthmān and Sanāi, no quatrains are given at all, although in the *Majma'ul Fuṣahā* a few are ascribed to each of them, while in Sūzani and 'Am'aq the number of quatrains respectively is three and six. The following are the figures :—

Name of the poet.	No. of quatrains.	No. of *du-baitīs.*	Authority.
1. سوزنی	3	3	دیوان
2. سنائی	10	6	مجمع الفصحاء
3. عثمان مختاری	4	4	"
4. معزی	10	8	"
"	1	1	حدائق السحر
5. ابو حنیفۂ اسکاف	3	2	لباب الالباب
6. کوهیاری طبری	2	2	"
7. عبدالواسع جبلی *d.* 555	6	4	مجمع الفصحاء
8. حسن غزنوی	14	11	مجمع الفصحاء
9. دهقان علی شطرنجی	1	1	"

Name of the poet.	No. of quatrains.	No. of *du-baitīs.*	Authority.
10. عمعق بخاری	6	2	دیوان
11. علی اسدی	1	1	حدائق السحر
12. جوهری مستوفی	3	2	لباب الالباب
13. رشیدی سمرقندی	5	3	"
14. حکیم جلال	1	0	"
15. محمّد بن عثمان العتبی	4	4	"
16. فرید کاتب	1	1	تذکرۂ دولتشاہ
17. علاءالدّین جهانسوز	1	1	مجمع الفصحاء
"	1	1	لباب الالباب
18. اتسز خوارزمشاه	3	2	
Total.	80	59	

Percentage of *du-baitīs* = 74. This is lower than the previous one. In view of the fact that Khayyām lived through the first quarter of the 6th century, we may calculate the percentage of the second half of the 5th and first half of the 6th centuries in order to approach nearer the correct proportion. This average works up to 84%.

The contemporaries of Khayyām therefore wrote quatrains of which from 80 to 90% were *du-baitīs.* This is the percentage which we must look for in the *Rubā'iyyāt-i-Khayyām.*

But in the second half of the 6th century, the percentage of *du-baitīs* is still lower, and *rubā'ī* is more commonly met with. Thus:

Name of the poet.	No. of quatrains.	No. of *du-baitis.*	Authority.
1. انوری	139	58	Ms. in the possession of Prof. Shairani.
2. خاقانی	570	222	دیوان
3. ظهیر فاریابی	3	0	مجمع الفصحاء
”	2	0	لباب الالباب
4. مهستی	16	0	مجمع الفصحاء
5. عمادی شهریاری	4	2	”
6. مجیر بیلقانی	7	2	”
7. وطواط	3	1	تذکرهٔ دولتشاه
8. اسماعیل باخرزی	11	4	لباب الالباب
9. سیفی نیشاپوری	2	0	لباب الالباب
10. رفیع مروزی	4	1	”
11. طغرل سلجوقی	4	2	مجمع الفصحاء
”	1	0	لباب الالباب
”	5	0	راحة الصدور
12. نصرة الدین کبود جامه	2	0	مجمع الفصحاء
”	1	0	لباب الالباب
13. اشرفی سمرقندی d. 594	7	2	”
14. اثیر اخسیکتی d. 562	9	1	”
15. بدیعی سیتانی	2	0	”
16. جمال الدین اصفهانی	4	1	”
17. رضی الدین نیشاپوری	2	0	”
18. سدید الدین اعور	3	0	مجمع الفصحاء
19. سنجری	1	1	”
20. ادیب صابر	2	1	”
Total.	804	298	

Percentage = 37.

Early in the 7th century, the percentage of *du-baitīs* is still lower. Thus 'Awfī quotes about 250 quatrains belonging to 75 contemporary poets (early 7th century) of which not more than 25 are *du-baitīs*, which gives a percentage of 10. In still later times they almost totally disappear, leaving place for *rubā'īs*.

The above figures lead us to the conviction that in a genuine collection of the quatrains of Khayyām there must be from 80 to 90% *du-baitīs*. It is a pity that good copies of the *dīwāns* of poets contemporary with Khayyām are not available, particularly in India. If the above calculations be based on good old texts of poetical works, I am convinced that the figures will reveal even a greater percentage of *du-baitīs* among quatrains composed in the 5th and 6th centuries.

The following however are the percentages in some of the well-known printed editions of رباعیات خیّام :—

No.	Edition	Percentage
1.	Heron-Allen's Edition : 41 *du-baitīs* out of 158 quatrains.	= 26 %
2.	Edition of Nicolas, Paris 1867. 83 out of 464.	= 18 %
3.	Whinfield 1901. 98 out of 508.	= 20 %
4.	Rosen's Edition, Berlin 1925. 74 out of 329.	= 22 %
5.	do., a collection of 63 quatrains from a MS. dated 930 A. H : 6 out of 63.	= 10 %
6.	do., a collection dated 741. 6 out of 13.	= 47 %
7.	Teheran Edition 1342. 47 out of 201.	= 24 %
8.	Amritsar Edition : 135 out of 914	= 15 %

It is remarkable that the oldest collection (No. 6 above) dated 741 reveals the highest percentage, to wit, 47, and the next oldest (No. 1., dated 865), 26, and it goes on decreasing

with time until in the latest and largest collection it falls down to 15. It clearly indicates "the gradual accretion of alloy round the true Omarian metal".

Perhaps it may be suggested that Omar was ahead of his time and that he wrote *rubā'ls* in preference to *du-baitis*. But a strong reason for us not to accept this view is that the 3 quatrains of Khayyām handed down to us by the oldest known authorities happen to be all *du-baitis*. Two of these are reported by مرصاد العباد (written 620) :—

(۱) در دائرۀ کامدن و رفتن ماست
آنرا نہ بدایت نہ نہایت پیدا ست
کس می نزند دمی درین عالم راست
کاین آمدن از کجا و رفتن بکجا ست

(۲) دارنده چو ترکیب طبائع آرا ست
باز از چہ قبل فگند اندر کم و کا ست
گر زشت آمد پس این صور عیب کرا ست
ور نیک آمد خرابی از بہر چرا ست

and one by تاریخ جہانگشای جوینی (written 658) :—

ترکیب پیالۂ کہ درهم پیوست بشکستن آن روا نمی دارد مست
چندین سر و پای نازنین از سر دست از مہر کہ پیوست و بکین کہ شکست

(Vol. I, p. 128).

I therefore repeat that the *du-baitis* in a genuine collection of the quatrains of Khayyām must very much outnumber the *rubā'ls*.

The above observations, however, do not lead us to anything constructive. The problem still remains as to what particular quatrains should be finally ascribed to Khayyām. But at least on this basis we shall be in a position to weigh the amount of *later* (if not contemporary) accretions in the collections of his رباعیات . The problem can be solved only when we are fortunate to discover an ancient and genuine text.

WHAT INDIA OWES TO CENTRAL ASIA IN ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE.

BY M. ABDULLA CHUGHTAI.

(*Lahore.*)

The following summary of my paper is based on the description of the Gour-i-Amir at Samarkand showing the close affinities between the Tāj Mahāl at Agra and Gour-i-Amir at Samarkand.

My view is that the Mussalmans in India had brought the theory and style of their architecture from Central Asia and Persia from the very beginning. Even up to this day we find the names of the chief architects of Central Asia on numerous buildings in India, as well as their mention in historical works. These architects designed and erected edifices in India. For instance in the Province of Bihār we find that a certain Tatar Khān built the tomb of a certain king, Sultan Shāh, in 665 A. H. (1266 A. D.) and its architect was Majd of Kabul whose name is found in an inscription.[1] At Ahmadabad in Gujarat, Sultan Mahmūd (863-917 A. H.=1458-1511 A. D.) entrusted the construction of gardens to a great architect of Khūrāsān in 890 A. H. = 1485 A. D. because the inhabitants of Gujarat were not endowed with the requisite artistic faculty.[2] Similar to these was the case with Ahmad Shāh Wālī Bahmānī's (825-838 A. H. = 1421-1434 A. D.) mausoleum in Bidar. That king after the tradition of the Deccan Muslim kings ordered the erection of his mausoleum in his life time, during the very first year of his reign, which fact is noted inside the dome over the southern door of the building. It was either designed or decorated by

1. Epigraphia Indica Muslimica, 1913-14, page 24.
2. Mirat-i-Sikandari, Bombay, (1038), page 110.

Shukrullah of Kazwin, as stated in an inscription on the eastern side of the dome.[3] Moreover, this most beautiful edifice bears the same form of decoration and calligraphy inside the dome as we find on the tomb of Tamerlane at Samarkand. The name of the architect of the Gour-i-Amir is Mahammad ibn Mahmūd of Isfahān, as noted therein. It was built in 807 A. H. = 1404 A. D. If we closely examine the architectural features of both the tombs we shall be convinced that they are of the same origin.

The same is true of the Tāj Mahāl at Agra, which was built by Ahmad, about 225 years after the Gour-i-Amir. Syyad Suleymān Nadvi of Azamgadh read a long and detailed paper on "*A Lahore Family of Architects*" at the First session of the Idara-Mua'arif Islamia, Lahore, 1933, in which he quoted the verses of Lutfullah son of the same Ahmad showing that Ahmad was the architect of the Tāj and the Delhi Fort. Ahmad's name is also mentioned as the father of Lutfullah in an inscription on a metal plate at Māṇḍū in Hoshang Ghūrī's tomb which bears the names of several other architects of Shāhjahān's time, who visited Māṇḍū in 1070 A. H.=1659 A. D. and left that inscription as their memorial.[4] No contemporary historical records give us any useful information about the names of the real architect of the Tāj, with the exception of the "Amal-i-Sāleh" of Mullah Muhammad Saleh Kambu and the "Bādshāh Nāmā" of Muhammad Waris, which record two names of architects viz. Ahmad and Hamid who were employed at the time of the construction of Delhi buildings during the reign of Shāhjahān in 1638 A. D.[5]

"The Artist is the creator of beautiful things.
"To reveal Art and conceal the artist is Art's aim."

O. Wilde.

Apart from the evidence of the names of the architects of Central Asia who are responsible for introducing into India

3. Anjman Himayat Islam Lahore, 14th March 1929. "The Home of the Romance of Naldaman" my own article about my visit.

4. Epigraphia Indica Muslimica 1909-1910, page 23.

5. Amal Saleh, Calcutta, 1930, Vol. III, page 28. Bodleian Persian Mss Catalogue, Or. D. 1. Fol. 17.

the theory and style of Islamic architecture, if we observe carefully the two buildings from the constructional point of view, we find in the Tāj Mahāl, the same arrangement of the underground sepulchral vault as that in the Gour-i-Amir. And the chief architectural feature of the Tāj–the bulbous Dome–has the same double construction as that of the Gour-i-Amir at Samarkand. "Is there or was there, anywhere in the Muslim world known to Timur a double dome with swelling outline? Yes; at one place, and at one only, and that was at Damascus where stood the great Umayyad Mosque built by Calif Walid in 705 A. D., the dome of which in Timur's time was *'Double and of Wood'*.[6] These are the main architectural points in the Tāj–an edifice of perfect Saracenic beauty, and one of the Seven Wonders of the World. The Tāj takes its origin from the Gour-i-Amir. In India before the advent of Islam we fail to find such peculiar architectural designs in masonry.

The mausoleum of Dilras Banu Rabia Durani, the wife of Aurangzeb, son of Shāhjahān, at Aurangabad (Deccan), being a replica of the Tāj at Agra, was designed by architect Ataullah one of the sons of the same great architect Ahmad mentioned above. Ataullah's name is preserved in an inscription on the doors of the entrance of the mausoleum.[7]

We have succeeded in tracing many such parallels between Central Asia and India which will be fully discussed in "The Tāj Mahāl".

I have utilised the work—"The Mosques of Samarkand"– only from the architectural point of view. As regards the Gour-i-Amir being the actual mausoleum of Timur, I can at least say that its sarcophagus bears an inscription with Timur's name and his genealogy.

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6. Indian Antiquary, 1915. The Evolution of Persian Dome, by Capt. K. A. C. Creswell.
7. Aurangabad Gazetteer, Bombay; 1884, p. 594.

ABBASID RAIDS ON THE ROMAN TERRITORY MENTIONED IN THE DIWAN OF ABU TAMMAM.

By Dr. Abdul Haq, B. Litt., D. Phil.
(*Hyderabad, Deccan.*)

Abu Tammam Habib b. Aus-al-Tai, the great poet and anthologist who flourished in the time of al-Mutasim, the Abbasid Caliph, has alluded in his poems to many battles and several raids on Byzantine territory.[1] In one of the most brilliant of his odes he celebrates the victory of Mutasim over the Emperor Theophilus, the fall of Amorium and the capture of Ancyra.[2] Ever since his accession to the throne the Emperor had availed himself of every opportunity which offered itself to him for making a raid on the Caliph's territory, with the result that his own empire was invaded by the Saracen[3] forces. Mamun, who was his chief enemy, cherished till death the hope of conquering the Roman domains. He raided the Roman Empire[4] more than once, and during his last invasion, when he was leading an army with the intention of subduing Amorium and other cities that lie before Constantinople, he died at Podandos in 218 A. H. After his death when the Caliph Mutasim's army was engaged in conquering Babak, the Emperor at the instance of the latter, invaded the Caliph's territory and laid Zapetra and other cities in ruins. This raid must have taken place in 222 A. H. when Babak was not yet subdued, though Tabari[5] and Yaqubi place it in the year 223 A. H.; for in the latter year the object of the Emperor's expedition would not have been secured by an attack made after the capture of Babak in 222 A. H.

1. Diwan 7-12.
2. Angora.
3. Cf. Histoire du Bas Empire XIII, 91 seqq.
4. He raided the Roman territory in 215, 216, 217 A. H. See Tabari III, 1102-3, 1104, 1109.
5. Tabari III, 1234; Yaqubi II, 580; cf. Masudi VII, 133.

When the harrowing accounts of cruelties committed by Romans in Zapetra and other places reached the Caliph, vowing that he would exact an exemplary vengeance from the Romans, he began preparations for a great expedition against them. The Caliph set out at the head of a great army from his palace at Samarra on the 2nd of Jumadal Ula, 223 A. H. (1st April, 838 A. D.). He invaded Asia Minor with three armies, and after defeating the Emperor Theophilus occupied the city of Ancyra, whence the army of the Caliph began its march towards Amorium. This strongly fortified city was besieged on Thursday the 6th of Ramadan (1st August). The siege lasted for nearly two weeks and the Caliph returned to his kingdom after a campaign[1] lasting fifty-five days. He should have continued his victorious march towards Constantinople but, hearing of the secret intrigues that were on foot to establish Abbas the son of al-Mamun as the Caliph, and also that Abbas had communicated with the Emperor, he decided to return hastily to his kingdom.[2]

After the return of the Caliph, when the Emperor saw what had befallen Amorium he reproached himself for having devastated Zapetra, and felt the necessity of making a change in policy and of establishing good relations with the Caliph. With this object he sent Basilius the patrician with many gifts and two letters to the Caliph, in one of which he expressed his regret for the destruction of Zapetra, and demanded the surrender of Aetius, offering to set all the Arab captives free and to make peace. The other was of a threatening character. It was intended to be delivered in the event of the Caliph refusing the overtures. On hearing the first letter Mutasim demanded the surrender of Nasr, the partisan of Babak, who had taken refuge with the Emperor, of his son and of the general Manual. When the patrician replied that it was impossible the Caliph bade him depart. But on reading the

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1. Tabari III, 1256. According to Yaqubi (II, 581) Amorium was reduced on Tuesday the 17th of Ramadan i. e. August 12th. This accords with Michael Syr. (III, 100) who says that the city was taken in twelve days.

2. Masudi VII, 136-137. Tabari III, 1256 seqq.

second letter, the Caliph became infuriated and flung back the gifts. He appointed Abu Said, governor of Mesopotamia and Syria, and ordered him to invade the Roman territory.[1]

Abu Said raided Asia Minor more than once. His first raid probably took place in the last months of 838 A. D. and the second[2] in 840–841 A. D.

Below are given the names of the places mentioned by Abu Tammam as having been attacked by Abu Said[3] :—

> Dhu'l, Kila'[4], Akshutha[5], Qabdúq[6], Nátlúq[7], Buqillár[8], Ubsíq[9], Durulia[10], Aqarqús[11], Sárúq[12], Qurra[13], Sághrá[14], Awqadá[15],

He refers[16] to the first raid in which Nasr lost his life opposing Abu Said. His attack, he says, shook the walls of the city of Constantinople and created a panic among those who lived behind[17] them, and, had his army showed more courage, he

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1. Michael Syr. III, 95–96, Cf. Bas Empire XIII, 144.
2. Michael III, 102. Bas Empire 151, Cf. Bury 273 (note).
3. See Diwan 27 (last line), 216–219, 145–147.
4. Ramsay (Historical Geography of Asia Minor 448) identifies it with Andrsos a fortress on one of the Isaurian passes.
5. Diwan 27 (last line) from a Syriac word Kashitha, which means a hill, probably it was the name of a fort in Armenia. Cf. Yaqut II, 343. Or possibly Eukhaita. Ramsay 448.
6. Diwan 216 (penultimate line). In the MSS. of the Diwan it is given as القيذ وق القيذ وق but more probably it is القبذ وق Cappadocia Theme. Cf. Tanbih by Masudi, 178 (6). Ramsay 216. Ibn Khurdadbih 108.
7. Diwan 216 (last line) i. e. Anatolia.
8. Diwan 217 (1). i. e. Buccellarioto Theme. Ibn Khurdadbih 108. Ramsay 211.
9. Diwan 217 (2). Opsikian Theme, Ramsay 151, Tanbih 179.
10. Diwan 217 (5) 145 (10) i. e. Dorylaion.
11. Diwan 218 (penultimate line). Akarkus is probably a false reading of Akarbous and is a variant of Gorbeous, Ramsay 216, Cf. Ibn Khurdadbih 113.
12. Diwan 219 (7). Perhaps the river Saros, Ramsay 221. Cf. Yaqut III, 9
13. Diwan 219 (10). Koran, a fortress in Cappadocia. Ramsay 355 Ibn Khurdadbih 108.
14. Diwan 219 (9). The river Sangarios, Ramsay 445, Ibn Khurdadbih 101.
15. Diwan 219 (9). Probably Augusta. Ramsay 384.
16. Diwan 219 (1) Michael Syr. III, 96.
17. Diwan 145 (11–12) 217 (11).

would have marched into Constantinople[18]. Neither the distance of the Khalij[19] nor the Qufl[20] nor the Madiq[21] would have prevented him from advancing. Elsewhere[22] he describes the escape of Manual the patrician and the flight of the Romans to the Khalij and al-Hammat-al-Bayḍá[23] when Abu Said crossed the passes and led his horses against them. In the same poem he records the consolatory speech addressed by Manual to his defeated soldiers.[24]

In the Qasida composed in praise of Khalid b. yazid, a battle is mentioned[25] in which the latter defeated the Emperor Theophilus who was compelled to sue for peace[26] In this he probably refers to a Roman raid on Saracen territory. Describing this battle Abu Tammam says[27]:—

> "Theophilus when he saw thy banners, which once set up not even the strongest dare oppose,
>
> Fled hastily away, but death like a passionate lover relentlessly pursued him.
>
> As if the Roman cities were girded around by the punishment of God, or the foal of the she-camel[28] (of the Prophet Salih) bellowed in their midst.
>
> Thy heavy shower reached the cities of Qarantaus[29] after it had flooded far off Saghra[30] and Timmin.[31]"

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18. Diwan 146 (1) 217 (9-14).
19. i. e. The Golden Horn. Diwan 217 (penultimate line).
20. i. e. the ponderous chain which was attached to two massive towers built by the order of Constantine, to close the Golden Horn against the attack of a hostile fleet. The Age of Justinian and Theodora by Holmes, I, 40. Ibn Khurdadbih 104 Diwan 146 (1) 217 (penultimate line).
21. Diwan 217 (last line), probably he refers to the Straits of Dardanelles.
22. Diwan 145-147.
23. Diwan 146 (7) i. e. the White Fountain of hot water. Probably he refers to the sacred well which was situated near Constantinople in a grove about a mile from the shore and was frequented by sufferers from various diseases, Holmes, 26,27.
24. Diwan 147 (1-2).
25. Diwan 30-34.
26. Diwan 32 (7-11).
27. Diwan 32 (7 seqq.)
28. See Quran VII, 71-77. Tabari i. 244-245.
29. i. e. Corinth.
30. i. e. the river Sangarios.
31. Probably Timena a fortress on the Danube. Cf. Procopius a treatise on buildings, 46.

Marathi Section.

President:

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CONTENTS.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

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(*Poona.*)

सभासदहो,

१. आपण माझी अध्यक्षाच्या जागीं नेमणूक केली तीबद्दल मी आपला ऋणी आहें. त्याप्रमाणेंच आपले आभार मानतांना कार्यकारी मंडळींनीं मराठी व गुजराथी हे विभाग स्वतंत्र करण्याची योजना केली, तीबद्दलहि मला त्यांचें अभिनन्दन करणें अवश्य वाटतें. त्यांनीं केलेला हा उपक्रम पुढें अत्यंत परिणामकारी होणार आहे. संशोधन परक्या भाषेऐवजीं स्वकीय भाषेंतच मांडणें ही गोष्ट संशोधनाच्या उत्कर्षाच्या व खोलपणाच्या दृष्टीनें महत्त्वाची आहे. श्रौतस्मार्तासारख्या क्षेत्रांत झालेलें भारतीय संशोधन परकीय भाषेंतून मांडलें जातें, तेव्हां त्या विषयाशीं अत्यंत परिचित अशा वर्गापुढें तें जाईल अशी भीति नसल्यामुळें त्यांत बराचसा उथळपणा असतो असें माझ्या अनुभवास आलें आहे. इंग्रजींत मांडलेल्या संशोधनास दुसरीकडूनहि पायबंद असतो. भारतीय आयुष्याशीं अपरिचय असणाऱ्या लोकांच्या भाषेंत लिहिणें लेखनपद्धतीवर परिणाम केल्याखेरीज राहत नाहीं. इंग्रजींत लिहितांना मनुष्य अगदींच निराळ्या मानसिक स्थितींत असतो. झालेलें संशोधन इंग्रजींत मांडतांना लेखकास स्वजनसेवा चांगल्या तऱ्हेनें करतां येत नाहीं, यासाठीं ऐतिहासिक आणि मानवी व्यवहारविषयक संशोधन मांडण्याची भाषा देशीच असावी, ही गोष्ट संशोधनाच्या उपयुक्ततेच्या आणि स्वातंत्र्याच्या दृष्टीनें अत्यंत इष्ट आहे.

आजपर्यंत संशोधकांनीं इंग्रजी भाषेचा आश्रय केल्यानें जें संशोधन देशी भाषेंत मांडलें गेलें आहे त्याकडे स्वाभाविकपणें दुर्लक्ष होतें व झालें आहे; आणि या दृष्टीनें या अधिवेशनाचे विद्वान् अध्यक्ष रा. जयस्वाल यांचें भाषण आक्षेपणीय झालें आहे. देशी भाषांमध्यें जें संशोधन झालें आहे त्याचा योग्य उल्लेख रा. जयस्वालांच्या भाषणांत झाला नाहीं, व याचें कारण देशी भाषांत प्रसिद्ध झालेल्या संशोधनाची त्यांनीं चांगली माहिती करून घेतली नाहीं हें होय. या प्रकारच्या परिस्थितीमुळें भारतीय पांडित्यास ज्या उणीवा उत्पन्न होतात त्या दूर करण्यासाठीं देशी भाषांस उत्तेजन देणें अवश्य आहे, व अशी संधि देण्याचा बडोद्यानें जो उपक्रम केला त्याचें

महत्त्व कालांतरानें वृद्धिंगत होणार आहे. या उपक्रमामुळें निरनिराळ्या देशी भाषांत जें कांहीं मांडलें जात आहे त्याचें एकीकरण होण्यास मदत होईल, आणि त्याचा परिणाम भारतीय पांडित्यांत अधिक संघटना उत्पन्न होण्याकडे होईल यांत संशय नाहीं.

२. मी पहिल्या ओरिएंटल कॉन्फरन्सला हजर होतों; त्या वेळच्या संशोधक वर्गाच्या स्थितींत आणि आजच्या स्थितींत महदंतर पडलें आहे. भारतीय पांडित्या-मध्यें परिश्रम करणाऱ्या वर्गांत आज भारतीयांचेंच प्रामुख्य स्थापन झालें आहे असें म्हणण्यास हरकत नाहीं. ही स्थिति चौदा वर्षांपूर्वी नव्हती. त्या वेळचा भारतीय ज्ञातीचा संशोधक वर्ग लहान होता. भौतिक शास्त्रें आणि भारतीय पांडित्य या दोन्हीं गोष्टींत भारतीय ज्ञातीची मंडळी आज महत्त्वाचें स्थान पटकावूं लागली आहे.

३. भारतीय इतिहासाचें क्षेत्र अधिकाधिक व्यापक होत आहे, आणि भारतेति-हासाच्या अनेक अंगांत निरनिराळे कार्यकर्ते कसे निर्माण होत आहेत हें सर्व वैदकांचे सामान्य अध्यक्ष रा. जयस्वाल यांनीं आपल्या भाषणांत सविस्तर सांगितलें असल्यामुळें त्या प्रगतीचा पुनरुच्चार येथें करणें अवश्य नाहीं. जें जयस्वालांकडून अलक्षित राहिलें त्याविषयीं चार शब्द सांगतां येतील. महाराष्ट्रांत भारतीय संशोधनात्मक जें कार्य झालें आहे तें बहुतांशीं रा. जयस्वालांकडून अनुल्लेखित आहे. पण तें आपणां सर्वांस विदित असल्यामुळें त्याचा उल्लेख करण्याची अवश्यकता नाहीं. संशोधक वर्ग देशी भाषांतील संशोधनाविषयीं जागरूक नाहीं, यासाठीं आपल्याकडे देशी भाषांत जें संशोधन होतें, त्याचा गोषवारा त्या त्या भागांतील इंग्रजींत प्रसिद्ध होणाऱ्या मासिकांनीं आणि त्रैमासिकांनीं देत जाणें अवश्य आहे ही गोष्ट आपणां सर्वांच्या नजरेस आणणें अवश्य आहे. महाराष्ट्राच्या इतिहासामध्यें आज अनेक अभ्यासकांच्या प्रयत्नांची भर पडली आहे, आणि प्राचीनकाल, मध्यकाल आणि अर्वाचीनकाल या सर्व क्षेत्रांमध्यें महाराष्ट्रीयांची जी कर्तबगारी झाली आहे तिचें एकत्रित अवलोकन केलें असतां आजच्या महाराष्ट्राच्या बौद्धिक विकासाचें आणि विचारक्षेत्राचें व्यापकत्व भासल्यावांचून राहणार नाहीं. हिंदुस्थानामध्यें ऐतिहासिक दृष्टी इतर लोकांपेक्षां आज महाराष्ट्रांतच अधिक उत्पन्न झाली आहे. सर्वसामान्य इतिहास लिहिण्याचा प्रयत्न मी गेलीं सहा सात वर्षें करीत असल्यामुळें अखिल भारतीय त्याचप्रमाणें महाराष्ट्रीय इतिहासजिज्ञासामूलक कार्य किती झालें आहे याविषयीं अंदाज मला चांगल्या तऱ्हेनें झाला आहे. समाजशास्त्राला संस्कृत पांडित्याची जोड महाराष्ट्रांतील संशोधकांकडून चांगली मिळत आहे. भाषेचा 'उगमाडा' लिहिण्यांत राजवाडे यांनीं जितक्या प्राचीन काळावर नजर फिरविली आहे, व अत्यंत प्राचीन काल व अर्वाचीन काल यांची संगति लावण्याचा जो प्रयत्न केला आहे त्याची तुलना भारतीय संशोधनमार्गांतील दुसऱ्या कोणत्याही प्रयत्नांशीं करतां यावयाची नाहीं. राजवाडे यांच्या धातुकोशाचें

[illegible] कर्कट पडलें असलें तथापि [illegible] इतका व्यापक दृष्टीनें [illegible] [illegible] नंतर राजवाड्यांनींच केला असें म्हणावें लागेल. त्यांच्या [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] मंडळीकडून झालें म्हणजे त्याचा भारतीय पांडित्यावर फारच मोठा परिणाम होईल अशी माझी स्वत:ची कल्पना आहे.

४. राजवाड्यांच्या विविध प्रयत्नांची, तसेंच प्राचीन कालांतील अर्वाचीन म्हणजे बुद्धापासून चालुक्यांच्या कालापर्यंतच्या दीर्घ कालखंडावर प्रयत्न करणाऱ्या अनेक विद्वानांच्या प्रयत्नांची जुळणी करून व संगति लावून इतिहास लिहिण्याचें काम अजूनहि व्हावयाचेंच आहे. महाराष्ट्रापुरतें हें कार्य मी अंगिकारिलें आहे. त्या कार्याचें दृश्यफल मी लौकरच वाचकांच्या हातीं देऊं शकेन असें वाटतें.

५. माझ्या प्राचीन महाराष्ट्राच्या इतिहासांत इतरांच्या प्रयत्नांचें फल देण्यांत येणारच आहे, तथापि अगदींच नवीन असें संशोधन देखील बरेंच दिलें जाणार आहे. कुरुयुद्धापासून बुद्धापर्यंतच्या दीर्घ कालासंबंधानें ऐतिहासिकांनीं बरेंचसें मूकत्व स्वीकारलें आहे, असें म्हणण्यास प्रत्यवाय वाटत नाहीं. प्रयत्नांतीं मला या कालावर पुष्कळच लिहितां आलें आहे. मला असें वाटूं लागलें आहे कीं, सर्व हिंदुस्थानच्या इतिहासाचा छडा लाविण्यासाठीं आपण कंबर बांधली तर ज्या कालाच्या ज्ञानाविषयीं आज पूर्ण अंधार आहे असा कालच सांपडणें शक्य नाहीं; प्रत्येक काल आपलीं कांहींतरी स्मारकें ठेवूनच जातो; तीं शोधून काढून त्या स्मारकांवरून निघणारा इतिहास मांडीत जाण्याचें कार्य आपणाकडून व्हावयाचें आहे, आणि तें काम इत:पर काळजीपूर्वक केलें जाईल आणि पुष्कळच अज्ञात इतिहास बाहेर पडेल याविषयीं मला खात्री आहे.

६. जुन्या आठवणांचें किंवा जुन्या रिवाजांचें प्रयत्नपूर्वक संरक्षण करण्यांत हिंदुस्थानाइतका तत्पर दुसरा देशच नाहीं. जुनीं देशनामें लोक आग्रहपूर्वक वापरतात. जुन्या आचार्यांची गोत्रप्रवरांची आठवण संरक्षितात; असे हिंदुस्थानचे लोक इतिहासाविषयीं अनास्थ कसे होतील? हिंदुस्थानामध्यें इतिहासाविषयीं आस्था नाहीं असें ज्यास वाटत असेल त्यानें हें लक्षांत ठेवावें कीं, इतिहासांत आपल्या कार्याचा उल्लेख व्हावा, यासाठीं प्रत्येक कर्तबगार मनुष्य, त्याप्रमाणेंच सामान्य योग्यतेचा, परंतु स्वत:स कर्तबगार समजणारा मनुष्य धडपडत असतो. आपलें नांव चिरकाल रहावें याविषयीं खटपट करण्यास प्रेरक होणारा अहंकार पूर्वीचे आधार देऊन आपलें साध्य साधण्याची मानवी बुद्धि या गोष्टी इतिहास संरक्षिण्यास कारण होतात. या प्रकारच्या भावना हिंदुस्थानांत नव्हत्या काय? आपलें नांव चिरकाल टिकावें याविषयीं लोकांस जी तहान असते ती तहान हिंदुस्थानांत नव्हती असें सिद्ध होऊं शकेल काय? ज्याप्रमाणें स्त्रियांमध्यें पातिव्रत्याची जोपासना होण्यास पुरुषांमध्यें मत्सरी स्वभाव लागतो त्याप्रमाणें इतिहासाचें संगोपन होण्यास व आपली स्मृति टिकावी यासाठीं

प्रकृति मनुष्यांत उत्पन्न होण्यास स्वकीय स्तुतीची आणि गौरवाची आवड ही कारणीभूत होतात. हिंदुस्थानामध्यें गर्व नव्हता किंवा स्तुतीची आवड नव्हती असें कोण म्हणेल ? जोंपर्यंत आत्मगौरवाची अभिरुचि लोकांत आहे, तोंपर्यंत आपलें नांव चिरस्मरणीय व्हावें यासाठीं मनुष्याकडून प्रयत्न होत जाणारच, आणि तसा तो प्राचीन महाराष्ट्रांत झाला होता. भक्तीनें इतिहास जपून ठेवण्याचा परिश्रमहि पुष्कळच झाला आहे. शिवाय फसव्या इतिहासलेखनापेक्षां साहित्यसंरक्षण ही महत्त्वाची गोष्ट आहे, आणि ती तर आपल्या पूर्वजांनीं उत्तम तऱ्हेनें केली आहे. एवंच, स्मारकें उरलीं आहेत, आणि तीं अनेक प्रकारचीं उरलीं आहेत; आणि ज्या भारतीयांनीं अत्यंत विविध प्रकारचें वाङ्मय संरक्षून ठेविलें, त्यांनीं इतिहासास उपयोगी पडणारें वाङ्मय देखील संरक्षून ठेविलें आहे. त्या वाङ्मयाचा अभ्यास जितका अधिकाधिक सूक्ष्म होत जाईल तितका इतिहास अधिकाधिक खुला होत जाईल. कुरुयुद्धापासून बुद्धापर्यंतच्या दीर्घ कालांतील घडामोडींचा बराचसा इतिहास माझ्या दृष्टीनें स्पष्ट झाला आहे; आणि जें मला स्पष्ट झालें आहे तें मी आपल्यापुढें मोकळ्या मनानें मांडणार आहें.

७. आपल्या इतिहासाचा अभ्यास निर्भयपणानें होण्यास कांहीं वर्षांपूर्वी ज्या अडचणी होत्या त्या आतां बऱ्याचशा दूर झाल्या आहेत. आपल्यांतील विद्वान् वर्ग युरोपीय अभ्यासकांच्या दडपणाखालीं दबला गेला होता. विद्वान् म्हणण्याचें व त्याची बढती करण्याचें परकीयांच्या हातीं असे, आणि यामुळें परकीयांचीं कांहीं बाबतींत योग्य तर कांहीं बाबतींत अयोग्य अशीं दडपणें उरावर ठेवून भारतीय अभ्यासकास काम करावें लागे, व त्या दडपणाची परंपरा फार दूरवर पोंहोचे. युरोपीय अभ्यासक-वर्गाच्या मताशीं नमतें घेणाऱ्या ज्या दोन चार माणसांची विद्वान् म्हणून लोकांत तारीफ होई, ते दुय्यम लोक संशोधनक्षेत्रांत दादागिरी करूं लागत; त्यामुळें भारतीय पांडित्यावर एक प्रकारची अनिष्ट झांपड पडली होती. त्या झांपडीविरुद्ध पंडित-वर्गानें थोडेबहुत प्रयत्न केले, आणि त्याच कालामध्यें राजकीय बाबतींत देखील स्थित्यंतर झालें. त्यामुळें व संशोधक वर्गाच्या बऱ्याचशा झालेल्या वाढीमुळें आज भारतीय पांडित्य आपलें स्वातंत्र्य स्थापन करूं शकलें आहे, आणि या बौद्धिक स्वातंत्र्याचा इष्ट परिणाम या पुढील दशकांत मोठ्या प्रमाणांत दिसूं लागेल अशी मला बळकट आशा आहे.

८. भारतीय पांडित्याचें स्वातंत्र्य स्थापन झाल्यानंतर तें जोमानें सर्व क्षेत्रें व्यापीत गेलें पाहिजे. जगांतील अशा कोणत्याच घडामोडी नाहींत कीं, ज्यांचा भारतीय पांडित्याशीं संबंध नाहीं. प्राचीन ईजिप्त आणि असुर देश येथील संस्कृतीचा अभ्यास आपल्याकडे वाढला पाहिजे. त्या संबंधानें आणि ईजियन संस्कृति, मेक्सिकन संस्कृति आणि इराण यासंबंधीं जें खनित्रकार्य चालत आहे, त्या खनित्रकार्यामध्यें भाग घेण्यासाठीं सुद्धां भारतीयांनीं तिकडे गेलें पाहिजे. चिनी भाषेचे थोर पंडित

आपल्यांत उत्पन्न झाले असें आपणांस अभिमानानें सांगतां आलें पाहिजे. या सर्व [illegible] होण्यासाठीं बद्धपरिकर झाल्याशिवाय भारतीय पांडित्याचें स्वातंत्र्य स्थापन झाल्यासारखें होणार नाहीं.

९. आपल्या पांडित्यवर्धनासाठीं युनिव्हर्सिट्यांची वृत्ति बदलली पाहिजे. आजच्या युनिव्हर्सिट्या इंग्रजांनीं जो पूर्वीं शिरस्ता घालून दिला तेवढाच चालवीत आहेत, आणि फारच अल्प क्षेत्रांत खेळ........करणाऱ्या आहेत. त्या प्रकारच्या स्थितीपासून युनिव्हर्सिट्यांस सोडविलें पाहिजे. आपल्यावर स्वामित्व गाजविणाऱ्या जातींनीं खुळे-पणानें अगर दुष्टपणानें जुन्या काळीं विद्याविकासाला बंधनें घालून ज्या अडचणी उत्पन्न केल्या तीं बंधनें धैर्यानें तोडून टाकल्याशिवाय कोणत्याच तऱ्हेचा उत्कर्ष व्हावयाचा नाहीं. उदाहरणार्थ, तुम्ही इंग्रजी चौथ्या इयत्तेंत असतां दुय्यम म्हणून जी भाषा स्वीकाराल तीच तुम्हांला एम. ए. पर्यंत चालविली पाहिजे, असल्या तऱ्हेचे घाणेरडे नियम अजूनहि आहेत. इंटरमीजिएटपर्यंत संस्कृत शिकल्यानंतर आपण आतां अवेस्ता किंवा पाली शिकूं असें कोणीं इच्छिलें तर तें त्यास आजच्या परिस्थितींत करणें शक्य होत नाहीं. संस्कृतिविकासास बाधक अशा मूर्ख नियमांनीं सर्व विद्यार्थीवर्गास आज जखडून टाकिलें आहे. तसल्या प्रकारच्या नियमांविरुद्ध बंडावा करण्यास किंबहुना विद्यापीठांचे कान उपटण्यास शास्त्रज्ञांच्या व पंडितांच्या संस्था म्हणजे त्यांचीं संमेलनें हेंच प्रधान साधन होय. युनिव्हर्सिट्या ह्या शिक्षण-प्रसाराच्या व विद्याविकासाच्या कार्यकारी संस्था आहेत पण त्या आपलें काम कितपत अक्कलहुशारीनें बजावीत आहेत याची झडती साहित्यसंस्था, इतिहाससंस्था व शास्त्रज्ञ-संस्था यांनीं घेतली पाहिजे, आणि युनिव्हर्सिट्यांतील कारभारी मंडळाला, त्यानें आपलें कार्य आंधळेपणानें करूं नये तर डोळसपणानें करावें यासाठीं त्यांनीं जागें केलें पाहिजे. युनिव्हर्सिट्यांमध्यें देशी भाषांची पूर्णपणें उपेक्षा होत आहे याला जबाबदार आपल्यांतीलच अध्यापक वर्ग आहे ही गोष्ट लक्षांत ठेवली पाहिजे. आज आपल्या उरावर युनिव्हर्सिट्या सुधरूं नयेत म्हणून निर्माण केलेलीं दडपणें नाहींत, तथापि पूर्वींच्या मूर्खपणामुळें अगर दुष्टपणानें घातलेल्या शिरस्त्याचा ज्यांच्या मनावर पगडा आहे अशीच मंडळी अजून कारभार करीत आहे. त्यांनी देशप्रगतीची ज्या मानानें तहान उत्पन्न व्हावयास पाहिजे तितकी झालेली नाहीं, ही आज आपल्या मार्गांतील मोठी अडचण आहे; तथापि ही अडचण देखील फार दिवस टिकावयाची नाहीं. तरुण संशोधकवर्ग जसजसा पुढें येईल तसतसा विद्येस अपकर्षक अशा जुन्या दुराग्रहांचा बीमोड होईल अशी मला बळकट आशा आहे.

WHERE MARATHI MEETS GUJARATI.

By V. P. DANDEKAR, M. A.

(*Baroda.*)

Baroda is the meeting place of Gujarati and Marathi. It reminds us of the confluence of any two rivers—say, the Ganges and the Jumna. It might, as well be called a place of literary pilgrimage. For it is here that not only the two languages meet but also the people speaking the two languages meet. The influence of the Gujaratis on the Deccanis is not less than the influence of Gujarati on Marathi. In fact, it is greater and of far more importance than the influence of the Gujarati language. The Gujaratis have influenced the Deccanis by their dress, customs and manners, food and temperament. It is needless to say that the Deccanis and their Marathi have likewise influenced the Gujaratis and their Gujarati But, in this place, we are not concerned with that aspect. We are going to restrict ourselves to the influence of the Gujarati and the Gujaratis on the Marathi and the Deccanis

Firstly, then, we turn to the debt which the Marathi owes to the Gujarati. The signs of this debt are so widely scattered that it will be sufficient for our purpose to cast a casual glance at the partially Gujaratised Marathi that is so very current here. We the Maharashtrians, who live in Baroda, are scarcely aware of this fact. But when our fellow-brothers come here either from Maharashtra or Konkan they find a lot of change in our language. They, sometimes, try to ridicule us for our want of self-respect and our utter neglect of our mother-tongue. They pity us for not knowing and using the classical or pure Marathi. Poor loyalists as they are, they do not know how the Marathi language becomes enriched by the fusion of Marathi and Gujarati. No idea can be more silly and suicidal

than the idea of keeping any particular language isolated. The free growth of a language is only possible when it is willing to pick up nourishment from its neighbouring languages. We are proud of the so-called Gujaratised Marathi that we use here.

The use of the Gujarati auxiliary verbs like पाडवुं or पडवुं, मारवु, वाळवुं is very common with the Deccanis here. To give an idea of this use let us frame an imaginary report of a conversation:—

" गोविंद म्हणाला, 'नारायण, चल आपण व्याख्यानाला जाऊं.' तें ऐकून नारायण म्हणाला, 'नारे भाई, आत्तांच मी मांदगींतून उठलों आहे. तूंच तुझा व्याख्या-नाला जाण्याचा बेत मांडून वाळ. आजकाल व्याख्याते आपलीं भाषणें घोकून मारतात. असल्या भाषणांनीं सभेवर छाप पाडण्यापेक्षां कोणी विचारायला आल्यास चोख्खी ना पाडलेली काय वाईट ? एकदां भाषण घोकून मारण्याची टेव पडली कीं ती कायमचीच पडली. एकदां एका घोकंपट्टी करणाऱ्या व्याख्यात्याची ऐनवेळीं इतकी फजिती झाली कीं त्यावेळं: एखाद्यानें त्याचा फोटो पाडला असता तर मोठी मजा पडली असती.' "

Apart from this use of verbs, there are hundreds of Gujarati words which have crept into the Marathi language. The following are a few from the many that we use daily:—

Gujarati words.	*Marathi equivalents.*	*Gujarati words*	*Marathi equivalents.*
तद्दन	अगदीं	डोल	बादली
छेक	किमानपक्ष	चिला	वाट
रोफ	ऐट	कोतर	खिड
चोख्खी	पूर्ण, अगदीं	जयजय	नमस्कार
फेर	बदल	गोदा	ठोसा
पान	विडा	दोढिये	पैसे
वरिआळी	बडीशेप	बफारा	उन्हाळा
दाण	खंड, वसुल	वरघोडा	वरात
काच्छआवाडी	मंडई	वांधा	अडचण, हरकत
सुधराई	म्युनिसिपालिटी	खाली	रिकामा
गिल्ची	घोसाळी	खामी	न्यून, दोष
रिंगणा	वांगी	गांडा	मूर्ख

Gujarati words	*Marathi equivalents.*	*Gujarati words*	*Marathi equivalents*
चोपडी	पुस्तक	भूल	चूक
गिजवा	खिसा	भलामण	शिफारस
खेडूत	शेतकरी	वगवशीला	शिफारस
खाटीडाळ	आंबटवरण	मांदगी	आजार
कोडियें	पंत्या	वेठ	बिगार
पथारी	बिछाना	ठोट	मंद
पोंक	हुरडा	डोबा	मतिमंद
उंधीयुं	उकडहंडी	वट	ऐट

Secondly, we turn to the dress. Here it must be confessed that for over one hundred and twenty years since the time the Gaekwars settled themselves in Baroda, the Deccanis have refused to be influenced, in matters of dress, by the Gujaratis. In fact, the Marathas being the rulers of Gujarat their dress remained intact. This is one reason. Another reason is this that so far as men were concerned there was little real difference in the dress of a Gujarati gentleman and a Deccani gentleman. The chief point of difference being the turban, it has maintained its ground, in one form or another, even to-day. But so far as women were concerned the case was entirely different. The dress of a Deccani lady was diametrically opposite to the dress of a Gujarati lady. And neither side yielded for years together; and that too for obvious reasons. As there was very little spread of women's education in the 19th century, the points of contact were very few for the Gujarati and the Deccani ladies. But with the swift spread of women's education in the early decades of the 20th century, the Deccani girls came in contact with the Gujarati girls. And the former being of an adaptive nature took a sympathetic view of the Gujarati dress. So much so, that to-day there are many Deccani girls and ladies who have adopted the Gujarati 'Sāri', only with slight modification. Similarly have the Deccani gentlemen taken kindly to the Gujarati long-shirt (पेहरण). Excepting official purposes many of us wear this long-shirt while going out.

Thirdly, we turn to food. Here, also, the Gujaratis have immensely influenced the already fastidious and dilettante Deccanis. The Deccanis are known for the richness and variety of their dishes, and are nicknamed घमसांद्स half-ironically, half-sincerely by their Gujarati friends. Not only have the Deccanis patronised such Gujarati sweets as दूधपाक, मेसूर, घारी and मालपुआ but even their daily food is much influenced by the Gujaratis. Most of the Deccanis, instead of taking rice for their supper take only bread, vegetables and milk. Similarly, as with the Gujaratis, the dish of खिचडी is very popular amongst us. In Maharashtra if a guest comes at an odd hour, or if one is in hurry, then the dish of पिठलंभात is invariably prepared. In Gujarat on all such occasions, it is the dish of खिचडी that is, as a rule, prepared. Then as regards the water that we drink, unlike the Maharashtrians, we keep it in big earthen pots. This is partly due to the hot climate of this place. But it is a fact that we are so much accustomed to this kind of water that we do not like to have water from any other pots than the earthen ones.

Fourthly, we turn to the customs and manners, as they are influenced by the Gujaratis. Here, are noticed so many changes which are almost patent. For example, when two persons meet they do not accost one another either with a नमस्कार or a रामराम but with a जयजय ! This is a speciality of this place, and is not to be found anywhere else. Then, again, whenever any of our guests or visitors leaves us, we say आवजो ! instead of saying जाईं ! The custom of giving [illegible] with [illegible] is also a peculiarity to be found amongst the Deccanis here. The Deccani ladies have imitated the Gujarati ladies' custom of cleansing all the extra utensils in the house and decorating the shelves in the front-room with them. Then they have also adopted that fascinating chorus dance known as the Garbā. The Garbā is almost an inimitable feature of the Gujarati ladies. But here the Deccani ladies are trying to vie with their Gujarati sisters, and that too with commendable success. The custom of giving marriage-presents in coin, immediately after the marriage-ceremony, known as चांदलो is adopted by the Deccanis. It is a very convenient custom

and fits the pockets of all and sundry. I wish our Maharashtra friends should take a lesson from this. Then, again, the custom of tying the silken thread known as राखी or राखडी, round the wrist of a person, on the राखीपौर्णिमा or नारळीपौर्णिमा day, is a peculiarity of this place, and the Deccanis look upon it as almost their own.

Fifthly, we turn to the temperament of the Deccanis as it is formed here. I know it is dangerous to make any kind of generalisation on this point; because we are told that the human nature remains the same everywhere. However, we shall not be erring in pointing out certain peculiarities of the Deccanis as they are found here. It is needless to reiterate that the essentials of human nature remain the same whether one is in a civilised city like London or in an uncivilised village in Africa. All the same, it is a fact that the geographical, economical, and climatic conditions do influence man's nature. The abundance and plenty of Gujarat have made the Gujaratis more hospitable, generous, sweet conversationists and lovers of luxuries. On the contrary the Maharashtrians are more simple, self-sacrificing and matter-of-fact people. More or less, they are dry and prosaic. The common sense is too much with them. Here also, I think the rocky soil of Maharashtra is responsible for this. The Deccanis in Baroda are a happy combination of the good qualities of Maharashtra and Gujarat. Like the Gujaratis they are hospitable and noble-minded, and like the Maharashtrians they are simple and straightforward. Their long stay in Gujarat has not made them flatterers. They err too much on the side of plain speaking. I wish they should be as cunning, meaning thereby as wise, as their Gujarati brothers.

Thus, in brief, we have observed the various influences which are at work amongst the Deccanis. We have acknowledged the debt which we owe to the Gujarati and the Gujaratis. In the ordinary world the debtor is looked upon with contempt. But the literary debt is something for which one may rightly feel proud. There can be no humiliation in acknowledging it. On the contrary, it speaks volumes for the assimilative power of the Marathis.

A FEW THOUGHTS ON KANARESE AND SOME OTHER WORDS FROM JÑANEŚVARI.

By C. N. Joshi, M. A.
(*Hyderabad, Deccan*).

Introductory remarks.

The collection of a large number of Kanarese, a few Telugu and some stray Persian and Arabic words from *Jñāneśvarī* and earlier works, is a by-product of the research work, done two years ago, jointly by the professors of Marathi, Kanarese and Telugu languages and the scholars of the Osmania University College, where alone, as far as is known to the writer, these three vernaculars are studied in one and the same institution. With this material ready in his hand, he has ventured to place a few thoughts on them before this Conference, where scholars of great name and fame, from all parts of India, have assembled together. The writer hopes that it may provoke thought on this important subject and inspire some competent scholar to write authoritatively on it.

The rise and making of Marathi.

The rise and making of Marathi, the rulers of Maharashtra during that time, the age of Kanarese and Telugu and their contact with and relation to Marathi, and when and how as a result thereof, did the words from the former begin to find their way into the latter, are some of the important questions which must be considered at the outset. An attempt is made here to answer these one by one.

The earliest vestiges of Marathi can be traced in the inscriptions printed in the issues of *Indian Antiquary*[1] and *Epigraphia Indica*.[2] They are found quoted in various

1. Vols. 6 to 13 and 21. 2. Vol. 1.

standard Marathi works.[1] They date from 680-1127 A. D. (Śaka 602-1049). They are as a rule written in Sanskrit. Yet we find in them stray words of an unmistakable Marathi stamp mixed up with Sanskrit. This clearly proves that Marathi language was spoken by common people, though Sanskrit had still retained its prestige among the princes and kings and among the educated and learned Pandits at the time when the inscriptions were made. This phenomenon has been very ingeniously accounted for, by Dr. Kielhorn[2] who has remarked: "The author or authors (of inscriptions) though intending to write Sanskrit, had a meagre knowledge of the grammar of that language; they were evidently influenced by and have freely employed words, phrases and constructions of their vernaculars." Later on, as in the Parel inscription of 1187 A. D. Marathi is used for an imprecation on the violators of the order, so that it may be understood by all and sundry. Therefore, if Marathi was used by the common people to such an extent that they could easily and unwittingly interpolate certain words therefrom in Sanskrit inscriptions, so early as 680 A. D. it cannot be wrong to fix the time of Marathi's actual rise between 500-700 A. D. The late Mr. Rajawade,[3] the editor of Kesari[4] and Mr. K. P. Kulkarni,[5] have approximately fixed the same time. Though the origin of Marathi can be placed so early as this, still the first Marathi work known, is Śrīpati's *Ratnamālā* of 1039 A. D. It is a Sanskrit work on Astronomy with a Marathi commentary. But as the authorship is doubtful,[6] the next work which comes to hand is Mukunda Rāja's *Vivekasindhu*. The date of this work as given by Bhave[7] is 1118 A. D. If this date is accepted, this poem must be acknowledged as the first Marathi work extant. But when one thinks

1. Bhave, Rajawade and Kulkarni's works. The last-mentioned work is used here. M. U. and V. page 148.
2. Siyodoni Ins. Ep. Ind. Vol. I.
3. Jn. Intro. pp. 58, 61.
4. K. Prabodha, part II, page 26.
5. M.B.U.V.P. 137 and 150.
6. Bhave, page 21.
7. Bhave, page 25, edition I.

of its philosophic theme, its beautiful style, logical argument and its well-conceived plan, there remains no difficulty in pronouncing it as a production of a well-developed and matured stage of the language. For no language has yet produced such highly philosophical works in its initial stage. So, perforce one has to suppose that a vast body of simple and light literature consisting of folklore, fables, anecdotes, nursery-rhymes, fairy tales must have preceded it, though unfortunately, it is not available this day. Therefore, it would not be unreasonable to place the date of this primary stage or childhood of Marathi, at least two or three hundred years before *Vivekasindhu* i. e. between 700–1000 A. D. and if Marathi appears full-fledged in *Vivekasindhu*, *Jñānesvari* exhibits its power, splendour and glory at its height. Therefore 1100–1300 A. D. may be said to be the period of its adolescence and maturity.

Rulers of Maharashtra 500–1300.

Thus having fixed the time of the inception, growth and development of the Marathi language, up to the production of of Jñā., one must next turn to history[1] to find out what kings ruled over Maharashtra between 500–1300 A. D. and what were their court-languages and what was the position of Marathi with regard to them. The dynasty of the early Chalukyas is the first to rule over Maharashtra. Their rule lasted from 550–753 A. D. Pulakeśi II (Satyāśraya Prithvivallabha Mahārāja) who ruled from 612–642 A. D. was the mightiest among all the Chalukyas. They had brought the whole of present Maharashtra[2] under their sway. And Kanarese was the court-language of all the Chalukyas. The Rashtrakutas defeated Kirtivarma Chalukya and took possession of his whole kingdom. All kings of this dynasty were noted for their prowess and glory. They ruled from 753–974 A. D. Their court-language was also Kanarese. Mānyakheṭa=Malkhed was their capital. It is situated in the Gulburga District of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions and is

1. Sar Desai's Indian history, Marathi Riyasat.
2. M.Y.M. Bharata Vaidya p. 108.

still known as a centre of Kanarese. The Rashtrakutas were defeated by the later Chalukyas who ruled over Maharashtra from 974–1189 A. D. They were in their turn defeated by Bhillama Yādava who established his capital at Devagiri in 1189. His successors ruled over Maharashtra till 1318. The Yādavas were the only kings during this period who patronised Marathi; and it was in the reign of Rāmadeva Rao Yādava[1] that Jñā. was produced in 1290 A.D.

Age of Kanarese, and its influence over Marathi.

From what is said above, it may be seen that Kānaḍī was the language of all the rulers who ruled over Maharashtra from 550–1189, i. e. for more than 600 years. Now it is interesting to enquire into the age and condition of Kanarese when Marathi was just in the making. Kanarese claims to be of great antiquity. Its rise is assigned to the second century. The Jains are said to have employed it first in promulgating their religion among the common people as the Buddhists had previously used Pāli to spread their own doctrines. The Gaṅga kings, near Mysore (about 500 A. D.) gave great encouragement to Kanarese. One of the kings named Durvinīta[2] was himself a poet. Satyāśraya Pulakeśi, who is already mentioned above, showed great favour to Jain religion and Jain scholars. Ravikīrti, a great Kānaḍa scholar, was his court–poet. But after all, the first Kanarese work extant dates 814[3] A. D. only. It is the Kavirāja–Mārga of the king Nṛipatuṅga. It is a work on poetics showing considerable development of the language. He has referred to many poets who had gone before him. From this it will be evident that while Marathi was yet in its inception it came under the over–powering influence of Kānaḍī. Kānaḍī commanded respect both by reason of its age and the royal patronage. It was receiving liberal support continuously at the hands of early Chalukyas, Rashtrakutas and later Chalukyas. Naturally it was the popular and pre-eminent language during their time. With its increasing power and glory, it also extended its limits and held its sway

1. Jñā. ch. 18–1804.
2. Rajahaṁsa issue 1933, Hyderabad, Deccan.
3. Kanarese Literature 850 A. D.

over all the provinces between the Kaveri and the Godavari. The helpless Marathi was driven to the wall and suppressed. Without the sunshine of the royal patronage the feeble plant of Marathi withered and dwarfed. At the court, in the market, in the street and at home, the glorious Kānaḍī domineered over Marathi, its hand-maid, for nearly 700 years. But being endowed by nature with tenacious vitality it kept alive, till the Yādava kings came to its rescue as rulers of Devagiri. Then only Marathi began to lift up its head and gather strength by leaps and bounds. Thereafter the tide turned. The influence of Kānaḍī began to wane and that of Marathi began to wax. But it was not till the supreme efforts made by Mahādeva Yādava and his illustrious minister Hemādri in its behalf, that it succeeded in getting its complete emancipation from the thraldom of Kānaḍī. This was exactly when Jñā. was produced (1290 A.D.). And the Kānaḍī words that are found in it, is the legacy of the departing Kānaḍī carefully conserved up to this day.

A glance at the Marathi inscriptions and early works reveals that this process of adoption and assimilation of Kānaḍī words was not confined to Jñā. alone; but it was slowly going on from the very rise of the Marathi language. Some illustrations given below will verify this statement:—

1. The Unkeshwar inscription of 1289 A. D. – only one year older than Jñā.–contains in the 2nd line the expression "Pāda–Padumopajīvi". Here Padum corrupted from Sanskrit Padma is the word which always occurs in Kānaḍī. It is never found in Marathi. The correct Sanskrit form Padmopajīvi appears in Osmanabad inscription, 4th line (1164 A. D.).

2. The Śiśupālavadha of Bhāskara, a great Mahānubhāva poet, written in 1173 A. D. i. e. 17 years earlier than Jñā. contains several Kānaḍī words e. g. Guḍhī (flag), Guṇḍe (stones), Bāpa (father), Pale (crowd), Hadapa (Pandan), Urugudhen (village temple), Tāli (Lock), Gadarollu (trouble), Bodea (bareheaded), Damb (waist). Most of these words occur in Jñā.

3. The Nevasen inscription of 1239 A. D. i. e. 51 years earlier than Jñā. contains in the sixth line the expression

"purana vritti bhumi sarvanamasen" here the word Sarvanamas is the corrupt form of Sarvanamsya-a purely Kānaḍī word meaning present,-which occurs correctly in the 58th line of the inscription of 1228 A. D.

4. The famous Pāṭana (near Chlisjaon ?) inscription of 1206 A.D. contains in the 25th line the word "Suṅka". It is a Kānaḍī word meaning 'custom duty'.

5. Yaśaśchandra, a writer of the latter half of the 11th century, in describing the beauty of a woman says "Nahi uṇḍi janau sukhakar kuṇḍi" here the words Uṇḍi and Kuṇḍi are Kānaḍī and mean a lump of flesh and buttocks of a woman respectively; (meaning perhaps the buttocks are not a shapeless mass of flesh but well-formed ones.)

6. Someśvara III (1126-1138 A. D.) wrote his famous Sanskrit work called Abhilashitārtha-chintāmaṇi or Mānasollāsa in 1129 A. D. It contains some Kānaḍī as well as Marathi words.

7. The earliest inscription of 983 A. D. at Shravana Belgola, contains the well-known sentence "Gaṅgarājen suttalen karaviyalen". Here the word Suttalen is Kānaḍī meaning a wall round a temple.

Thus the adoption of Kānaḍī words was going on since 307 years before Jñā. This long contact and domination of Kānaḍī for nearly 600 years has not only affected the vocabulary of the Marathi language but also its phonetics and grammar. But this latter subject goes beyond the scope of this essay; therefore it is now proper to turn to the influence of Telugu language on Marathi during this period.

The Age of Telugu and its influence on Marathi.

The Telugu language is decidedly of a later origin and is said to have risen in about the 9th century; though this time nearly synchronises with the rise of the Marathi language, yet Telugu seems to have developed its literature much earlier than Marathi. At any rate the first work extant in it belongs to the 11th century. It is Nannaya Bhaṭṭa's Mahābhārata. Telugu could not therefore claim either the

respect paid to antiquity or homage done to authority, as Kānaḍī did. For no Telugu kings ever ruled over Maharashtra nor was Telugu a court-language at any time there between 500–1300 A. D. Therefore, it could not and actually has not exercised any direct influence over Marathi; yet coming from the same stock as Kānaḍī did, it exercised appreciable influence over the Marathi vocabulary, but mostly through her elder and royal sister Kānaḍī. As a sister of Kānaḍī it received liberal patronage and support at the hands of all Kānaḍā kings of Chalukya and Rashtrakuta dynasties. Basking in the sunshine of this royal favour it grew rich in beautiful literature. If Telugu may be said to have enjoyed all the honours and affluence due to a sister of the ruling queen (Kānaḍī,) Marathi was playing the roll of a poor and neglected hand-maid.

As the contact of Telugu, as already said, was not of a direct and domineering character, Marathi has borrowed only a few words from it–words which she naturally absorbed in her communion with Telugu people. Jñā. confirms this statement since only four words which do not occur in Kānaḍī are found to have entered directly in Marathi. But Kānaḍī claims as many as 60 words and most of these are common to Telugu also. The four Telugu words are given below:—

(1) Buri (mud), Telugu *Burad* (mud), 13-8-559.

(2) Ubara (sultriness), Telugu *Ubba* (heat), 8-5-66.

(3) Ekavanki (becoming one) Telugu *Vanka banki* (one side) 4-12.

(4) Jakalile (oppressed), Telugu *Jagile* (to stretch) 18-17.

Tamil word.

Another noteworthy point is that only one word–*Penva*– which cannot be traced either to Kānaḍī or to Telugu has come from Tamil. Its derivation:–Payambu (pit), from this Pambu–Penvu–Penva (underground barn). 8–5–45.

Persian and Arabic words.

A still more striking thing is that two words of Persian and Arabic origin are found in Jñā.

(1) Potadi (bag), Persian *foteh*, (bag); compare *fotadar–Potadar* (one who deals with money-bag). 14–17.

(2) Lanva (female goblin) Arabic, 8–15–47.

(3) Nishana–(a) banner (Persian); (b) drum used in Jñā.

Foreign words are also found in a work called Śiśupālavadha of Bhāskarapaṇḍita written 17 years before Jñā. They are:–(1) Jahari (poisonous) from Jahar 'poison', a Persian word. (2) Gadi (bed), a Hindi word. (3) Dakhla (example), Arabic, (4) Malaki (ownership) Arabic.

The appearance of these words in Jñā. and before is rather a puzzle since Maharashtra came completely under the Muslim rule only in 1318 when Harapāla, the last of the Yādavas, was slain by Mubarak. It was on this ground that the great research scholar the late Mr. Rajawade most emphatically asserted in his introduction to Jñā. that no foreign words had found their way into it till then. But since their existence now cannot be denied, the present writer ventures to throw out a suggestion that though the Mahomedans actually took possession of the Deccan in 1318, still nearly 300 years before this, their rule was firmly established in the North. Hindi, which is earlier than Marathi, and is a vernacular of the North, was much influenced by Persian and Arabic languages of the conquerors. Merchants and traders, saints and pilgrims had kept up continuous communications between North and the South. As there were no speedy means of travel as now, they had often to live for a long time there. So the foreign words which they picked up during their sojourn there, they freely imported into their vernaculars. It is well-known that some Marathi saints like Nāmadeva and others knew Hindi and have also composed songs in that language. Of course this is merely a conjecture offered till a better explanation is found.

Examination of Kānaḍī words in Jñā.

It now remains to examine the 66 Kānaḍī words which are found in Jñā. but before doing so it is proper to mention that Mr. V. R. Shindhe has given about 10 or 11 Kānaḍī words from Jñā's Amṛitānubhava and Mr. K. P. Kulkarni has given 9 Kānaḍī words from Jñā. itself in his new book. Out of these 9, only 3 are not found in the list appended hereto. Out of these three one Savala appears to be from Sanskrit Shamala while the other Kaṭakaṭa is of doubtful origin. Therefore the present list may well-nigh be regarded as complete though not exhaustive.

Grammatical classification.

If these 66 words are classified grammatically it is observed that 49 are nouns, 11 verbs, 3 adjectives, 2 prepositions, and 1 adverb. As a rule a language has a tendency towards borrowing nouns and adjectives more freely than any other parts of speech. Generally verbs are borrowed very rarely; since they form the back-bone of the language. Here, though the rule holds good in the case of nouns still the proportion of verbs (11) is preponderant and it only bespeaks the over-weighing influence which Kānaḍī exercised over Marathi. The paucity of adjectives in comparison to nouns is again striking. However some nouns are used as adjectives and vice versa. The verbs and nouns that are adopted are in common use e. g.:—

Verbs:—(1) Pahuḍaṇe (to sleep), (2) Upavadhaṇe (to awake), (3) Miravaṇe (to shine), (4) Atudaṇe (to touch), (5) Volagaṇe (to sersve).

Nouns:—Eatables:-Tūpa (ghee), Boni (seasoned food), Undi (a ball of food or flesh), Haḍap (pandan).

Limbs of body :—Poṭa (belly).

Relations :—Bapa (father).

Place :—Bidhar (residence), Hude (forts), Powli (wall round a temple).

Multitude:—Mandi-dati, pale (crowd).

Passions :—Sosu (ambition), Mechu (liking), Aḍadar, (fear), Bhiḍ (decorum).

Other words which may be called miscellaneous are also in everyday use.

Conclusion.

Any way it is very sad to think that Marathi has fallen under evil stars from its very birth. From its cradle it lived under the subjection of Kānaḍī for nearly 600 years. Then after a little breathing time of 100 years of Yādava rule it again came under the powerful influence of Persian for nearly 350 years. After this it found a saviour in Shivaji the founder of the Maratha Empire, whose efforts in its behalf in the form of Rājavyavahāra Kośa (1659) kept it alive for some time. But after the death of Shivaji again the influence of Persian went on waxing even during the rule of the Peshwas till 1818. Since then for more than a century it has come under the all-embracing influence of the English language. About sixty years ago it was prognosticated by Vishnushastri Chiplunker that Marathi was declining day by day. The cry was taken up by the late Mr. Rajawade who said that it was doomed to die. Perhaps these cries were prompted more by extreme love which these scholars bore to their mother tongue than by any real danger. For even then and since that time quite a galaxy of staunch and zealous workers has taken up its cause and it is fervently hoped that their unremitting efforts will be crowned with success by the establishment of the Marathi University in Poona, in near future.

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APPENDIX.

Kanarese words from Jñāneśvarī.

[*Kunte and Rajwade Editions*]

Chapter I.

Ovi 8th (1) परि–प्रकार, *Kānaḍī* परि–way, kind.

" " (2) [illegible] K. [illegible].

Ovi 9th (3) [illegible] K. [illegible] (chokkal)—beauty, purity.

" " (4) [illegible] K. [illegible] (mere)–(root) to shine.

Ovi 52 (5) कडविजेनि–रचिलें K. कडे (root)–to churn; कडेद् (pp.) churned.

Ovi 85 (6) मातु–गोष्ट K. मातु a word, saying, Telugu माटा–भाषा.

Śloka 10 ovi 16 (7) पणाविले–रचिले K. पण्णु (root) to arrange, Telugu पन्नु to arrange.

Śloka 37 ovi 33 (8) किडाळ–सदोष, पापयुक्तनिंद्यकर्म K. किडु (root)–to spoil.

Śloka 8 ovi 52 (9) गुढी–ध्वज, K. गुडि a flag, Telugu गुडि banner.

CHAPTER II.

(10) आटोप–व्यापकता, *Kānaḍi* आटोप् (root) to control.

Ovi 339 (11) अडसर–भय, K. अडु obstruction., e. g. अडसर bar.

CHAPTER III.

Ovi 21 (12) मोड–मर्यादा, *Kānaḍi* मिडे or बिडे politeness.

Śloka 11 ovi 100 (13) ओळगे–आश्रयकर्ता, K. ओळ्गिसु (olgisu) to serve.

Ovi 248 (14) बिके–आधार, K. बिके–support, cf. भिक्ष to beg.

CHAPTER IV.

Sloka 20 ovi 107 (15) बोगरा–पाकप, जेवण, *Kānaḍi* ओगर ~~boiled rice.~~ See also आरोगूं (chapter 9 Śloka 26 ovi 86) खाणें, भोजन K. आरोगिसु to eat; आरोगणें eating.

CHAPTER V.

Śloka 22 ovi 11 (16) बरडी–मार्दवहीन, *Kānaḍi* बरडु (Baraḍu)–bareness.

CHAPTER VI.

Śloka 6 ovi 3 (17) सवी–आस्वाद, *Kānaḍi* सवि (savi) that has taste. Telugu चवि Tamil चुवै.

Śloka 14 ovi 22 (18) पिले–child, K. पिळ्ळे–a child or young one of any animal. Tamil Pillai.

Sloka 14 ovi 87 (19) पोकळ-पोकळी (cavity), K. पोकुळ (Pokkul)-cavity.

(20) कानडे, K. कन्नड name of the language.

(21) तळपणें-चमकणें, K. तळपणे Brightness, glitter.

CHAPTER VIII.

Ovi 63 (22) पोट-stomach, *Kānaḍi*-पोट्टे and पोटे-belly.

(23) मुरड, K. मुरिदु to pluck up by twisting.

Sloka 2 ovi 6 (24) पहुडणें-निजणें, K. पहुड to sleep, to lie down.

Sloka 3 ovi 15 (25) कोंदण, K. कुंदण (Kundaṇa)-fine gold.

Sloka 3 ovi 28 (26) मुदल-मूळ principal, K. मोदल-chief, (मुख्य). Telugu मोदलु.

Sloka 4 ovi 42 (27) गुंडाळा see also गुंडे chap. 13-8-591-धोंड stone, K.-गुंडु a ball or large round stone.

(28) ओवरी (ovarī)-कोठडी, K. ओवरी (overī) inner-apartment.

(29) कडे-बाजू, K. कड-direction, side.

Ovi 50 (30) पवाडें-प्रकाराने, K. पवाड marvellous.

Ovi 58 (31) बाप-father, K. बाप्प father, cf. बप्प.

Ovi 2 (32) तूप-ghee, K. तुप्प ghee.

CHAPTER IX.

Ovi 15 (33) दाटो-गर्दी Dravidian, *Kānaḍi* दट (daṭṭa)-thick.

Ovi 57 (34) पदर-(बायकांचा पदर), K. पदर fold, also बायकोचा पदर.

Sloka 26 ovi 383 (35) ओडवी-पुढें करी, K. ओडु (oddu) to put towards.

Ovi 138 (36) आतुडणें-सांपडणें, K. आतु ātu = to catch, to possess.

Sloka 14 ovi 13 (37) पौळी-आवार, K. पौळि (Pauli) surrounding wall.

Sloka 25 ovi 371 (38) वेडे-mad, K. वेड (edda), and hedda-mad man, Telugu वेड्डी, वेर्री-mad.

Sloka 26 ovi 93 (39) बोनी-भात, K. बोन (bona)-boiled rice; food. Telugu बोनमु.

Sloka 31 ovi 31 (40) सोसु-सोस, K. सोसु (sosu) to endure, ambition. Telugu सोसु ambition cf. San. सह् to endure.

Sloka 32 ovi 452 (41) सरी-बरोबरी, K. सरि Sari–equal, right e. g. इंद्रगे सरी–equal to इंद्र.

CHAPTER X.

Sloka 7 ovi 109 (42) नाडीं–ठिकाणीं, *Kānaḍi* नाडु (nāḍu)–place; province. Telugu and Tamil नाडु district e. g. पाण्डनाडु. (The genitive of नाडु is नाडी.)

Sloka 25 ovi 232 (43) पैकीं–out of, K. पैकि (paiki)–out of.

Sloka 31 ovi 252 (44) केवारें–पक्ष, K. केवार praise Telugu केवारमु.

CHAPTER XI.

Sloka 24 ovi 363 (45) हुडे–बुरुज, *Kānaḍi* हुडा huḍā = a fort.

CHAPTER XII.

Ovi 5 (46) परिये–स्रोत, *Kānaḍi* परि (pari)–to run, to flow.

Sloka 5 ovi 70 (47) बोचरिया–दांत पडलेला, K. बोच्चु (bocchu)–a toothless man. Telugu बोक्की.

Sloka 19 ovi 211 (48) बिढार–वसतिस्थान, K. बीडार (biḍar)–a halting or dwelling place.

CHAPTER XIII.

Sloka 3 ovi 25 (49) लांचखाऊ–लांचखाणारा, *Kānaḍi* लंच (lanch)–bribe e. g. लंचगार–a receiver of bribes.

Sloka 5 ovi 84 (50) पाळे–समुदाय, K. पाळे-an encampment टोळ्या.

Sloka 7 ovi 244 (51) बगें–मार्गानें, रीतीनें, Kanadi बगे-manner, way.

Sloka 7 ovi 336 (52) हरळु–खडा, K. हरळु a pebble, a stone.

Sloka 7 ovi 420 (53) हडप–पानदान, चंची, K. हडप–a small bag used as a pouch for betel leaves.

" " " (54) उळिग–चाकरी K. ऊळिग (ūliga)–service.

Sloka 8 ovi 571 (55) मुरकुंडी–(हंसतांना) वांकडे होणें K. मुरि–to bend Telugu मुरिकोनु–to break.

" " ovi 543 (56) सूड–बदला revenge K. सुडु, (Sūḍu)–burning; from Telugu सूडिगु to hate, cf. सडु to take revenge.

Śloka 11 ovi 740 (57) उंडी–गाळाचा गोळा, K. उंडे (uṇḍe)–a round ball of any thing. Telugu उंडे.

Śloka 11 ovi 721 (58) काडी–तृण, K. कड्डी, compare Sanskrit काष्ठ.

Śloka 27 ovi 420 (59) उगाळू–पीक, थुंकी, K. उगुळ (ugul) to spit out.

CHAPTER XIV.

Śloka 5 ovi 142 (60) तूक–वजन, *Kānaḍi* and Telugu तुक्कु-weighing.

Śloka 24 ovi 359 (61) उपवडें–जागे होणें, K. उपवडे and उप्पवडा (uppa-vaḍā)–a song to rouse people from sleep.

CHAPTER XV.

Śloka 2 ovi 151 (62) टेके–चिन्हे, *kānaḍi*–टक्के a banner. Telugu टेक्कमा.

CHAPTER XVI.

Śloka 2 ovi 152 (63) सारी–सारखें, *Kānaḍi* सरी likeness, equal. Telugu साटि–equal.

CHAPTER XVII.

Śloka 10 ovi 160 (64) रवी–mud, *Kānaḍi* रवे–a mass of mud.

Śloka 10 ovi 164 (65) मेचु–आवड, K. मेच्चु to assent to (liking). Telugu मेच्चु to praise.

Śloka 27 ovi 407 (66) सरकी–कसोटी, K. ओरेकल्लु (orekallū)-a touch-stone. Telugu ओरेकल्लु.

चांगदेव-वटेश्वराचा--"तत्वसार."

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(*Gwalior*)

जुन्या ग्रंथांचा कोठें, केव्हां व कसा शोध लागेल, हें सांगणें मोठें कठिण आहे. आतांच पहाना. तापी तीरीं राहणारा चांगदेव कोठें, व महाराष्ट्रापासून बऱ्याच अंतरावर असलेल्या ग्वाल्हेरांतील एक वाणी कोठे ? आजपर्यंत या वाण्याकडे आलेल्या कितीतरी ग्रंथांचे तुकडे होऊन पुड्या बांधण्याचे कामीं आले असतील किंवा कितीतरी ग्रंथ भिजवून कुटले जाऊन त्या रांध्याच्या टोपल्या होण्याचे कामीं लागले असतील ? ' भग्नपृष्ठकटिग्रीव ' होऊन लेखकानें पोथी लिहावी, पण तिची किंमत नसणाऱ्या मूर्खांच्या हातीं पडून तिची अशी दुरवस्था व्हावी, याहून दुसरें दुर्दैव तें कोणतें ? पण आनंदाची गोष्ट आहे कीं उशीरानें कां होईना, पण ग्वाल्हेर दरबारनें आतां हस्तलिखितग्रंथांचा संग्रह करण्याचें ठरविलें आहे व असे ग्रंथ मिळवून देणारांचें थोडें फार चीजही करावयाचें ठरविलें आहे. त्यामुळें आतां असे ग्रंथ नष्ट होण्याची भीति कमी झाली आहे व ते संशोधकांच्या हातीं पडण्याचा अधिक संभव आहे. वर मथाळ्यांत उल्लेखिलेला ग्रंथ हा असाच एका वाण्याकडील रद्दींत अपूर्ण स्थितींतच सांपडला आहे.

ही पोथी १०"×५" आकाराच्या जाड दुपदरी कागदावर काजळीशाईनें लिहिली आहे. प्रत्येक पृष्ठावर ११ पासून १४ पर्यंत ओळी आहेत, म्हणजे सामान्यतः प्रत्येक पृष्ठावर १२ पासून १५ पर्यंत ओंव्या येतात. दोन्ही पृष्ठें मिळून एका पत्रावरील ओंवीसंख्या २५ ते ३२ पर्यंत जाते. मूळ लेखकानें या पोथीचीं छत्तीस पत्रें लिहिलीं आहेत. या पैकीं उपलब्ध पत्रें पुढीलप्रमाणें आहेत:—

पत्रांक	पृष्ठें	ओंवी संख्या.
१	१	१-१३
२१-३०	२०	५९०-८८१
३२ व ३३	४	९१२-९६९
३५ व ३६	४	९९३-१०१६

ही गोष्ट लक्षात घेतली म्हणजे १२३४ परिधावीसवत्सरीं चांगदेवानें वरील तत्वसार ग्रंथ लिहिण्यास कांहींच हरकत दिसत नाहीं. हा समाधिशक म्हणजे १२८७ सर्वांस मान्य नसल्याबद्दल भावे यांनींच टिपेंत उल्लेख केला आहे. आतां तर वरील ग्रंथांतील उल्लेखानें निश्चितच होईल कीं चांगदेवाचा समाधिकाल १२२७ किंवा कांहीं ग्रंथकारांनीं ठरविल्याप्रमाणें १४२७ नसून तो समाधिशक बारशें सत्तेचाळीस १२४७ च असला पाहिजे. ह. भ. प. पांगारकर यांनीं प्रसिद्ध केलेल्या 'मराठी वाङ्मयाचा इतिहास, खंड १ ला–ज्ञानेश्वरनामदेवांचा काल' या ग्रंथांतही चांगदेवाच्या इतिहासाबद्दल जरी तीन पृष्ठें वर्णन आहे, तरी चांगदेवाच्या ग्रंथांबद्दल त्यांतही कांहीं वर्णन नाहीं यावरून या देशांतील संशोधकांस चांगदेवाचा वरील ग्रंथ माहीत होता, असे दिसत नाहीं. [2]

आतां या ग्रंथांत काय आहे ते पाहूं. पृष्ठांक एक १ वरील आरंभींचें गणेशस्तवन पहा–"स्या नमिला गणेश्वरु। जो कल्पक्षयन कुठारु। सर्व शास्त्र विचारु। पुर्शेप ॥१॥ जो सौजन्याचा अंकुरु। शब्दब्रह्मविशेषाचा उच्चारु। उन्मेषाचा तरुवरु। कल्पवृक्षु जो" ॥२॥ महाल्या ओवीपासून तेरा पर्यंत शारदास्तवन आहे, त्याच्या आदि अंतांच्या ओव्या पुढीलप्रमाणें " जे शब्दब्रह्माची मंजिका। काश्मिरींची नायिका। जे बुद्धिसी तिलका। नागर्थार ॥ ॥ जे महिमाने गहन। स्वभावें प्रसन्न। सत्यारे म्हणौनि वचन। अवधारा जी" ॥१३॥ यापुढें गुरुस्तवन असावे असे वाटते. पण पुढील १०, पत्रे उपलब्ध नसल्यानें त्यांत काय असेल, ते सांगता येत नाहीं.

पुढें २२ व्या पत्रापासून आरंभ असलेल्या कांहीं ओव्या वरून तुटक असलेल्या पत्रांत स्थूल व सूक्ष्म भक्ति व ज्ञान यांचें वर्णन असेल अशी कल्पना करण्यास जागा आहे; कारण या पत्रांतीलच वैराग्याची

" वैराग्य ते ऐसे। जे देह अहर्निश रुसे "

अशी सुंदर व्याख्या केल्यावर चांगदेवानें सांगितलें आहे कीं " हे स्थूल सूक्ष्म भक्ति। कांहींसी ज्ञान वैराग्य असतां। आतां परियेसा निर्गुण भक्ति। चांगा म्हणे ॥२०५॥" हें सांगतांना चांगदेवानें एक गोष्ट मोठी मजेची सांगितली आहे. चांगदेवाचा गुरु वटेश्वर हा महायोगी होता व त्याच्याच उपदेशानें चांगदेवही स्वतः योगमार्गांत अत्यंत निपुण होता. योगमार्ग व भक्तिमार्ग यांचा सांगड घालणाऱ्या श्रीज्ञानेश्वरांच्या सांप्रदायांत आल्यानंतर लिहिलेल्या चांगदेव सांगतो कीं ही निर्गुण भक्ति त्यानें "जसा गुरुद्रोही न पडे। आणि सिद्धिद्वेषु न घडे" अशा तऱ्हेनें सांगितली आहे. ही निर्गुणभक्ति म्हणजे " जे पापापुण्यापुर्वी। जन्म मरणातें हारवी। महाबोधु केवळी। आत्मस्वरूपें ॥२०७॥ जे दुसरेपणा हारी। स्वर्ग संसारा पुरी। जे संचितां निर्वाणीं। स्वयं शिव ॥२०८॥" अशी आहे.

[2] ...

या निर्गुणभक्तीचें विवरण करण्यापूर्वी चांगदेवानें पद, पिंड, रूप व रूपातीत या चार गोष्टींचा विचार केला आहे. ' पदाचा विचारु ' ' नागरु ' पद्धतीनें करितांना प्रथम ' अव्यक्त उपजे प्राणु । तस्य नादें मनु । मनव्योमा पासोनु । बुद्धि झाली ' ॥ ६०७॥ हें सांगून ' मनबुद्धिच्या गव्हरां ' चारीवाचा—परा, पश्यंती, मध्यमा व वैखरी यांचें विवरण केलें आहे. परा ही घोषस्वरूप, पश्यंती ध्वनिरूप, मध्यमा नादरूप व वैखरी अक्षररूप आहे. या सान्यांचा समावेश करणारी जी ' सोहं रू.ी

' अजपा नाम गायत्री योगिनां मोक्षदायिनी '

तिचें वर्णन ' सकारु विसर्गसंयुक्तु । हकारु बिंदुनादभरितु । हें बीजद्वय म्हणियतु । शिउशक्ति ऐसें ॥६१३॥ आंत प्रवेशीं सकारु । बाह्य निर्गमीं हकारु' । ऐसें केलें आहे व सरते शेवटीं ' हें गुरुमुखें पाविजे ' म्हणून सूचना दिली आहे. योगाधारें पद सांगून पिंडाचा विचारही ' बाळबोधें ' केला आहे. यांतही योगमार्गाचाच अवलंब करून "पिंडु म्हणिपे शक्ति। कुंडलिनी विख्याति । देह गोळकोत्पत्ति । जेथोनियां" ॥६२०॥ असें सांगितलें आहे. शेवटीं " हे सर्व कुंडलिनीची सृष्टि । उत्पत्ति संहार स्थिति " याप्रमाणें योगशास्त्रांतील कुंडलिनी नाडी म्हणजेच सर्व देहांचा आधार, असा समारोप केला आहे. 'गुरुविचारें' 'रूप कैसें' हें बोलत असतांना चांगदेवानें ... दृश्यसृष्टीचें वर्णन केलें आहे. गुणात्मक 'जीउ,' व मन, बुद्धि, चित्त, अहंकार हें चतुष्टय यांचाच सर्व पंचभूतांत विस्तार कसा झाला हें सांगून त्यांचा परत लय कसा होतो हें सांगितलें आहे. हें सांगतांनाही योगमार्गाची कांस सुटलेली नाहीं. विभूति धारण करितांना ज्या पांच मंत्रांचा उपयोग करितात, त्यांची देवता शिव आहे. योगीलोक आपला आद्यगुरु शंकर मानतात व त्याचीच ईशान, तत्पुरुष, अघोर, वामदेव व सद्योजात हीं पांच नांवें प्रत्येकीं पंचतत्वांबरोबर निर्मातृत्वाच्या नात्यानें सांगितलीं आहेत. शेवटीं " जैसी दीपकळिका गगनीं । जाए तेथ हारपोनी । तेवीं भूतें भूत गिळूनि । शून्य ठाके ॥६३०॥" असा उपसंहार करून या संकोच विकासाहून पर, द्वैताद्वैत भ्रमाच्या पलीकडला जो रूपातीत त्याची भक्ति म्हणजे निर्गुणभक्ति हें प्रतिपादन केलें आहे.

नंतर हठयोगाचें वर्णन आहे. पण यांत मुख्य गोष्ट जी सांगितली आहे ती म्हणजे शरीरसाधना न करणें. नुसत्या हठयोगानें अनेक वर्षें वांचतां येते हें चांगदेवास मान्य आहे. पण त्याच बरोबर "जरी हठयोगाची साधना । तरी न वचती देहाभिमान । तेंचि तें अज्ञान । निरसेंचिना ॥६४४॥" असा इशारा चांगदेवानें दिला आहे. चौरंगी, गोरक्ष इत्यादिकांचें उदाहरण न समजतां पुढें ठेवणें चांगलें नाहीं. कारण "[illegible] देहाचे [illegible] । [illegible] इपरी बहुवस । हें कळियुग सकळेंच । [illegible] शरीरें ॥६५९॥" [illegible] तसाच सल्ला देत आहे:—"देह या चौरंगी नावां । [illegible] [illegible] केलें [illegible] । [illegible] [illegible] । [illegible] ॥६५२॥ जरि सर्व [illegible] [illegible] । तरी [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] । [illegible] देह [illegible] । [illegible] ॥६५३॥ [illegible] शरीर

जाणावें । परि अभिमाना न यावें । मनोमळ तोडावे । शून्य करणी ॥५४॥ पवना- भ्यासु करणी । बंधुभेद मुद्रा कंपोनि । येणें जाणें सांडोनि । अवचि होइजे ॥५५॥ प्रथम वज्रासनीं स्थिरता । मूळ द्वारिं बंधु निरुता । निगतु पवनु मागुता । भरीतु कीज ॥५६॥ अधें अडिजे । ऊर्ध्वें बंधु दीजे । मध्य अंकुचिजे । उच्छलशक्ती ॥५७॥ गुरुवचन वर्म भेदें । शक्ति सूतली प्रबोधें । अधोमुख ऊर्ध्वें । कमळ होए ॥५८॥ पवन वायें हाली । शक्ति पुष्टी उकलली । ऊर्ध्वपंथें निघाली । ब्रह्मरंध्रा ॥ ९॥ पवन मार्गे चालतां । ऊर्ध्व कर्मे पेलती । आर्विस म्हणोनि प्रासिती । व्याधिरोगातें ॥६६०॥ पवन प्रबोधें मातली । जीवभावा मुकली । तंव सत्रावी स्रवली । शक्ति मुखीं ॥६१॥ मन पवन संधानें । शक्ति उसळली गगनें । भेदली स्थानें । षट्चक्रांचीं ॥६२॥ ग्रंथित्रय छेदुनी । षट्चक्रें भेदुनी । त्रिकुटीं योगु संपोनि । निर्गुणसी ॥६६३॥" गुरुपरंपरागत व स्वानुभूतवर्णन कसें असतें, याचा वरील ओंव्या उत्तम मासला आहेत. याप्रमाणें समाधि लावून मन निर्विषय करणें याचेंच नांव निर्गुणभक्ति. ही नुसती शब्दवाचा- लता नव्हे, तर चांगदेवानें याचा अनुभव घेतला आहे. कारण या विषयाचा शेवट असा केला आहे कीं "अगुणगोप्य सद्गुरु । तो स्वामी माझा वटेश्वरु । तस्य प्रसादें संसारु । उन्मळिला ॥६७६॥ जेणें आत्मब्रह्म दाविलें । माझें मज उपदेसिलें । असत संसारिक नाहीं जालें । चांगा म्हणे ॥७७॥"

यापुढें ब्रह्माचें विवरण केलें आहे. प्रथम जेवढ्या म्हणून आपण गोष्टी कांहीं तरी मिळविण्यासाठीं करतों, त्या सर्वांचा ब्रह्मज्ञान होतांच आपोआप त्याग होतो, हें सांगितलें आहे. "जैसी करीं ज्योति घेऊनी । गृहवस्तु अवलोकुनी । स्वयं ठेविलें देखोनि । त्यागु कीजे ॥६८१॥ ना तरी ऐली थडिये नावेचा । कीजे प्रयत्नु स्वीकारु तियेचा । पैलुपारु पावलेया तिचा । पांगु फिटे ॥८२॥ तैसें देहस्थें देहातीत देखिलें । गुरुप्रसादें जाणितलें । म्हणोनि त्यजीं पुत्रा म्हणितलें । अशेष ही ॥ ३॥" याप्रमाणें निरनिराळ्या क्रिया, निरनिराळे योग, निरनिराळीं शास्त्रें, येवढेंच नव्हे तर पितृगोत्र, जीवभाव यांच्याही ममतेचा त्याग केला पाहिजे. देहसिद्धिची आस अजीबात न ठेविली पाहिजे. "सर्व नर सुरवरां विरमती । ब्रह्मरूपीं इंद्र हारपती । ब्रह्मा विष्णुमूर्ती विळया जाती । आपुलिया वस्ता ॥६९८॥ विष्णु रुद्रीं व्यवस्ते । रुद्र शिवि मागुतें । शिवशून्य परौतें । बुद्बुद ॥९९॥ ऐसी सुरदेहस्थिति । तयें काए राहती । म्हणोनि शरीर सिद्धिभ्रांत । सांडी बापा ॥७००॥" शरीरसिद्ध बरोबरच पापपुण्य, वर्णभेद, निंदास्तुति, मानाभिमान, सुखदुःखें, आस्तिकनास्तिकवाद, रिद्धिसिद्धि, कर्मनिष्कर्म, इत्यादि सोडतां सोडतां पंचभूतांचाही त्याग करून "स्पर्शि बुद्धि चित्त अहंकार । आणि शून्य मानी विकारु । तेथ उरेल तो विचारु । जाणू विशेषीं ॥७१०॥" अशा तऱ्हेनें "कर्मी मन विराले । महाशून्य उरलें । तत्त्वसार पावलें । तोंचि तूं जाण ॥७१०॥" हें आत्मैव, अजन्म, अविनाश, अच्युत, सदाशिव, सानंदमूर्ति, सर्वज्ञ, बोध, चंचल,

वेदवेद, ओंकाराकार, "येथ बुद्धि होऊं जाए। महासुख विसांवले राहे। तें तूं प्रत्यक्ष आहे। परिस पुत्र ॥७२८॥" तत्त्वमसि महावाक्याची या प्रमाणें अत्यंत बालबोध रीतीनें चांगदेवानें फोड करून सांगितली आहे.

हा 'तत्त्वमसि' उपदेश समजून "जेवि उदकबिंदु उदकीं उठती। विराल्या उदकचि होति। तेवि आत्मस्वरूपीं होती जाती। भौतिकीयें ॥७४१॥" हें पटलें म्हणजे सर्व प्रकारच्या प्रवृत्ति आपोआप मावळतात कारण " आधीं रितें हो आवें। मग धाउनि भरावें। भरितचि असे स्वभावें। तरि भरावें काए ॥७४५॥" आणि "पाहे पां पश्चिम दिशे जातां। आणि पूर्व दिशे चालतां। तो पावे दूरवातां। पदा पदा ॥७४६॥ ऐसें कांहीं प्रवृत्ति करौनि पावों म्हणिजे। तरी न पवौनि सिणिजे। नातरि निवृत्ति होइजे। तरी होणें तेंचि तूं ॥७४७॥" ही गोष्ट पटते. या वेदांताच्या शिकवणी-तहि चांगदेवानें तुमती रक्षता न ठेवितां भक्तीचा ओलावा दिला आहे. उदाहरणार्थ ब्रह्मस्वरूपाचें किंवा आत्मस्वरूपाचेंच म्हणाना, वर्णन करितांना "जिवाचें जिव्हार। परमात्मा माहेर" अशा माहेरच्या उपमेनें मधून मधून सरसता आणिली आहे. "ऐसें वैराग्य उपजलें। तुज तूंचि प्रकाशलें। तरि संसार हारपलें। स्वरूपिंची ॥७६१॥" मग उचितानुचित कर्माचें बंधन राहत नाहीं, कारण अनुचित हातून जरी झालें तरी "तेंचि अनुचित कर्म ऐसें। जे साक्षात् परमानंद वसे। तेणेंनि पाविजे आपैसें आणोनियां ॥७७४॥" येथे 'ब्रह्मवल्ली' उपनिषदांतील 'एतं हवाव न तपति। किमहं साधु नाकरवम्। किमहं पापमकरवमिति' याचाच अनुवाद केला आहे. उदाहरणार्थ " जऱ्ही महायज्ञ केलें। कां महापाप घडलें। केलें कर्म मनींहुनी सुटलें। तऱ्ही कवण भोगी ॥७८६॥ मन पापपुण्य करी। उन्मनी भोगे जरी। पापपुण्य तरी। बाधिजेना ॥७८७॥ अशा अगाध आत्मतत्त्वमहाबोधाचा उपदेश झाल्यावर शिष्य "अंतःकरणीं सुटला। जिवाभावां मुकला। स्वयंबोधें बोधला। गुरु सुखें ॥७९४॥"

परंतु अकर्म करून बंधन कसें होत नाहीं, हा विषय स्पष्टपणें शिष्यास समजला नाहीं. म्हणून त्यानें दोन उदाहरणें देऊन शंका विचारली. शिष्य विचारतो " देवा पां समर्थाचें रीण काढिजे। परी मर्यादेतें येइजे। काढून न काढिलें म्हणिजे। [illegible] ॥८०३॥ तेंनें केलिया न केलें म्हणिजे। मनें उदास होइजे। पण तेणेंचि बाधिजे। जेवि परी ॥८०४॥" याचें उत्तर असें दिलें आहे कीं "[illegible] काढिलें रिण। तें पातका मरण। तरि [illegible] साधे." दुसरी शंका पाहून मजेदार आहे. ती ऐशीत आहे. " [illegible] विधवा नारी। साशंकित पुरुषसंगु करी। ते गर्भ[illegible] न धरी। परी गर्भ संभवु होयेचि कीं ॥८०९॥ जरि उदास वर्तली। आणि चोरिया प्रवर्तली। गुर्विणी झाली। जे वापरी ॥८१०॥ तरी तो काय तिया मनोरथु धरिला। मग [illegible] तरी इच्छेविण झाला। गर्भु केवि ॥११॥ हे गर्भिणी उदास। [illegible] आंधळा। तरी संभवला आपैसा। गर्भु वाढे ॥१२॥" याचें उत्तर 'गुरु म्हणे

उपजों नेणती । तयां गर्भवासीं बांधली। येरी सात्त्विकें गाळिली। जाळोनियां ॥८६॥ जैसा बिंदु प्ररोहो न पवे । तैसे उपाय जाणावे । बोधचीं जाळावें । गर्भस्थान ॥८७॥ का गर्भु संभवला जरी । आइकें सळ होतें परि । तिक्तक्षारीं । नास्तिकीजे ॥१६॥ ते क्षार पथ्य करी । तरी गर्भु जिरे जठरीं । सर्वेचि बाहिरी । गळौनु पडे ॥१७॥ तैसें नांव क्षार । सर्व कल्मष संहार । कर्मफळ थार । होंचि नेदी ॥१८॥ अंतरी तत्त्वावलोकन वर्ते । मना प्रतीति परी तें । तत्क्षणींची निवर्तें । कर्मगर्भु ॥१९॥ तें अवलोकन ऐसें । जें शुद्ध जाणणें असे । समस्त दोषदृष्टि नसे । रुसणें नसि ॥२०॥ मीं जाणणें की रुसणें । तेही गिळिजे जेणें । आणि केवळ उरे जें असणें । तेंचि तें जाण ॥२१॥" याप्रमाणें हें संशयसह फेडलें आहे. हीं दोन्हीं उदाहरणें सांगितल्यानंतर स्पष्ट सांगितलें कीं "ज्योति तमीं प्रवेशे । आणि अंधकार आतु न दिसे । तेंचि प्रकाशे अनायासें । तेजगुणें ॥२५॥ तैसें तत्त्वतेज निर्मळ । तेणें अज्ञान होये उजळ । निवर्ते अवलीळा । कर्मतम ॥२६॥ कामना न धरी तु । कर्म करी तो मुक्तु । तत्त्वदृष्टि अवलोकितु । प्राप्तु तो गा ॥२७॥"

हें ज्ञान अत्यंत कठिण आहे. थोडा वेळ पटलें तरी पुन: पुन्हां अज्ञानाचें पटल मनावर येणें संभवनीय आहे. त्याचप्रमाणें या क्रियाकर्मांचा लोप करणें अत्यंत साहसाचें आहे. तो लोप आपोआप झाला पाहिजे. करून चालत नाहीं. हटानें केल्यास उपयोग नाहीं. या सार्‍या कारणास्तव आमच्या वेदांतज्ञानांत जी धोक्याची सूचना "इदमशिष्याय न देयं । यो यदि मोहाद्दास्यति स पापीयान् भवति " [३] दिलेली असते, तिचाच अनुवाद येथेंही केला आहे. चांगदेव सांगतात– "हें तुवांचि जाणावें । आणिकांसी न सांगावें । सृष्टि घालक न व्हावें । आइक पुत्रा ॥८३७॥ जो संसार सुखातीतु । आणि वैराग्ययुक्तु । तो करावा सुप्तु । येरां सांगावेना ॥८३८॥" कारण "जे विषय सुखें भुलती । ते ब्रह्म कैंचि जाणती । बापुडे ठाकती । चौर्‍यायसी ॥८४२॥ म्हणौनु सांगितलें नेणती । त्रिबंधें ठाकती । अष्टाअष्टां भिणती । गर्भवासीं ते ॥८४३॥" म्हणून "जाणावें निगुतें । नेणणें रिगों नेदावें तेथें । एऱ्हवीं गर्भवासीं बहुतें । दु:खें असती ॥८४४॥" हें अज्ञानपटल येऊं न देणें सोपें नसल्यानें जर या कार्यांत यश आलें नाहीं तर काय होईल, याचें उत्तर गीतेस अनुसरूनच दिलें आहे [४]. असे लोक "उत्तमकुळीं जन्मती । शुचि प्राज्ञ होती । आणि विधियुक्त भक्ति । करिती ते ॥८४७॥" हें अज्ञानपटल कां येतें व योग्याचा सिद्धिभंग कां होतो याचें कारण मात्र गीतेहून थोडें भिन्न दिलें आहे. "कऱ्हणी येकु ज्ञानाचिया चाडा । रिगाला वैराग्या पुढा । तंव देवांचा धाडा । पडला तेया ॥८९२॥" कारण देवांस अशी भीति वाटूं लागते कीं हे 'आमुचें पद इच्छिती.' बाकी ही सामान्याच्या दर्शनाच भीति आहे कारण "एऱ्हवीं ज्ञानें जो सरिसा। तया विघ्न लेखू कायसा ?" हें ऐकल्यावर शिष्य आनंदित झाला व मग गुरुचरणीं मस्तक ठेवून त्यानें विचारलें

'प्रसादासि हात पसरिले' तेव्हां 'मुरूनि मुर्लीचा उगाळू दिधला' व 'महाप्रसादु म्हणौनि घेरें घेतला.'

पुढेंही आपल्या प्राचीन औपनिषदिक परंपरेस अनुसरून शिष्यानें 'सिद्धपंथु पुसिला' म्हणून या मार्गातील सिद्धांची नामावलि दिली आहे. आजपावेतों हठयोगप्रदीपिकाकार स्वात्मारामयोगीश्वराच्या मतानें या मार्गातील

" श्रीआदिनाथमत्स्येन्द्रशाबरानंदभैरवाः
चौरंगीमीनगोरक्षविरूपाक्षबिलेशयाः ॥
मंथानो भैरवो योगी शुद्धबुद्धश्च कंथडिः ।
कोरंटकः सुरानंदः सिद्धनाथश्च चर्पटिः ॥
कानेरी पूज्यपादश्च नित्यनाथो निरंजनः ।
कपाली बिंदुनाथश्च काकचंडीश्वराह्वयः ॥
अल्लमप्रभुदेवश्च घोडा चोली च टिंटिणिः ।
भालुकी नागदेवश्च खंडकापालिकस्तथा ॥
इत्यादयो महासिद्धा हठयोगप्रभावतः ।
खंडयित्वा कालदण्डं ब्रह्माण्डे विचरंति ते ॥"

इतक्याच लोकांची नामावली माहीत होती. पण या ग्रंथांतली नामावळी अधिक विस्तृत आहे. इच्यांत विशेषतः महाराष्ट्रांत प्रसिद्ध असलेल्या योग्यांची नांवें आहेत. तीं येणेंप्रमाणें:–"आदिनाथा प्रसादें । उमास्वामि संवादें । मच्छिंद्र प्रबोधें । प्रकट झाले ॥६७॥ जो पदपिंड ज्ञाना । निगाले करचरण दृष्टांना । तो जाण चौरंगीसिद्धांता । कुळदीपकु ॥६८॥ श्रीगोरक्षनाथु । देहसिद्धि सिद्धांत । परमतत्वविख्यात । आचार्य जाणा ॥६९॥ श्रीमुक्तादेवी योगिनी । जे समस्तसिद्धशिरोमणी । तिये प्रसादें चक्रपाणी । ज्ञान सिद्ध ॥७०॥ जालंधर मेडकु कंथडि । धुंधली कापडी । विरूपाक्षु ॥७१॥[९] सर्व सुसांगी । नागार्जुनु कणेरी । लुई लाला कुकरी । रत्नघोषु ॥७१॥ कान्हु कुदाळी । दारी पुकलाली । भुसकु कांबळी । कोरंटकु ॥७२॥ चर्पटी कपटी कांसारी । चाटु भाटु कुंभारी । कनखलु मेखलु चमारी । साति तांति ॥७३॥ घंटा महिपु घोखली । सर्व भक्षकु सिद्ध बरली । काश्यपु चिहाळी । घटु मनाक्षु ॥७४॥ पंकजु कुडंडी । शिवका परखंडी । अळांधर कबडी । निर्गुण भंगा ॥७५॥ कुमुदु गुडरी । बोधिका कावेरी । पाहाणु सागरी । अजपा बोधि ॥७६॥ अवघूतु गुंड मराउळ कमारी । मनु अजगीरी । जिरावाई खेचरी । देमादेवी ॥७७॥ भालु भुसु टिंटिणी । अतिबलु महाबलु मायणी । गोपीचंदु ॥७८॥ बोधि जयनंदु । [illegible] सोमचंदु । कर्पूरी विजयचंदु । तारका तेली ॥७९॥ चंडाळी डाकी । डोंबी [illegible] [illegible] । [illegible] [illegible] । विमळनाथु ॥८०॥ [illegible] [illegible] । [illegible] कोल्हाळी ।

भेदकी सुतली । सर्व मधु ॥८८१॥ या पुढील ११ वें पान गहाळ झाल्यामुळें ही यादी आणखी किती मोठी होती हें सांगतां येत नाहीं. या यादीवरून हा पंथ चांगदेवकाळीं किती पसरला होता व यांत सर्व जातींच्या स्त्रीपुरुषांचा कसा समावेश होता ही गोष्ट ठळकपणें दिसून येते. योगमार्ग व भक्तिमार्गाच्या एकीकरणामुळें जातिभेदाचें बंड मोडण्यास बरीच मदत झाली असावीशी दिसते.

पत्रांक ३२ वर अथ पासून इतिपर्यंत गुरुभक्तीचें माहात्म्य वर्णन आहे. "देहें मनें वाचा । गुरुसेवे आदरू जेयाचा । तरी शिवोऽहम हो तेयाचा । बोधुवादे॥९१७॥" या गुरुभक्तीचें माहात्म्य चांगदेवानें फारच सांगितलें आहे आणि ही सेवा म्हणजे सामान्य नमन पूर्णपणें स्वत्वास विसरून अनन्यपणाची आहे. गुरु दिसल्याबरोबर तर लोटांगण घातलेंच पाहिजे, पण गुरु ज्या दिशेस असेल त्या दिशेसही नमस्कार केला पाहिजे. 'गुरु करिती तें न करावें । गुरु बोलती तें न बोलावें । आणि गुरुचें न चोरावें । कांहि च गा ॥९२८॥' एवढेंच नव्हे तर गुरु ज्या आसनावर किंवा ज्या घरांत बसत किंवा रमत असतील त्यांची मुद्रां चित्तशुद्धीसाठीं पूजा केली पाहिजे. आणि जर 'गुरुद्रोहो' किंवा 'गुरुत्याग' केला तर त्याच्या पातकास सीमाच राहणार नाहीं. तो ज्ञानी असो कीं त्रिकालवेत्ता सिद्ध असो, त्यास अवगती किंवा नरक चुकणार नाहीं. एक गुरु सोडून दुसरा गुरु करणारास तर चांगदेवानें 'पुंश्चळी' ची उपमा दिली आहे. गुरुद्रोह करून गुरु सोडणारास "गुरुवधाचें पाप घडे । आणिक शिवद्रोहो घडे । तें अघोगती रोकडे । घालीजर्ना ॥९३७॥"

येथें शिष्यानें विचारलेली शंका थोडी व्यक्ति विषयक असावीसें वाटतें. चांगदेवाचे प्रथम गुरु वटेश्वर व मागून मुक्ताईची दीक्षा झालेली. तेव्हां वरील सिद्धांतांतून सुटका प्राप्त करून घेण्यासाठींच ही शंका व तिचें समाधान, दोन्ही गोष्टी लिहिल्या गेल्या असाव्यात. पत्रांक ३३ वर हीच चर्चा आहे. आरंभालाच "शिष्यु म्हणे स्वामी । कांहीएक पुसैन जी मी । तें प्रसन्न होऊनि तुम्ही । सांगावें मज ॥९३८॥ एक खेड ज्ञानी लागले । एक मंत्रयंत्रीं जडले । अधमोपदेशीं पडले । अघोरे दें ॥३९॥" पण शिष्य अशा गुरुचें काय करावें इत्यादि विचारणार, त्यापूर्वीच गुरूनें ती गोष्ट ओळखून 'तव गुरु म्हणती । ते आधींचि कां नेणती । मग करूनियां करिती । विचार कां ॥९४०॥" गुरु करण्याच्या पूर्वीच विचार करावयास हवा. जसें कन्या करावयाच्या पूर्वीच कुळाचा विचार केला पाहिजे, तसेंच येथेंही आहे. पण तरीही चांगदेवानें एक उपाय सांगितला आहे. तो असा " जयाचा अनुग्रहो आधीं । तयातें पुसावें त्रिशुद्धी । तें आणिकी ठाईं बुद्धि । करूं लाहे ॥९४४॥ कां आधिला गुरुचेनि अमावें । आणिका गुरूतें भजावें । तैं दोषातें न पवे । साधकु तो ॥४५॥" वास्तविक पहातां गुरु बदलण्यांत कांहीं अर्थ नाहीं, कारण गुरुपासून मिळणारी सिद्धि पुष्कळशी स्वतःवरच अवलंबून आहे. उदाहरणार्थ " सदेउ तो कोळि भला । जेणें मातियेचा द्रोणु केला । तेयाचा ऐसा विश्वासु जाला । तरी असिद्धु कवणु ॥९५०॥" याप्रमाणेंच असें दिसतें कीं वटेश्वरानंतर चांगदेव यानें मुक्ताईची दीक्षा जरी घेतली

तरी आपलें नांव न बदलतां वटेश्वरचांगदेव या नांवानेंच व्यवहार केला व शेवट-पर्यंत गुरु म्हणून वटेश्वरासच मानिलें. या पृष्ठाच्या शेवटी आणखी एका शंकेचें उत्थापन केलें आहे. " तंव शिष्यु म्हणे ताता । गुरु सेविजतां आत्महिता । परि प्रमादवशें अवचिता । द्रोहो घडे ॥९६४॥ तरी जे याचिया उत्तर । गुरुद्रोहो दोष निस्तर । ऐसियाच्या उपचारा । सांगिजोजी ॥९६५॥" पण या शंकेचें निरसन चांगदेवानें कसें केलें आहे, हें पत्र ३४ वें गहाळ झाल्यामुळें सांगतां येत नाहीं.

पत्रांक ३५ च्या आरंभाच्या ओवींवरून सरतेशेवटीं सर्व सांगितल्यावर व शंका दूर केल्यावर 'तूं जाणतोस काय?' असा प्रश्न केला आहेसा दिसतो. आपल्याकडे संवादात्मकग्रंथाच्या शेवटीं असा प्रश्न नेहमीं केलेला असतो. उदाहरणार्थ गीतेच्या शेवटीं 'कच्चिदज्ञानसंमोहः प्रणष्टस्ते धनंजय' असा प्रश्न सांपडतो [६] असाच प्रश्न येथेंही असावा. पण गीतेंत कर्मयोग सांगितला असल्यामुळें अर्जुन 'स्थितोऽस्मि गत-संदेहः करिष्ये वचनं तव ।' असें अर्जुनाचें उत्तर आहे. पण येथील उत्तर फारच मजेदार आहे. " ऐसें शिष्यु म्हणे । आतां जाणिजेल कवणें । मज बोलतांचि अववडवाणें । बोलणें जें ॥ १००२ ॥ जें हालऊनि न हालणें । नेदखौनि देखणें । सघणवट असणें । व्योम जैसें ॥ ०३ ॥ जें जाणणेंचि केवळ । स्वरूपचि निश्चळ । तें स्यांचि मी निष्फळ । जाणितलें जी ॥ ०४ ॥ ऐसें जाणणें निवडलें । जैसें पाहलेंचि पाहिलें । तेंचि तें लाधलें । स्यांचि मातें ॥ ०५ ॥ " पुढें पहा " आतां जैसें असे तैसें । असतचि असे । असणेंचि असे । अदृश्य शिउ ॥ ०६ ॥ " या प्रमाणें गुरूनें पाहिलें कीं " आतां बोलणें याचा मीगु मोडला । चतुष्टयाचा ठाओ फेडिला । तो पैलु पाउ पातला । तत्वरूपा ॥ १००४ ॥ " व मग विचार केला कीं आतां यास स्वस्वरूपीं मेळवावें, ही मिळणी चांगदेवानें फार मौजेची वर्णिली आहे " श्रीगुरु झाले प्रसन्न । पसरौनि विशाळ वदन । जैसें उजळलें गगन । चंद्रबिंबीं ॥ १०१३ ॥ मग श्रीगुरु म्हणे शिष्यातें । आतां तूं प्रवेश गा येथें । पावशील मातें । अभेद रूपें ॥ १४ ॥ ऐसा ध्वनि आइकिला । तंव शिष्यु मुखि प्रवेशला । जैसा प्रकाशु मीनला । प्रकाशासि ॥१५॥ कां समुद्रि समुद्र मिसळला । कां आकाशि आकाश आला । हरिहरां जाला । ऐक्यवादु ॥ १६ ॥ तैसें उभयतां मीनले । प्रभातेजि एक-वटले । गुरुशिष्य वाहिनले । अभेदयोग ॥ १७ ॥ गुरूनु शिष्याचा ग्रीरु भस्नु । आपण यांहीं मिठी देउनु । प्रमाणि मागु मोडौनु । गहिला पैं ॥ १८ ॥ आतां मागां पुढां एकुचि । घनदाट गुरूचि । तया मुखा नयेचि । रूप करूं ॥ ०९ ॥ गुरु शिष्य एक झाले । तें आलेपणहि गेलें । गेलेंपण राहिलें । वटेश्वरीं ॥ २० ॥ ऐसा शिष्यु गुरुभक्ति बोधला । वेद गुह्य पावला । कविता धर्मे संपला । प्रबंधु हा ॥१०२१॥" तत्त्वसाराचा शेवट याहून चांगला कसा असू शकणार ? सद्गुरूनें जें आपलें निज-स्वरूप शिष्यास समजाविलें, तें पूर्णपणें समजून शिष्य व गुरु सर्व द्वैतभाव सोडून एकच ब्रह्मस्वरूप झाले, म्हणजेच सर्व न यांचें सार समजलें.

चांगदेव वटेश्वराच्या तत्वसाराची ही खंडित कथा याप्रमाणें मूळ पदावर तर आणून पोंचविली. पुढच्या पंधरा ओंव्या मात्र मुद्दाम दिल्या आहेत. ठिकठिकाणीं चांगदेवांच्या ओंव्याच अवतारित करण्याचें प्रयोजन हें कीं चांगदेवांच्या भाषेची वाचकांस ओळख पटावी. आरंभीं उल्लिखित केल्याप्रमाणें चांगदेवाचें वाङ्मय अति थोडें व तेंही विश्वासार्ह नसल्यामुळेंच ' महाराष्ट्रसारस्वता ' च्या नवीन आवृत्तींतून या ग्रंथकाराची उचलबांगडी झालेली दिसत आहे. हा सारचा सारा १०३६ ओंव्यांचा ग्रंथ मिळाला तर चांगलेंच आहे, पण जेवढ्या ४०४ ओंव्या उपलब्ध आहेत, तेवढ्या महाराष्ट्रसारस्वतांत तेराव्या शतकांतील कवींत चांगदेवाची पुन्हां प्राणप्रतिष्ठा करण्यास समर्थ आहेत, असें वाटतें. चांगदेवाचे ग्रंथ एकनाथांस चांगलेच माहीत असावेत असें त्यानें केलेल्या " वंदूं प्राकृत कवीश्वर । निवृत्तिप्रमुख ज्ञानेश्वर । नामदेव चांगदेववटेश्वर । ज्यांचें भाग्य थोर गुरुकृपा ॥ ११९ ॥ जयांचे ग्रंथ पाहतां । ज्ञान होय प्राकृतां । तयांचे चरणीं माथा । निजात्मता निजभावें ॥१२०॥ [७] " या ओंव्यावरून स्पष्ट दिसत आहे. चांगदेवाचा हा ग्रंथ प्राकृत लोकांस स्वरूपार ज्ञान करून देणारा आहे व तो आपल्या अपूर्णोपलब्ध स्थितींतहि चांगदेवास प्राकृत कवीश्वरांत स्थान मिळवून देणारा आहे.

सरते शेवटीं ज्यांचे कृपाप्रसादानें हा ग्रंथ प्राप्त झाला त्यांचे आभार मानून हा लेख पुरा करावयाचा आहे. ग्वाल्हेर सरकारनें प्राचीन ग्रंथांचा संग्रह करण्याचा उपक्रम केल्याचें प्रारंभीं लिहिलेंच आहे. हा ग्रंथसंग्रह भारतवर्षाची प्राचीन नगरी उज्जयिनी येथें ठेवला आहे अजून व्यवस्थितपणें ग्रंथसूचि व्हावयाची आहे. पण कार्यास आरंभ झाला म्हणजे पुढचें काम हळू हळू व्हावयाचेंच. तें काम शान्ततेचें व पैशाचें आहे. पण आज जेवढा उपक्रम झाला आहे तेवढाहि थोडा नाहीं. म्हणून हा उपक्रम करणाऱ्या शिक्षाविभागाधिकारी रा. सा. लक्ष्मण भास्कर मुळे यांचे व ग्वाल्हेर येथें तें काम चालविणाऱ्या रा. डोंगरे यांचे आभार मानून हा लेख पुरा करितों. ईश्वर करो व या महाकालनगरींत आरंभिलेल्या या कार्यांत कालाच्या तडाक्यांत सांपडलेले व म्हणूनच नामशेष झालेले ग्रंथ दिवसेंदिवस उजेडांत येत जावोत ! आणि अखिल मराठीवाचकवर्ग ग्वाल्हेर दरबाराच्या प्रस्तुत अधिष्ठात्री श्रीमंत मातुश्री महाराणी साहेबांचा कायमचा ऋणी राहो ॥

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[१] महाराष्ट्रसारस्वत आ. २ री १९१९ पृ. ५५

[२] महाराष्ट्रवाङ्मयाचा इतिहास- खंड १—पांगारकर: पृ. ३२३—२६

[३] तत्वसारग्रंथांत—उपसंहार.

[४] भगवद्गीता—अ. ६ श्लोक ४१,२

[५] ओंवीचा एकचरण लेखकप्रमादानें राहिलेला दिसतो.

[६] भगवद्गीता अ. १८ श्लो. ७२

[७] एकनाथीभागवत अ. १

Hindi Section.

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REV. RAHULA SANKRITYAYANA.

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BY REV. RAHULA SANKRITYAYANA.

(Ladakh).

मेरे जैसे सभी तरहसे अयोग्य व्यक्तिको आपने इस परिषद्का सभापति क्यों चुना, इसपर बहुत विचार करनेपर मुझे सिवा इसके और कोई कारण नहीं मालूम हुआ कि मेरा उन महापुरुषोंके वंशसे सम्बन्ध है, या उनके बारेमें कुछ अधूरासा ज्ञान है, जिन्हें सर्वप्रथम हिंदी भाषाकी सेवा करनेका सौभाग्य प्राप्त हुआ। इसके लिये मैं अपनी ओरसे ही नहीं किंतु अपने पूर्वज सरह, शबर आदि सिद्ध-कवियोंकी ओरसे भी कृतज्ञता प्रकट करना मैं अपना कर्तव्य समझता हूं। सात सौ वर्षोंतक विस्मृत रहकर आज फिर उनका अपनी जन्मभूमिमें स्वागत अत्यन्त हर्षका विषय क्यों न होगा? वस्तुत: आप अपने उन यशस्वी रक्त-सम्बन्धी और चिरसेवक चौरासी सिद्धोंको हमेशाके लिये भूला भी कैसे सकते थे।

चौरासी सिद्धोंका काल.

चौरासी सिद्धोंका काल हिन्दी साहित्यका आरंभकाल है जो तिब्बती ग्रन्थोंके आधारपर निश्चित है। यद्यपि तिब्बतमें मिलनेवाली इनकी सूचीमें लुयिपाका नाम प्रथम है किन्तु उसमें कालक्रमका खयाल नहीं रखा गया है। सरहपासे नारोपा (मृत्यु १०४० ईस्वी) तककी वंशपरम्परा इस प्रकार है—

सरहपा, शबरपा, (महाराज धर्मपालके समय ७६९–८०९ ईस्वी) लुयिपा, दारिकपा, वज्रघंटापा, कूर्मपा, जलन्धरपा, कण्हपा (देवपालके समय ८०९–४९ ई०) गुह्यपा, विजयपा, तेलोपा, नारोपा (मृत्यु १०४० ईस्वी)।

इस परंपरामें नारोपाका मृत्युकाल हमें मालूम है। हम यह भी जानते हैं कि कण्हपा महाराज देवपाल (८०९-४९ ई०) के समकालीन थे* और लुयिपा महाराज धर्मपाल (७६९-८०९ ई०) के कायस्थ या लेखक थे* हमें यह भी मालूम है कि तिब्बतमें बौद्धधर्मके सुप्रतिष्ठापक आचार्य शान्तरक्षितके शिष्य हरिभद्रके शिष्य बुद्धज्ञान दर्शनशास्त्रमें सरहपाके सहपाठी थे*। आचार्य शांतरक्षित ७५ वर्षकी

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* देखो 'गंगा' का पुरातत्त्वांक।

अवस्थामें सन् ७९९ ईस्वीमें तिब्बत गये। उनका दीर्घजीवन तो अपवाद है। इस-प्रकार ७९० ईस्वी सरहका होना ठीक जंचता है।

सिद्धोंकी परंपरा और कृतियोंके विषयमें अन्यत्र मैं लिख चुका हूं। यहां उन्हीं बातोंको दुहराना पसन्द नहीं करता। हां, आपसे यह जरूर कहूंगा कि सिद्धोंकी कविता और चरित्रकी खोजकी ओर हमारा ध्यान अधिक जाना चाहिये। प्रयत्न किया जाय तो मुझे विश्वास है कि इसमें हमें सफलता मिलेगी। नेपालसे प्रात:स्मरणीय महामहोपाध्याय हरप्रसाद शास्त्रीको सरह और कण्हके 'दोहा कोष' तथा बहुतसे सिद्धोंके कितनेही गीत मिले थे। इस विषयकी और भी सामग्री मिल सकती है। तिब्बतके सस्क्यमठमें (जहां सिद्धोंकी बहुतसी हिंदी कविताओंका भोट भाषामें अनुवाद हुआ) अब भी भारतसे ले जाई गयी सैकड़ों तालपत्रकी पुस्तकें सुरक्षित हैं। ढूंढ़नेपर उनमें कुछ पुस्तकें मिल सकती हैं। तिब्बतके कुछ और स्थानोंमें भी उनके मिलनेकी आशा है।

सिद्धोंकी कविताका प्रचार ही पीछे कबीर, नानक, दादू आदि सन्तोंके वचन प्रवाह रूपमें परिणत हो गया। किन्तु सिद्ध काव्य-प्रवाहको (जिसका अन्त काशिराज जयचन्द देवके दीक्षागुरु जगन्मित्रानन्द-मित्रपाके साथ बारहवीं शताब्दीमें होता है) पंद्रहवीं शताब्दीके आरम्भमें आरब्ध होनेवाले कबीर आदि सन्तोंकी कविताके प्रवाहसे जोड़नेके लिये नाथपंथकी कविताएं संयोजक शृंखला है। अभी तक उनके अति प्राचीन रूपके खोज निकालनेकी ओर भी हमारा बहुत कम ध्यान गया है। इधर भी ध्यान देनेकी आवश्यकता है।

मैं यहां हिन्दी भाषाके इतिहासके बारेमें कहने नहीं चला हूं कि उसके सभी कालके रूपोंपर प्रकाश डालूं। मेरा मतलब यहां सिर्फ हिन्दीके दो अज्ञातप्राय किन्तु महत्वपूर्ण युगोंकी ओर आपका ध्यान आकर्षित करना है।

किसी भी भाषा-साहित्यके लिये उसकी भूतकालकी कृतियां, चाहे वे कितनी ही भव्य और महत्वपूर्ण हों, पर्याप्त नहीं होतीं। इसके लिये हमें वर्तमान और भविष्यकी ओर भी ध्यान देना पड़ेगा। पिछले दस वर्षोंकी प्रगतिको देख कर, चाहे हमारी गति उतनी तीव्र न हो, हमें निरुत्साह होनेकी आवश्यकता नहीं। प्रेमचन्द, सुदर्शन जैसे कहानी-लेखकों तथा प्रसाद जैसे नाटककारोंने हमें निराश उनकी ओर खींचा है। कविताक्षेत्रमें कुछ कहना यद्यपि मेरे लिये धृष्टता होगी तो भी साहित्य भोक्ताके विषयमें अपनी अपनी राय कायम करनेका सबको अधिकार है। गत अर्द्ध शताब्दी हिन्दी कविताके लिये हेमन्त काल था। नायक, नायिकाओंके इस रीतियोंके गोरख धंधे द्वारा संयोजित कोग मंजरी तारीफके पुल बांधते हों, किन्तु इस कालमें मस्तिष्कको उत्तेजित और हृदयको द्रवित कर देनेवाली उत्तम कविताओंका अभावही रहा है।

इस निराशामयी स्थितिमें भी आशाकी झलक आने लगी है, और यह झलक मुझे तो उस कविता द्वारा आती मालूम होती है जिसे लोग निन्दा अथवा प्रशंसाके भावसे छायावाद कहते हैं। इस छायावादकी परिभाषा दूसरे चाहे कुछ भी मानते हों मैं तो इसे समझता हूं पुरानी रूढ़ियों और नाना भांतिकी जकड़बंदियोंके प्रति विद्रोहका झंडा उठाना, इसीमें मैं आशामय भविष्यकी आभा पाता हूं। इसके कहनेका यह मतलब नहीं कि मैं ऐसी सभी कविताओंकी हिमायत करता हूं। हां यह मैं जरूर मानता हूं कि दोनों प्रकारकी समान संख्यामें कवियोंको लेकर तुलना करनेपर क्रांतिवादी (छायावादी) रूढ़ीवादियोंसे जरूर बाजी मार ले जायेंगे।

यहां मुझे कुछ उन हिन्दीभाषाभाषी लेखकोंसे भी कहना है जो अन्वेषण सम्बन्धी लेखोंको ही नहीं बल्कि शुद्ध साहित्यिक लेखोंको भी अंग्रेजीमें लिखते हैं। लेखोंके विषयमें उसकी पाठकोंके लिये उपयोगिता एवं लेखकके लिये उसकी कीर्तिप्रदायकता इन दो बातोंपर ध्यान देनेसे तो यह घाटेका ही सौदा है। अंग्रेज साहित्यिक गत शताब्दिके अन्ततक जब अपने ही बन्धु अमेरिकावासियोंको कोई स्थान देनेको तैयार न थे तब हम लोगोंके लिये वहां क्या स्थान होगा? इतना कहनेका यह मतलब नहीं कि हम दूसरी भाषाओंका बहिष्कार करें। बहिष्कारकी तो बात अलग, मैं तो समझता हूं कि अंग्रेजोंकी देखादेखी हममें भी यह दुर्गुण आ गया है कि हम अंग्रेजी भाषाको ही सारे ज्ञान-विज्ञानका भण्डार समझते हैं। विद्वान् जानते हैं कि कितने ही ऐसे विषय हैं जिनके सुपरिचयके लिये फ्रेंच जर्मन भाषाओंकी अंग्रेजीसे भी अधिक आवश्यकता है। मेरे यह कहनेका भाव यह है कि कलमके धनी हिंदीभाषाभाषी अपनी कृतियोंकी चिरस्थिति और अधिक उपयोगिताके लिये हिंदी की ओर ध्यान दें।

हिंदीमें विज्ञान सम्बन्धी साधारण ग्रन्थोंका भी कितना अभाव है इसे आप सब जानते ही हैं। इस कमीको हम एक हदतक पूरा कर सकते हैं—यदि एक वैज्ञानिक चवन्नी ग्रन्थमाला निकाली जाय। इस मालाकी प्रत्येक पुस्तक डबल क्राउन १६ पेजी १०० पृष्ठोंके करीबकी हो। पुस्तक बिना हजम किया अनुवादमात्र न हो। ऐसे हिंदीभाषाभाषी विज्ञानके अभिज्ञ विद्यमान हैं। यदि वे सहायता करें और कुछ पुस्तकोंके मुद्रणके लिये कोई तैयार हो जाय तो ऐसी ग्रंथमाला स्वावलम्बी भी हो जायगी।

ऐतिहासिक अन्वेषणके क्षेत्रमें हिंदी अधिक आगे बढ़ रही है और इसका बहुत श्रेय इसके युगप्रवर्तक श्रद्धेय ओझाजीको है। "प्राचीन लिपिमाला" के बाद राजपूतानेके इतिहास द्वारा ओझाजीने हिंदीके मस्तकको बहुत ऊंचा कर दिया है। उनके योग्य शिष्य श्रीजयचन्द्र विद्यालंकारने "भारत और उसके निवासी" लिखकर इस क्षेत्रमें पदार्पण किया था और "भारतीय इतिहासकी रूपरेखा" लिखकर

मातृभाषाकी बड़ी सेवा की है। अपने विद्वान् इतिहासान्वेषकोंकी दिक्कतोंका मैं अनुभव करता हूं। अक्सर अंग्रेजीमें लिखनेसे पाठकोंका क्षेत्र बढ़ जाता है, और समानधर्म-गुणग्राहक विद्वानोंमें उनकी कद्र होती है किन्तु वह कभी अपनी कृतियोंको वे दोनों भाषाओंमें लिखकर पूरा कर सकते हैं।

साहित्यके प्रचार और वृद्धिमें लिपि और मुद्रणकलाका कितना हाथ है, यह आपको मालूम है। सात सौसे अधिक खानोंका हिंदी कम्पोजिंग केस मुद्रणमें बहुत ही तरद्दुदका काम है। अक्षर शरीरमें मात्राओंका ऊपर नीचे आना उतना हानिकर नहीं है। यह तो अंग्रेजीमें छोटे जी एस, आदि अक्षरोंमें भी होता है। संयुक्त अक्षरोंके पूर्णतया बायकाट और इकार आदि स्वर वर्णोंको स्यामी या तिब्बती अक्षरोंकी भांति अक्षरके ही आगे पीछे ऊपर नीचे लगाकर उनकी संख्या बहुत ही कम की जा सकती है। च, ज, न, थ, जैसे पाईवाले अक्षरोंमें पाईको अलग करके तथा ऊपर नीचेकी मात्राओंको कुछ आगेसे जोड़कर हिन्दी लाइनोटाइपके आविष्कारक श्रीहरिगोविन्द गोविलने इस सम्बन्धमें एक युग-प्रवर्तकका काम किया है कुछ लोग ऊपर नीचेकी मात्राओंके आकार और स्थान-परिवर्तनमें नाक भौं चढ़ावेंगे, किन्तु ऐसा करनेसे न तो अक्षर कुरूप हो गये हैं, और न उनके पढ़नेमें दिक्कत होती है। नयी चीजपर नजर गड़नेके लिये कुछ समयकी आवश्यकता होती है। हमें यह ध्यान रखना होगा कि लेखनोपकरण, स्याही, पत्र और कलमने जब एक ही ब्राह्मी लिपिसे निकली भारतकी कितनी ही वर्णमालाओंके आकारमें भारी परिवर्तन कर दिया है, तो क्या हमारे मुद्रण यन्त्रको इसमें कुछ परिवर्तन करनेका अधिकार नहीं? लेखनोपकरणका उदाहरण लीजिये। उत्तर भारतके लोग तालपत्र (जो कि उस समय अतिसाधारण लेखनपत्र था) पर जहां स्याही और कलमका प्रयोग करते थे, वहां मद्रास प्रांत और लंकावाले तालपत्रपर स्याहीका प्रयोग न कर लोहशलाकाकी नोकसे कुरेद कर लिखते थे। कुरेदना तालपत्रपर सीधा नहीं हो सकता, इसलिये उन्हें अक्षरोंकी आकृति गोल बनानी पड़ी। इसके विरुद्ध उत्तरी भारतमें स्याहीसे लिखनेके कारण वह दिक्कत न थी। अस्तु। मुद्रणयन्त्रको हमारी लिपिमें संशोधन संवर्धनका पूरा अधिकार है। इन्हीं सिद्धांतोंपर सुन्दर अक्षरवाले हिन्दी टाइपराइटरकी भी आवश्यकता है। आज तक निकले हिन्दी टाइपराइटरोंमें कुरूपसे कुरूप टाइपोंको लगानेकी लोगोंने कसमसी खा रखी है।

यह बड़ी प्रसन्नताकी बात है कि स्कूलोंके बाद अब विश्वविद्यालयोंने भी मातृभाषाको शिक्षाका माध्यम स्वीकार करना शुरू कर दिया है। नागपुर विश्वविद्यालयको इस काममें मार्ग-प्रदर्शनके लिये बधाई है। और विश्वविद्यालयोंको भी उसका अनुसरण करना चाहिये, लेकिन अभी इस काममें समुचित ग्रंथोंका अभाव बहुत भारी बाधा है। मेरी समझमें पुस्तकें तबतक अंग्रेजीकी ही रखी जा सकती हैं।

भाषा-भक्तिके कारण हमें अयोग्य ग्रन्थोंको नहीं स्वीकार करना चाहिये। हां प्रश्नोत्तर लिखनेमें मातृभाषाका व्यवहार होनेमें कोई बाधा नहीं होनी चाहिये।

हिन्दीभाषाभाषी प्रांतोंसे बाहर हिन्दी-प्रचारके लिये कितने ही वर्षोंसे उद्योग चल रहा है। बड़ौदा सरकारने हिन्दीको राजभाषा स्वीकार कर हिन्दीके गौरवको बढ़ाया है। क्या ही अच्छा होता यदि उस्मानिया विश्वविद्यालयकी भांति कोई राज्य हिन्दी वैज्ञानिक ग्रन्थोंको छपवानेका काम हाथमें ले लेता। हिंदीके प्रचारमें कैसे कैसे नये साधन अपने आप निकलते आ रहे हैं, इसका मैं आपको एक उदाहरण देता हूं। बड़ौदा आते वक्त हम लोग लुनावला उतरे थे। वहां नौ दस वर्षके महाराष्ट्र लड़कोंको हिन्दी बोलते देखा। मैंने पूछा तुमने हिन्दी कैसे सीखी? एकने झटसे उत्तर दिया-क्यों, बोलता चित्रपट जो देखते हैं। भारतमें हिंदी समझनेवालोंकी संख्या अधिक होनेसे नफेके ख्यालसे भी फील्म हिंदीमें बनवानी पड़ रही है। दूसरी भाषाओंकी फिल्मोंमें वह आसानी नहीं है।

साहित्यके प्रचार और ऐतिहासिक खोजके लिये पुराने और नये साहित्यिकोंके हस्तलेखोंका संग्रह एक महत्वपूर्ण कार्य है। यूरोपका ध्यान बहुत पहलेसे इस ओर गया है। खेद है कि हिन्दीभाषा-भाषियोंका ध्यान अभी तक इस ओर नहीं गया। अब भी यदि हम प्रयत्न करें तो दो तीन सौ वर्षोंके साहित्यिकोंके हस्तलेख मिलना कठिन नहीं है। बल्कि तिब्बतमें रहते वक्त मैंने विश्वस्तसूत्रसे सुना था कि वहां एक मठमें आचार्य दीपंकर श्रीज्ञान (९८२-१०५४ ई०) की लिखी कुछ पुस्तकें विद्यमान हैं। आचार्य दीपंकर स्वयं हिंदीके कवि थे और उनकी वज्रासन वज्रगीतिका तिब्बती अनुवाद अब भी तनजूरमें सुरक्षित है। जिन हस्तलेखोंको हम किसी एक संग्रहालयमें नहीं जमा कर सकते उनके प्रतिचित्र जमा किये जा सकते हैं। दर्शकों और साहित्यप्रेमियोंके लिये कितने आनन्दकी बात होगी, यदि वे ग्यारहवीं शताब्दी के दीपंकरसे लेकर विद्यापति, केशव, तुलसी, बिहारी, मतिराम, भूषण, सदल मिश्र, मुंशी सदासुख, लल्लूलाल, पद्माकर, हरिश्चन्द्र तथा आजकलके भी हमारे लब्धप्रतिष्ठ साहित्यिकोंके हस्तलेखों या उनके प्रतिचित्रोंको देखने पावें। वर्तमान साहित्यिकोंके लेख सुलभ हैं, किन्तु इस शताब्दीके अन्ततक वे भी दुर्लभ हो जायंगे। हिन्दी साहित्य-सम्मेलन अपना संग्रहालय बनवा रहा है। आशा है वह इसकी ओर ध्यान देगा। दूसरी साहित्यिक संस्थाओंको भी अपने अपने प्रदेशमें इस ओर ध्यान देनेकी आवश्यकता है।

हिंदीभाषा-प्रेमियोंकी कितनी ही सभा समितियां देशके भिन्न भिन्न स्थानोंमें मौजूद हैं, और अच्छा काम कर रही हैं। आवश्यकता है पुराने तामिल संगमकी भांति एक ऐसी हिन्दी साहित्य परिषद्की, जिसके सभासद् होनेके लिये उच्च कोटिका हिंदी लेखक होना अनिवार्य हो। इस परिषद्में राजनीतिक प्रभाव या विश्वविद्यालयकी

डिग्रियोंका ख्याल बिलकुल हटाकर, लेखककी एक या अनेक कृतियोंका विशेष प्रत्यवेक्षण करके वह सभासद् बनाया जाय। प्रत्यवेक्षणका काम पहिले तो तीन या पांच विशेषज्ञोंकी उपसमितिको सौंपा जाय। उसकी सिफारिशके साथ नाम, परिषद्के सामने पेश किया जाय और उपस्थित तथा अनुपस्थित दो-तिहाई सभासदोंकी सम्मति होनेपर वह स्वीकृत किया जाय। और बातोंकी अनुकूलता देखकर अच्छा हो यदि परिषद्का स्थान दिल्लीमें हो। और अधिक आपका समय न ले, यहीं अपने भाषणको समाप्त करता हूं। मैं एक जंगली आदमी हूं, यदि कोई अनुचित बात निकल गयी हो तो उसे क्षमा करेंगे।

कविवर ठाकुर जगमोहनसिंह.

BY PANDIT BISHWAMBHAR PRASAD GAUTAM, M.A., LL.B.

(Katni.)

यह वही भारत भूमि है जिसमें जन्म लेनेके लिये सुरगण लालायित रहते थे। ऐसा क्यों? स्वतंत्र भारतके समान विश्वको शान्ति और सुखका सन्देश देनेवाला अन्य कोई देश न था। अपनी मातृभूमिका प्रेम किस पुरुषके हृदयमें नहीं होता! अपनी खोई हुई लक्ष्मीको वापिस पानेकी कौन नहीं आकांक्षा करता!

पर, विधि-विधान बड़ा कठिन होता है! जब समस्त देशमें स्वतंत्रताकी लहर उमड़ रही थी; बच्चा २ प्रयत्न-शील हो रहा था अपनी खोई हुई स्वाधीनता-श्री को हस्त-गत करनेके लिये; उस समय हमारे चरित्र-नायकके पिता श्रीसरयूप्रसाद सिंह " और करे अपराध कोउ और पाय फल भोग। अति विचित्र भगवन्त गति को जग जान न जाय! " के अनुसार अपने दरबारियों की काली करतूतों के कारण पूज्य पूर्वजों के प्रबल पराक्रम द्वारा प्राप्त विजयराघव गढ़का राज्य खो बैठे। इतना ही नहीं, ब्रिटिश सर्कार द्वारा उनकी स्टेटके प्रबन्धके लिये नियुक्त ' कोर्ट ऑफ वार्डस ' (Court of Wards) के उच्च पदाधिकारीकी मृत्युके कारण आप समझे गये और आपको काले पानीकी सजा मिली! निर्दोष आत्मा यह घोर दंड कब सहन कर सकती थी! सिंह सरयूप्रसाद जीने अपने प्राण त्याग दिये। वस्तुतः न्याय और कानूनमें बड़ा अन्तर है।

इन्हीं श्रीसरयूप्रसादसिंहके आत्मज हमारे चरित्र-नायक थे। आपके पूर्वज आमेर महाराजके वंशज थे। यह वही आमेर है जिसकी महिमाका वर्णन भट्ट पद्माकरने अपने ' जगद्विनोद ' में इस प्रकार किया है:—

" जय जय सक्ति सिलामयी,
जय जय गढ़ आमेर;
जय जयपुर सुरपुर-सदृस,
जो जाहिर चहुं फेर. "

श्री. ठाकुर साहिबके पितामह ठाकुर प्रयागदाससिंहने सन् १८२६ ई. के लगभग एक नई बस्ती बसाकर, एक किला और किलेके भीतर एक मंदिर बनवाया था। जिसमें श्रीविजयराघवकी मूर्तिकी प्राण-प्रतिष्ठा की गई थी। इसीसे इस बस्ती को विजयराघव गढ़का नाम प्राप्त हुआ। यह स्थान मध्य प्रदेशके जबलपुर जिलेकी कटनी मुड़वारा तहसीलके अन्तर्गत है।

संवत् १९१४ की सावन सुदी १४ को इसी विजयराघव गढ़के किलेमें हमारे चरित्र-नायकका जन्म हुआ था। जब आपकी उम्र ९ सालकी हुई, तब सर्कारने आपको काशीके राजकुमार-विद्यालय Wards' Institute में विद्याध्ययन करनेके लिये भेज दिया। प्रारंभमें आपको केवल २० मासिक राजनैतिक पेंशन मंजूर हुई थी। पर काशीके सहृदय कमिशनर साहिबने उसे १०० मासिक करवा दिया जो आपको आमरण मिलती रही। आपने काशीमें पूरे १२ वर्ष एक युग शिक्षा पायी। आपने इतने समयमें हिन्दी, संस्कृत और अंग्रेजीमें अच्छी योग्यता प्राप्त कर ली। आप विद्यार्थी-अवस्थासे ही गद्य-पद्यमें रचना करने लगे थे। उसी समय आपने 'प्रमिताक्षर-दीपिका' जैसी पुस्तिकाएं छपवा डालीं.

आप निम्नलिखित पुस्तकोंके रचयिता हैं:—

(१) श्यामा—स्वप्न, (२) श्यामालता, (३) प्रेम-संपत्ति-लता, (४) ओंकार-चन्द्रिका, (५) प्रलय, (६) सज्जनाष्टक, (७) प्रमिताक्षर दीपिका, (८) देवयानी, (९) सांख्य सूत्रों की भाषा—टीका, (१०) ज्ञान-प्रदीपिका महर्षि कपिलकृत सांख्यकारिकाका छंदोबद्ध अनुवाद, (११) मेघदूतका पद्यात्मक अनुवाद, (१२) ऋतु-संहारका छंदोबद्ध अनुवाद, (१३) कुमार-संभवका पद्यबद्ध अनुवाद, (१४) हंसदूत का छन्दो-बद्ध उल्था और, (१५) Byron's Prisoner of Chillan (शिलानका बंदी) का पद्यात्मक अनुवाद।

खेद है, आपकी कई पुस्तकें अभी तक अप्रकाशित हैं। आशा है नागरी-प्रचारिणी जैसी संस्थाएं इस दिशामें उद्योग कर, कविवर ठाकुर साहिबके अप्रकाशित ग्रन्थोंको प्रकाशित कर, उनके प्रति अपनी कृतज्ञता प्रगट करेंगी।

श्री. ठाकुर साहिब हिन्दी साहित्यकी सराहनीय सेवामें उसी समय संलग्न थे, जब उसके साहित्याकाशमें वन्दनीय 'भारतेन्दु' की कीर्ति-कौमुदी छहरा रही थी। आप बाबू हरिश्चन्द्रके परम प्रेम-पात्र, उनके समकालीन और उनकी लेखनशैलीके परिपोषक थे।

आपमें जननी-जन्म-भूमिका प्रेम ओत-प्रोत भरा था। आपकी अनेक स्वदेश-भक्ति भावकी रचनाओं से टपक रही है। आपकी जम्बूद्वीप-प्रशंसा पढ़ कर, हृदय [illegible] [illegible] है। यथा—

" जुग मधि जम्बूद्वीप, दीप सम अति छबि छायो।
तामें भारतखंड मनहु बिधु आपु बनायो॥
ताहूमें अति रम्य आरजावर्त मनोहर।
सकल कर्मकी भूमी, धर्म-रत जहँके नरवर॥
मनु, बाल्मीक व्यासादिसे पूजनीय जहँके अमित।
भे मनुज, अबौ जगके सबै, मानत जिनकी आन नित॥

आपका प्रान्त-प्रेम और जन्म-स्थानका स्नेह निम्न अवतरणसे स्पष्ट हो जाता है:—

" तामे खंड बुंदेलको, सोहत सब मन-हारि।
जहँके छत्रनकी विदित सब जगमें तरवारि॥
तामें नगर नवल विजय, राघव गढ़ विख्यात।
महानदीके तट बसत, धन जग सौ अवदात॥

हिन्दी संसारके सम्मान-भाजन श्री. पं. रामचन्द्रजी शुक्लके इस मतसे हम सहमत है कि ठाकुर साहिब " हिन्दीके प्रेम-पथिक कवि और माधुर्य-पूर्ण गद्य लेखक थे। प्राचीन संस्कृत साहित्यके अभ्यास विन्ध्याटवीके रमणीय प्रदेशमें निवास के कारण विविध भावमयी प्रकृतिका रूप-माधुर्यकी जैसी सची परख, जैसी सची अनुभूति इनमें थी वैसी उस कालके किसी हिन्दी कवि या लेखकमें नहीं पाई जाती। अपने हृदय पर अंकित भारतीय ग्राम्य जीवनके माधुर्यका जो संस्कार ठाकुर साहिबने अपने 'श्यामा-स्वप्न' में व्यक्त किया, उसकी सरसता निराली है। (भारतेन्दु) बाबू हरिश्चन्द्र, पंडित प्रतापनारायण प्रभृति कवियों और लेखकोंकी अपनी दृष्टि और अपने हृदयको पहुँच मानव-क्षेत्र तक ही थी, प्रकृतिके अपर क्षेत्रों तक नहीं। पर, ठाकुर जगमोहनसिंहजीने नर-क्षेत्रके सौन्दर्य को प्रकृतिके और क्षेत्रोंके सौन्दर्यके मेलमें देखा है। प्राचीन संस्कृत साहित्यके रुचि संस्कारके साथ भारत भूमिकी प्यारी रूप-रेखाको मनमें बसानेवाले ये पहिले हिन्दी लेखक थे।"

आप केवल पद्यके ही प्रवीण लेखक न थे; बरन 'गद्यं कवीनां निकषं वदन्ति' की कसौटी पर कसे जाने पर भी आप खरे सोनेसे चमकते निकलते हैं। प्रमाणमें आपके गद्य ग्रन्थ 'श्यामा-स्वप्न' का एक रम्य खंड देना पर्याप्त होगा:—
" नर्मदाके दक्षिण दंडकारण्यका देश दक्षिणकोशल नामसे प्रसिद्ध है × × × मैं कहां तक इस देशका वर्णन करूं। जहांकी निर्झरिणी— जिनके तीर वानीरसे घिरे, मदकल-कूजित विहंगमोंसे शोभित हैं जिनके मूलसे स्वच्छ और शीतल जल-धारा बहती है और जिनके किनारेके श्याम जंबूके निकुंज फल-भारसे नमित जनाते हैं—शब्दायमान होकर झरती हैं। × ×

× × × जहाँके शाल वृक्षोंकी छालमें हाथी बहुत रगड़ कर खुजली मिटाते हैं और उनमेंसे निकला और सब वनके शीतल समीरको सुरभित करता है। मंजु वंजुलकी लता और नील निचुलके निकुंज जिनके पत्ते ऐसे सघन जो सूर्यकी किरनोंको भी नहीं निकलने देते, इसी नदीके तट पर शोभित है।"

आगे चल कर, आप श्यामापुरका चारु चित्र अंकित करते हैं, जो आपकी जन्मभूमि-विजयराघव गढ़की भव्यमूर्ति सामने खड़ी कर देता है।

"इस पावन अभिराम ग्रामका नाम श्यामापुर है। यहां आमके आराम पथिकों और पवित्र यात्रिओंको विश्राम और आराम देते हैं। × × × पुराने टूटे फूटे दिवाले इस ग्रामकी प्राचीनताके साक्षी हैं [इसे पढ़ हठात् एक उर्दू शेर याद आता है:–

"खंडहर बता रहे हैं, इमारत बुलन्द थी"] ग्रामके सीमान्तके झाड़ जहाँ झुंड के झुंड कौवे और बगुले बसेरा लेते हैं-गावंईकी शोभा बनाते हैं। पौ फटे और गोधूलीके समय गौवोंके खुरोंसे उड़ी धूल ऐसी गलियोंमें छा जाती मानो कुहरा गिरता हो।" कैसा स्वाभाविक वर्णन है!

हमारे चरित्र-नायकने कवियोंकी पुरानी प्यासकी बोलीमें देशकी दृश्यावलिको सामने रखनेका मूक समर्थन-तो किया ही है, साथ ही भावकी प्रबलता प्रेरित कल्पनाके विप्लव और विक्षेपको अंकित करनेवाली एक प्रकारकी मला शैली भी इन्होंने निकाली जिसमें रूपप्रधान का वैलक्षण्य प्रधान था, न कि शब्दविधानकी। क्या अच्छा होता, यदि हिन्दीमें इस शैलीका विकास निर्बाध होता। ऐसी अवस्थामें बंग साहित्यमें प्रचलित इस शैलीका शब्दप्रधान रूप जो कुछ कालसे हिन्दी पर चढ़ाई कर रहा है और अब काव्यक्षेत्र का अतिक्रमण कर हमारे विषय-निरूपक निबन्धों तकका अंग ग्रास करने दौड़ता है शायद जगह न पाता।

श्रीयुत ठाकुर साहिब हिन्दी साहित्यके उन देदीप्यमान नक्षत्रोंमेंसे जिन्होंने जहां हिन्दी साहित्यकी नवीन गतिके प्रवर्तनमें योग दिया। वहां पुरानी परिपाटीकी कविताके साथ भी अपना पूरा संबंध निबाहा। अंग्रेजी साहित्यमें Wordsworth, Shelly और Meredith को जो स्थान प्राप्त है वही स्थान अपने साहित्यमें कविवर जगमोहनसिंहजीको देना औचित्यका अपहरण करना न होगा।

शिक्षा समाप्त होने पर सरकारने आपको तहसीलदारके पद पर नियुक्त कर दिया। आपने इस कामपर पद पर भी साहित्य सेवासे नाता नहीं तोड़ा।

आप सहृदय, हास्य-प्रिय और आशुकवि थे। जिस प्रकार आदिकवि वाल्मीकका हृदय क्रौंच पक्षियोंके वियोगसे पानी २ हो गया था उसी प्रकार दक्षिण कोशलके बाढ़-पीड़ितोंकी दयनीय दशासे द्रवीभूत हो कर आपने 'प्रलय' शीर्षक एक मर्म-स्पर्शी कविता लिख डाली थी। आप प्रकृति-सौन्दर्यके सच्चे उपासक थे। जब आप खंडवामें रहे थे, तब आपने श्रीओंकार मान्धाता प्राचीन माहिष्मती नगरीका विशद वर्णन 'ओंकार-चन्द्रिका' नामक काव्यमें किया था।

ठाकुर साहिब स्वतंत्र प्रकृतिके पुरुष थे। आप अपने उच्चपदाधिकारियोंकी पर्वा न करते थे। यही कारण है कि आप जिस पद पर नियुक्त हुए उससे ऊंचे पद पर नहीं पहुंच पाये थे। सरकारी नौकरीसे छुट्टी पा कर, आप कुचबिहारके राजाकी कौन्सीलके सेक्रेटरी हो गये थे।

यहां पर यह लिखना प्रासंगिक होगा कि हमारे चरित्रनायक सामाजिक सुधारक भी थे। सच तो यह है कि उदार हृदयोंको संकीर्णता किसी भी क्षेत्रमें नहीं सुहाती है। समय पा कर, ब्राह्मणोंने अपने अधिकार-विशेषका जो दुरुपयोग किया, वह न्याय-प्रिय ठाकुर साहिबको असह्य था। आपने 'श्यामा-स्वप्न' में ब्राह्मणोंकी खूब खबर ली है:—

"मनुके समयमें ब्राह्मणोंकी कैसी उन्नति और अनाथ शूद्रोंकी कैसी दुर्दशा थी × × × एक तो आकाश दूसरा पातालवत् था। एक तो दूध दूसरा पानी-एक तो सोना दूसरा पीतल-एक तो स्वतंत्र दूसरा कैसा परतन्त्र और आजीवन सबों का दास, एक तो पारस दूसरा पाषाण-एक तो आम दूसरा बबूर-एक तो सजीव दूसरा जड़ निर्जीव। केवल वृक्षकी भांति उगने, फूलने, फलने और फिर मुरझानेके लिये था। वाह रे, समय! ब्राह्मणोंके करमें कलम थी-मन माना जो आया घिस दिया।"

'जाके कुलकी जौन है लै रहत सो तौन' यह लोकोक्ति भी इस लेखके चरित्र-नायकके बारे चरित्रसे चरितार्थ होती है। आपका जन्म राजकुलमें हुआ था। इसलिये आपका प्रवीण रत्न-पारखी होना स्वाभाविक था। पटनाकी "Oriental Conference" के सभापति प्रकांड पंडित रा. ब. डॉक्टर हीरालाल साहिब जब कटनी स्कूलकी हिन्दीकी तीसरी कक्षामें पढ़ते थे; तब ठाकुर साहिब उनके स्कूल-का निरीक्षण करनेके लिये वहांके शिक्षकों द्वारा आमंत्रित किये गये। उन्होंने सब कक्षाओंकी परीक्षा ली थी और तीसरी कक्षाके बालक हीरालालकी कुशाग्र बुद्धिसे प्रसन्न हो कर उसे पुरस्कार दिया था और यह भविष्य वाणी की थी यह हिन्दुस्थानका हीरा माला ऐसा लाल होगा जिससे माका भाल भूमंडलमें चमक उठेगा। कहना न होगा कि यह दिव्य वाणी अक्षरशः सत्य निकली।

९ मार्च सन् १८०९ ई. में इस दूरदर्शी विनोद-प्रिय सहृदय, गुण-ग्राही भावुक कवि तथा स्वाभिमानी व्यक्तिने अपनी इह लीला समाप्त की। परन्तु 'कीर्तिर्यस्य स जीवति' के अनुसार काव्यश्रीकी अनन्य उपासना तथा सच्ची स्वदेश-भक्तिका जो बीज आपने हिन्दी साहित्य क्षेत्रमें बोया है, उसके कारण आपकी स्मृति चिरस्थायी रहेगी। आपके पुत्र ठाकुर ब्रजमोहनसिंह, बार. एट-लॉ. बड़े विद्यानुरागी और विनय-शील है। आप अपने पूर्वजोंके पवित्र ग्राम विजयराघव गढ़में विद्या-विनोदमें ही काल-यापन किया करते हैं। आपका तंत्रशास्त्र पर श्लाघनीय अधिकार है।

अन्तमें परमात्मासे यही प्रार्थना है कि हमारे हिन्दीभाषी नवयुवक भाई स्वर्गीय ठाकुर साहिबके पथके पथिक, प्रकृतिके परम पुजारी, हिन्दी हिन्दुस्थानके हामी और हास्यरसके नामी लेखक हो अपनी मातृभाषा की सर्वाङ्गीण उन्नति कर, उसे राष्ट्रभाषाके सिंहासन पर आसीन करनेमें समर्थ हो।

मंडपदुर्ग और अमात्य पेथड.

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(Dehgam.)

इस निबन्धमें हम जिनका परिचय देनेवाले हैं, उनमें एक तो है मण्डपदुर्ग, और दूसरा है अमात्य पेथडकुमार। इनका सारांश यह है:–

मण्डपदुर्ग धारके पास प्राचीनकालका नगर है। जिसका वर्तमान नाम मांडवगढ या मांडु है। तेरहवी शताब्दीसे सत्तरहवी शताब्दी तक यह प्रसिद्ध शहर व्यापार व राजनीतिका मुख्य स्थान गिना जाता था। तेरहवी शताब्दीके जयसिंह राणाके समयमें इसकी ख्याति और प्रौढिमा बढी चढी थी। अमात्य पेथड, झांझन कुमार, मंत्री मंडन, और कविरत्न धनद इसी शहरके नररत्न थे। जहाँगीर बादशाहने इसको अपना प्रियस्थान बनाया था। श्रीविजयदेवसूरि और भानुचन्द्रोपाध्यायको यहाँ निमन्त्रण कर बादशाह उपदेश सुनता था। उन्नीसवी शताब्दीके एक ऐतिहासिक पत्रसे ज्ञात होता है कि यहाँ १४४४ जैनमंदिर थे, जिनमें कई सुवर्ण-हीरा माणेककी मूर्तियाँ थी। इसका किला दृढतर और रमणीय है। यह एक जैन तीर्थ है। वर्तमानमें यह शहर जीर्ण शीर्ण होकर गाँवडेके रूपमें स्थित है।

पेथडकुमारका समय ईसाकी तेरहवी शताब्दी है। वह नीमाड देशमें नान्दुरीका रहनेवाला था। उसका पिता धनकुबेर था। मांडवगढमें आकर पेथडने व्यापार बढाकर व्यापारीओंमें अग्रिमस्थान लिया। वीरता व कौशल्यसे वह राणा जयसिंह देवका प्रियमंत्री बना। अपनी विशेषतासे राजा और प्रजाका उसने खूब प्रेम प्राप्त किया। श्रीधर्मघोषसूरिको वह गुरु मानता था। उनके उपदेशसे सवाकरोड रुपयोंका उसने दान किया था। जैनधर्मका वह पाबन्ध था। उसने ८४ बडे २ जैनमंदिर बनवाए। सात ज्ञानभंडार मुख्य २ शहेरोमें अपने खर्चसे स्थापित किए। कई विद्वानों को आश्रय दिया। कर्णावर्ती(गुजरात)के राजा सारंगदेवको इसने बहादुरीसे हराया था। इसका पुत्र झांझन कुमार भी ऐसा ही पराक्रमी और यशस्वी था। पेथडकुमार व्यापारी विद्वान् व पूरा राजनीतिज्ञ था। मालवेके इतिहासमें इसका महत्त्वका स्थान है।

मंडपदुर्गका विशेष परिचय.

मध्यकालके मालवेका जो ऐतिहासिक स्थान नगर थे, उनमें मंडपदुर्ग भी एक था। यह चारों ओर पहाड़ों और गहन झाड़ियोंसे परिवेष्टित है। इसका किला मजबूत था, जो बड़े बड़े किलोंकी गिनतीमें गिना जाता था[1]। यहाँकी जमीन फलद्रूप है, आबोहवा सुन्दर है। इसी लिए अकबर बादशाहके उत्तराधिकारी जहाँगीरने इस शहरको पसन्द किया था। राजधानी दिल्लीमें होते हुए भी वह यहाँ चिरकाल तक रहता था। इसीलिए उक्त शहरमें बादशाही महल मकानात भी खूब बन गए थे। व्यापारकी दृष्टिसे भी उस समय तक यह नगर तरक्कीपर था। विदेशोंसे कई यात्री यहाँ व्यापार-विद्या व विनोदार्थ आते थे। यहाँका किला अभीतक इतना मजबूत है कि टूटता नहीं है। पत्थरसी मजबूत इसकी ईंटे हैं। जहाँगीरने उपदेश सुननेके लिए मांडवगढके राजमान्य चन्दू, जो जैनसंघका अग्रणी था, से परिचय पाकर श्रीविजयदेवसूरिको सम्मानपूर्वक फर्मान युक्त अपने आदमीको भेजकर सत्रहवीं शताब्दी में यहां बुलाया था। आचार्य खंभात(गुजरात)से विहार कर (पैदल चल कर) आश्विन शुक्ल १३ को मंडपदुर्ग पहुँचे थे। दूसरे दिन तख्तदीवानखानामें बादशाहसे मिलकर आकर्षक उपदेश विजयदेवसूरिने सुनाया। इसका वर्णन[2] हम परिशिष्ट नं. १ में देंगे।

बाणकी कादम्बरीके ऊपर प्रसिद्ध टीका बनानेवाले श्रीभानुचन्द्र उपाध्याय को भी जहाँगीरने बुलाया था। बादशाह इनसे मिलकर बड़ा प्रसन्न हुआ था[3]। श्रीहीरविजयजी सूरिसे दीक्षित कल्याणविजयजीने यहाँ चातुर्मास किया था। औरंगजेबके समयमें भी यहां आबादी अच्छी थी[4]। संस्कृत ग्रंथोंमें इस

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१. इसीलिए इसका नाम मंडपदुर्ग और मण्डपाचल है। [illegible] इस नगरका विवेचन किया है।

२. विजयदेव—माहात्म्य काव्य में इनका जीवन चरित्र है। यह ग्रंथ इतिहास के उपयोगका है।

३. सूरीश्वर और सम्राट् पृ. २०१ इस प्रसंगका एक वर्णन किस प्रकार लिखा गया है:-

जिनका भूपको भूप आनंद पाया, [illegible] आनंद आया।
[illegible] ॥ ११०९.
[illegible]।
[illegible] ॥ १११०.
हीरविजयसूरिरास, ऋषभदासकवि रचित।

जैसे पहले तुम्हारे पास [illegible] अकबर [illegible]। [illegible] हीरविजयजी सूरिके [illegible]। देखो सूरीश्वर और सम्राट्।

४. देखो [illegible]।

शहरके[1] मंडपाचल, मंडप, मंडपगिरि और मंडपदुर्ग आदि नाम मिलते हैं। शास्त्रोंमें माण्डवगढ और वर्तमान मांडवगढ या मांडू इसका नाम है। मांडवगढमें उन्नीसवी शताब्दीका एक पत्र[2] आर्क्योलोजिकल डिपार्टमेंटको मिला है। उससे ज्ञात होता है कि वहाँ पहले १४४४ मंदिर थे परन्तु बादशाहने तोडकर मसजीद व कब्रस्तान बना लिए है। एक मंदिरकी वेदीमें संवत् १०१९ में मंदिर बनानेका शिलालेख है।

भर्तृहरि-शतकत्रयके समान शतकत्रयीका कर्ता महाकवि धनद इसी मांडवगढ़का था। इसने विक्रम संवत् १४९० में आलमसाहि गोरीके समयमें यह तीनों शतक बनाए थे[3]। उसका पिता देहड आलमसाहिका मंत्री था। मंडनमंत्री भी इसी जमानेका यहाँका प्रसिद्ध विद्वान् कवि और बाहादुर राजनीतिज्ञ था। उसने व्याकरण काव्यादिके कई मौलिक ग्रंथ बनाए हैं[4]। तेरहवी शताब्दीमें तो यह शहर बहुत मशहूर था[5]। जब शाहबुद्दीन गोरी और अलाउद्दीन खुनी आदि बादशाहोंके आक्रमणोंसे हिन्दुस्तानके लोग त्राहि त्राहि पुकार रहे थे। जब इन बादशाहोंने वैदिक और जैनोंके मंदिर व धर्मस्थानोंका निर्दयतापूर्वक ध्वंस करके दुष्टराजाओंमें अग्रिम स्थान पाया था। जब इस्वीसन् १२९७ में कर्ण वाघेलाके पाससे गुजरातका राज्य छीनकर नंदनवन जैसी गुजरात भूमिकी शोभाको भी भारी धक्का पहुंचाया था। तब भी यह मांडवगढ निर्भय और वर्धमान कीर्तिवाला था।

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१. पट्टावली-समुच्चय में मंडपाचल, और मण्डप नाम है। श्रीजिनविजयजी प्राचीन लेख संग्रह पृ. ११ में मण्डपदुर्ग और सोमतिलकस्तोत्रमें मण्डप गिरि लिखा है।

२. यह पत्र धर्मध्वज में वर्ष ५ के अंक १० में प्रकाशित हुआ है। एक दूसरा पत्र संवत् १८२६ का मिला है वह भी उसी अंकमें छपा है। दोनों पत्रोंकी भाषा हिन्दी मारवाडी है। सं. १८२६ के पत्रमें लिखा है यहाँ हीरामाणेकको जैन मूर्तियां थी।

३. यह तीनों शतक निर्णयसागर काव्यमाला के ११ वे गुच्छकमें छप चुके हैं। नीतिशतककी प्रशस्तिमें यह श्लोक है:-

> वर्षे व्योमाङ्कवेदक्षितिपरिकलिते (१४९०) विक्रमाम्भोजबन्धो-
> र्वैशाखे मासि वारे त्रिदशपतिगुरोः शुक्लपक्षेऽतितिथ्याम्।
> श्रीमाण्डवे सौभाग्यनाम्नि प्रगुणजनमये मण्डपे दुर्गकाण्डे
> ग्रन्थस्यास्य प्रतिष्ठामकृत धनदनिर्देहडस्यैव धीरः ॥
>
> नीतिशतक १०२

४. देखो विज्ञप्तित्रिवेणी। ५. देखो [illegible].

इससे पूर्व भी रामचन्द्र और सीताजीके समयमें श्रीसुपार्श्वनाथकी चैत्य [illegible] बनी हुई थी। ऐसा [illegible]में लिखा है। कवि ऋषभदास भी एक चैत्यवंद यही बात प्रकट करता है:—

"मांडवगढ़नो राजियो नामे देव सुपास" यहाँ अनेक राजा बादशाहों राजधानी—दीर्घस्थिति रही है। संग्रामसिंह सोनी जैसे सरस्वतीभक्त, और गदास भैंसासाह जैसे धनकुबेर श्रीमन्त यहां रहते थे। वर्तमानमें इस शहरकी दय दशा है। अनेक खंडहरोंसे व्याप्त यह राजगृही, श्रावस्ती, चन्देरी, गन्धारके सम एक अप्रसिद्ध गाँवडेके रूपमें स्थित है। अभी भी यहाँ कस्तूरीका महल, बड़ी बावड़ीयाँ, इमारते, मस्जीद व जैनमंदिर देखने योग्य हैं। यह जैनोंका तीर्थस्थान धारसे ११ मील दूर है। पक्का रोड ठेठ तक गया है। मह और धारसे मोटर जाती है। यह धार स्टेटके अधीन है। [illegible] स्थित गुजरीसे भी [illegible] मांडवगढ जानेका रास्ता भी है।

पुरातत्वज्ञोंका इस ओर काफी ध्यान नहीं गया है। और न इसकी शोधखोज खास तौरपर हुई है। गत वर्षमें हम जब धार गए थे। तब इतिहासके [illegible] श्रीमान् [illegible] साहब B. A. के यहाँ, धार महाराजाके प्राइ सेक्रेटरी श्रीमान् [illegible] साहब M. A., LL. B. से धार और मांडवगढ़में खोद कराने का अनुरोध किया था। मैं आशा करता हूँ कि इसकी तरफ अब पुरातत्वज्ञों ध्यान जरूर जायगा। धारके प्राचीन स्थानोंके विषयमें मैंने एक गुजराती लेख लि था जो [illegible] मासिकमें छपा था।

अमात्य पेथडकुमार.

भारतभूमिमें जो ऐतिहासिक पुरुष हुए हैं उनमें मांडवगढका अमात्य (मं पेथड भी एक है। व्यापार, साहस और राज्यनीति इन तीनों क्षेत्रोंमें इसने अप जीवन बिताया है। विद्वानोंको इसका परिचय बहुत कम है।

पितृ-परिचय.

पेथडके पिता निमाड़ प्रान्तमें नान्दूरीके रहनेवाले थे। वह जाति ओसवाल और धर्मसे जैन थे। उनका नाम था देदाशा और उनकी पत्नीका नाम [illegible] था। उ नागार्जुन महात्मासे सुवर्ण बनानेकी विधि प्राप्त हुई थी। इससे वह कुबेर-सम बहुत बड़ा धनी हो गया था। साथी उदार और धर्मशील था। उनको एक सु [illegible] पुत्ररत्नकी प्राप्ति हुई। उसका नाम रखा पेथड़। वही इस चरित्रका नाय [illegible] पेथडकुमारके नामसे विख्यात हुआ। नान्दूरीके [illegible] देदाशा [illegible] [illegible] चले गए। वहाँ उनका व्यापार [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] और [illegible] [illegible] हुआ। [illegible]

पेथडकुमार आया । वह संस्कारित हो चुका था । व्यावहारिक धार्मिक व राजनीति विषयोंमें उसके पिताने उसे अच्छी अभ्यास करा कर होशियार कर दिया था । माता-पिताका वियोग उसको खूब खटका । वह व्यापार करता रहता था । पर हमेशा लक्ष्मी एक जगह स्थिर नहीं रहती उसका नाम भी चंचला है । पेथड़को व्यापारमें भारी नुकसान होनेसे वह निर्धन हो गया । उसका बड़ा गृहखर्च चलाना भी उसको दुष्कर हो गया । जैसे सूर्यके हजार किरन भी अस्तावस्थामें सूर्यकी कांति-कीर्तिको नहीं टिका सकते है उसी तरह पेथड़की कीर्ति बुद्धि व मित्रादि लोग उसकी लक्ष्मीको नहीं टिका सके। वह खाने पीने तकका मोताज होगया ।

एक दिन विद्यापुरमें तपागच्छके श्रीधर्मघोषसूरि जैनाचार्य पधारे । उनका प्रवचन सुनने पेथड़ भी गया । वह आचार्य बड़े विद्वान् और चमत्कारी थे । उनके प्रवचनसे कई लोगोंने नैतिक व्रत लिए । पेथड़ गरीब था, कुछ लोगोंने उपहासपूर्वक उसे परिग्रह-परिमाण (संतोषव्रत) लेनेको कहा । उसने सरल भावसे बीस हजार टंक[1] (उस जमानेमें प्रसिद्ध एक सिक्केका नाम टंक था) का नियम लेनेको कहा । आचार्य सामुद्रिकशास्त्र व ज्योतिषके दिग्गज पंडित थे । उन्होंने पेथडके सुलक्षण और रेखाओंसे निकट भविष्यमें उसका धनाढ्य होनेका अनुमान किया । अतः पेथडको पांचलाख टंकका नियम लेनेका आचार्यने उपदेश दिया । उनकी आज्ञा मानकर पेथड़ने अधिक तृष्णाको रोकनेके लिए यह नियम स्वीकार किया ।

यह कहना रह गया है कि पेथडकी धर्मपत्नीका नाम पद्मिनी था । वह गुणोंसे भी पद्मिनी थी । पेथड़को एक पुत्ररत्नकी प्राप्ति हुई । उसका नाम झांझणकुमार रखा "आत्मा वै जायते पुत्रः" के अनुसार वह भी प्रतापी चतुर व विद्वान् था।

पेथड़का गुजरान चलना भी विद्यापुरमें दुष्कर हो गया तब विदेश जानेका उसने विचार किया। उसकी दृष्टि मांडवगढ पर पड़ी । उस वक्त यानी ईसाकी तेरहवी शताब्दीमें मांडवगढमें परमार वंशकी राजधानी थी । अतः वहाँ व्यापार, कला, विद्याकी उन्नतिके कई साधन थे । जो स्थान विद्या कलामें राजा भोजके समयमें धाराका था । वह अब मांडवगढने ले लिया था । वहां जैनोंके एक लाख घर थे । जो लखपति और कोटीश प्राय थे । पेथड़ कुटुम्बसहित व्यवसायके लिए मांडवगढ़ चल कर पहुंचा ।

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१. [illegible]

मांडवगढमें पेथडके समय माळवाका परमारवंशीय जयसिंह देव राज्य करता था। वह विद्वान्—योग्य लोगोंका सहायक और संग्राहक था। इसी कारण पेथड मांडवगढ़ आया। वहाँपर व्यापार चलाया। दुकान खोली। नीतिपूर्वक एक बोल और एक छौतसे वह व्यापार करने लगा। ग्राहकोंसे मधुर योग्य व्यवहार करता था। अतः इसकी व्यापार व यशः बढ़ता गया। दुकानपर ग्राहकोंकी भीड जमने लगी। उच्चैर्गच्छति नीचैश्च दशा इस न्यायसे हमेशा किसीकी एकसी अवस्था नही रहती। सूर्य-चन्द्रका

धनागम.

भी उदयके बाद अस्त और अस्तके पश्चात् उदय होना हम नजरोंसे देखते है! पेथडके यहाँ एक ग्वालन घी बेचने आई। पेथड़ने घी खरीदा। घीके वर्तनके नीचे एक चित्रावेल थी इससे वह घीका पात्र खाली करने पर भी फिर उतना ही भर जाता था। पेथड़ने इसका महत्त्व समझकर उस ग्वालनसे पात्रसहित घी खरीद लिया। ग्वालनको चित्रावेलका ज्ञान नहिं था। इस लिए स्वल्पमूल्यमें उसने बेच दिया। खूब पेथड के भाग्य की दिशा बदली। उसका घीका व्यापार जोरोंसे चलने लगा। थोड़े ही समयमें उसने लाखों रूपये कमा लिये। लक्ष्मीदेवी प्रसन्न होती गई। "संपत् संपदमनुबध्नाति" न्यायसे मांडवगढमें चारों ओरसे उसकी लक्ष्मी बढ़ने लगी। उसकी कीर्ति सर्वत्र फैल गई। कई प्रकारके व्यापार उद्योग उसके अधीन हो गए।

मंत्रिपद.

मांडवगढमें उसवक्त परमार वंशका राजा जयसिंहदेव राज्य करता था। वह प्रतापी और सत्पुरुषकी परीक्षा करनेवाला था। सूर्यका तेज व कस्तूरीकी खुशबो छीपी नही रहती है। पेथड़की बुद्धिमत्ता योग्यताने राजाके हृदयमें स्थान पाया। उसने (राजाने) पेथडको आग्रह कर [1]मंत्रिपद दिया और पेथडके पुत्र झांझणकुमारको वहाँका कोतवाल बनाया।

व्यापारी जीवनमेंसे अब पेथडकुमार और उसके पुत्रने राज्यनीतिक्षेत्रमें पदार्पण किया। बुद्धिशाली वीर और धार्मिक होनेसे थोड़ेही समयमें पेथडकुमारने राजा और प्रजाको प्रेमसे जित लिया। राज्यको नुकसान नहीं पहुंचाते हुए प्रजाका हित करनेकी कला उसको आती थी। वह दुष्ट रिश्वतखानेवाले ऑफिसर और आततायी-ओंका पूरा विरोधी था। मंत्री पेथडकुमारने प्रजाका टॅक्स (कर) बहुत कम करदिया और प्रजाकी आर्थिक व धार्मिक उन्नतिके कई साधन बनाए, उसके मंत्रित्वमें राज्यका खजाना और यश खूब बढा।

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१. गुर्वावली श्लोक १७९। [illegible] श्लोक १। २. [illegible] इस राजाका नाम [illegible]सिंहदेव लिखा है। वह [illegible] नहीं लगता है।

ईश्वर–भक्ति और युद्ध-वीरता.

पेथडकुमार बड़ा बहादूर था। साथ साथ धर्मात्मा भी पूरा था। सारंगदेव प्रतापी राजा सारंगदेव मालवेको स्वाधीन करनेके लिये फौज लेकर मांडवगढ पर चढ आया। राणा जयसिंहदेव घबराया। उसने मंत्री पेथडकुमारको बुलाने आदमी भेजा। उस वक्त वह जिनपूजा कर रहा था। उसकी स्त्रीने उत्तर दिया कि पूजा पूरी किये बिना नहीं आवेंगे। दो तीनबार आदमी भेजने पर भी जब मंत्री नहीं आए तब राजा स्वयं बुलाने आया। जिनमंदिरमें खुद गया। उस समय उसका नोकर भगवानूको चढानेके लिए मंत्रीको पुष्प दे रहा था। उसके स्थानपर राजा बैठकर मंत्रीको पुष्पें देने लगा। मंत्रीश्वर पूजामें तल्लीन था। प्रारंभमें उसका ध्यान नहीं गया। थोडो देरके बाद उसने सामने देखा तो अपने मालीक राजाको देखकर वह शरमींदा हुआ। राजाने धन्यवाद दिया और कहा कि तुम्हारी भगवद्भक्तिसे मैं खुश हूं। पूजा पूरी करके तुम महलपर आओ।

जयसिंहदेवका विजय.

मंत्री पूजा करके महलपर गए। शत्रुके सामने किस उपायसे काम लेना ? इसकी सलाह पुछी। मंत्रीने बहादूरीसे लडनेकी सलाह दी। राजाने वह मान ली। बस युद्धका नगारा बजा। उसकी हाथी घोडा और पैदलकी सेना तय्यारी करके शत्रुके सामने मैदानमें खडी हुई। मंत्रीश्वर मुख्य था। वहीं घमासान युद्ध हुआ। थोडे समयमें जयसिंहकी जित रही। सारंगदेव हारकर निस्तेज हुआ। जयसिंहकी सेना मंत्रीके आधिपत्यमें विजयोत्सव करती हुई अपने स्थानपर आई। इस सफलतासे राजा पेथडकुमार पर बडा खुश हुआ। जो लोग जैन धर्म अथवा जैन धर्मीको कायर डरपोक कहते हैं वह बडी गलती करते हैं। गुजरात, मालवा और मेवाडमें प्राय: जैन अधिकारी थे, जिन्होंने यवनोंका भी सामनाकर अपनी वीरता बताई थी। तेरहवी शताब्दीमें राजा कुमारपाल जैन ही था उसके अतिरिक्त मंत्री उदायन, बाहड, अंबड, वस्तुपाल, तेजपाल, यश:पालादि भी भिन्न राजाओंके बहादुर मंत्री भी जैन ही थे। पेथडको "बिना मुकुटका राजा" लोग कहते थे।

बुद्धिकौशल्य और प्रभाव.

पेथड प्रतिभासंपन्न और पवित्रात्मा था। उसका ब्रह्मचर्य शुद्ध और उत्कट था। उसने ३२ बत्तीस वर्षकी उम्रमें जीवनपर्यंत शुद्ध ब्रह्मचर्य पालन करनेका सहर्ष व्रत लिया था। एकबार वहीं के राजाकी रानी सख्त बीमार पडी। उसके जीनेकी आशा तक छूट गई थी। कई उपचार किए गए पर सब व्यर्थ गए। अन्तमें पेथड कुमार मंत्रिके रामबाण जैसे पवित्र सफल उपचारसे रानीकी बीमारी जाती रही। राजमंडल और प्रजामें पेथडका बहुत प्रभाव और यश फैला।

इस प्रकार पेथडमंत्रीने व्यापारी जीवन राज्यनीति जीवन और धार्मिक जीवनको बड़ी योग्यता और कुशलतासे एकही जीवनमें सफल बनाकर यश और पुण्यको कमाया । राज्यकी इज्जत, लक्ष्मी और सत्ताका विकास किया । भारतकी रक्षा की, उसका गौरव बढाकर आयुः पूर्ण होनेके बाद स्वर्गवासी हुए । यह समय विक्रमको चौदहवी शताब्दीका था ।

पेथड कुमारके मृत्युसे जयसिंहराजा, राज्याधिकारी वर्ग और प्रजाजनको बहुत शोक हुआ । एक योग्य बहादूर मंत्रीके जानेसे सर्वत्र वियोगजन्य दुःख दिखता था ।

पेथडकुमारका पुत्र झांझनकुमार* था वह भी व्यापार और राज्यनीतिमें कुशल और बहादूर था । पेथडकी तरह उसने भी यशस्वि कार्य किये । पिताके पुण्यार्थ झांझनने विक्रम संवत् १३४८ माघ शुक्ल ९ को आबू, शत्रुंजय और गिरनारका संघ (यात्रा) निकाला जिसमें ढाई लाख मनुष्य सम्मीलित थे ।

पेथडकुमारका जीवन व्यापारी और अधिकारी दोनोंको बोधप्रद है । मालवेके इतिहासमें पेथड और झांझनकुमारका बहुत बड़ा स्थान है । आशा है कि पाठक इस जीवनसे लाभ उठावेंगे ।

पेथड चरित्रके साधन ।

पेथडकुमारके जीवनके विषयमें सबसे पुराना ग्रंथ सुकृतसागर संस्कृतकाव्य मिला है, जो उसके दो सो वर्षके बाद करीब बना है । इसके कर्ता रत्नमंडनगणि हैं । सोमतिलककृत "चैत्यस्तोत्र" भी इसमें उपयोगी है । यह स्तोत्र मुनिसुंदरकी गुर्वावली (यशोविजय ग्रं. से मुद्रित पृ. १८) में छपा है. उस गुर्वावलीमेंसे भी कुछ जाननेको मिलता है । इन ग्रंथोंके आधारसे उपदेशतरंगिणी, उपदेशसप्तति, झांझणप्रबंध, धर्मसागरीयपट्टावली और श्रीहंसविजयजी महाराजकृत पेथडके चरित्रमें लिखा गया है ।

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३. मारवाड, गुजरात, मालवा, मेवाड और दक्षिणादि देशोंके मुख्य १ स्थानों पर बडे २ जैन मंदिर बनवाए जिनकी संख्या ८४ है ।

[कर्णोपकेशान् नृपसंनिधु[illegible]चतुर्भिः [illegible] ।
[illegible] ॥ [illegible] ४.१]

सोमतिलकसूरिने " चैत्यस्तोत्र " में गांवोंके नाम ७८ बतलाए है ।

धर्मघोषसूरिके पास संतोष व्रत लिया ।

५. बत्तीस वर्षकी उमरमें [illegible] ब्रह्मचर्य [illegible] ग्रहण किया ?

६. राज्यमें पंचमी, अष्टमी, एकादशी, चतुर्दशी आदि बडे दिनोंमें तेल, [illegible], [illegible], शिकार, [illegible] बंध करवाए ।

७. [illegible] ।

८. [illegible] ।

* इनके विषयमें झांझनकुमार-प्रबन्ध देखना चाहिए ।

परिशिष्ट नं. १

श्रीविजयदेवमाहात्म्य काव्यमें श्रीवल्लभपाठक मुनि सत्तरहवे सर्गमें इस प्रकार लिखते हैं:—(उपयुक्त भाग ही यहाँ हमने लिखा है)

(१)

अथात्रावसरे श्रीमन्मण्डपं सर्वसम्पदाम् ।
पत्तनं मण्डपं नाम धामात्युत्सवमण्डपम् ॥

(२)

पातिसाहिजहांगीरसिलेमसाहिरुत्तम: ।
हिन्दू-तुरुष्कभूपालनायकस्तत्र शोभते ॥

(३)

पातिसाहिसमासीना विद्वांसोऽन्ये जना अपि ।
दर्शनानां शुभां षण्णां धर्मवार्तां जगुर्मिथ: ॥

× × × ×

× × × ×

(६)

उग्रत्वं तपस: श्रुत्वा क्रियायाश्च यतिव्रजे ।
पातिसाहिजहांगीरोऽन्यदेति प्रत्यपादयत् ॥

इतीति किं ? तदाह:—

(७)

भो ! चन्दूसंघप ! क्वास्ति धर्माऽऽचार्यस्तवाधुना ?
विजयदेवसूरीन्द्रो नाऽमिलत् स कथं च न: ॥

८

तदा चन्दूरिति प्राह पातिसाहिं कृताञ्जलि: ।
अस्ति सम्प्रति सूरीन्द्र: स्तम्भतीर्थे गुरुर्मम ॥

९

पातिसाहिरिति श्रुत्वा प्राह चन्दूं प्रतीति च ।
विजयदेवसूरीन्द्रं समाहूय ममाऽऽज्ञया ॥

(१०)

फुरमाणं तदालेख्य सूरेराह्वानसूचकम् ।
चन्दूसंघपतेर्हस्ते पातिसाहिरदात् मुदा ॥

× × × × ×

(१९)

मण्डपं नगरं सूरिः प्राप्नोद् दिव्यमहोत्सवैः ।
आश्विनस्यावदातस्य दिवसे हि त्रयोदशे ॥

(२०)

ततश्चन्द्रः प्रसन्नाऽऽत्मा पातिसाहिं न्यवेदयत् ।
आगतो भवदाहूतो विजयदेवसूरिराट् ॥

× × × × ×

(२३)

आश्विनस्यावदातस्य चतुर्दशदिने शुभे ।
मध्याह्ने तसबीखानास्थाने सूरिवरोऽव्रजत् ॥

(२४)

पातिसाहिस्तदोत्थायाभ्यागत्य ह्य पदत्रयम् ।
अभ्यवन्दत पादाब्जं श्रीसूरेः पुण्ययोगतः ॥

(२५)

तपस्तेजस्विनं सूरिं दृष्ट्वेति व्यस्मयत्तराम् ।
अहो ! धन्योऽयमीदृक्षः साक्षादेव तपस्तनुः ॥

× × × × ×

(२९)

धर्मगोष्ठीं वरिष्ठाऽऽत्मा गरिष्ठेन गुणैः सदा ।
श्रीसूरिणा सह श्रीमान् पातिसाहिर्व्यधाद् रहः ॥

× × × ×

(३१)

कृत्वैवं धर्मसद्गोष्ठीं पातिसाहिरमोदत ।
[illegible] धर्मोऽयमवादीदिति चाद्भुतम् ॥

इतीति किं तदाह—

(३२)

[illegible] इत्यस्ति [illegible] ।
तस्य [illegible] ।

× × × ×

(२)

नैकाः पौषधशालिकाः सुविपुला निर्मापयित्रा सता,
मंत्रस्तोत्रविदीर्णविघ्नविततश्रीपार्श्वपूजाभुजा ।
विद्युन्मालिसुपर्वनिर्मितकसद्देवाधिदेवाह्वय-
स्यानाशाततनूरुहप्रतिकृतिस्फूर्जत्सपर्यासृजा ॥

(३)

त्रिःकालं जिनराजपूजनविधिं नित्यं द्विरावश्यकं
साधौ धार्मिकमात्रकेऽपि महतीं भक्तिं, विरक्तिं भवे ।
तन्वानेन, सुपर्वपौषधवता साधर्मिकाणां सदा ।
वैयावृत्यविधायिना, विदधता वात्सल्यमुच्चैर्मुदा ॥

(४)

श्रीमत्संप्रतिपार्थिवस्य चरितं श्रीमत्कुमारक्षमा-
पालस्याऽप्यथ वस्तुपाल[illegible]स्य पुण्याम्बुधेः ।
स्मारं स्मारमुदारसंमदसुधासिन्धूर्मिवृन्दाञ्चता
श्रेयःकाननसेचनस्फुरदुरुप्रावृड्भवाम्भोमुचा ॥

(५)

सम्यग्न्यायसमर्जितोर्जितधनैः सुस्थानसंस्थापितै-
र्ये ये यत्र गिरौ तथा पुरवरे ग्रामेऽथवा यत्र ये ।
प्रासादा नयनप्रसादजनका निर्मापिताः शर्मदा-
स्तेषु श्रीजिननायकानभिधया सार्धं स्तुवे श्रद्धया ॥
(पञ्चभिः कुलकम्)

(६)

श्रीमद्विक्रमतस्त्रयोदशशतेष्वब्देष्वतीतेष्वथो
विंशत्याऽभ्यधिकेषु मंडपगिरौ [illegible] ।

× × × ×

(१६)

इत्थं पृथ्वीधरेण प्रतिगिरिनगरग्रामसीमं जिनाना-
मुच्चैश्चैत्येषु बिम्बान् हिमगिरिशिखरैः स्पर्धमानेषु यानि ।
बिम्बानि स्थापितानि [illegible] कन्दे
[illegible] यानि [illegible] ॥

A DISSERTATION ON HINDI GRAMMAR.

By D. N. Rania, M. A.

Prejudices die hard. The traditional method of offering the grammar of a living and an unusually easy tongue as Hindi by multiplying the number of its grammatical terms and declensions *ad nauseum*, though somewhat changed, is not yet extinct. Conscious or unconscious imitation of Sanskrit grammarians is responsible for the introduction of the concept of *Kārika Vibhaktis* (कारकविभक्ति) in Hindi as well and the consequent tediousness and even contradictory obscurantism. In a living language (like Hindi), aspiring to grow and thrive, there ought to be the least difference between a word as it occurs in the lexicon and as it may be used in oral or written speech. In fact, it ought to be the strivings of our grammarians, working in the interest of a language, to reduce such differences (if any), by analysis and even artifice, to a minimum. Yet our traditional grammarians would not rest content unless they have actually declined a substantive, for instance, through not less than sixteen forms !

Besides a little reflection would show that the so-called *Kāraka Vibhaktis* in Hindi are not, properly speaking, Vibhaktis at all. Vibhaktis in Sanskrit are particles (meaningless in themselves) that become an integral part of a word indicating its forms and use. In Hindi, on the other hand, a so-called Vibhakti like 'से' can be shown to have a dozen meanings of its own. Of course, its sense may not be as obvious at first sight as that of an independent indeclinable (like यदि) and it may, therefore, be distinguished from the latter as a dependent indeclinable (परतन्त्र अव्यय), dependent for the explication of its sense upon the word it governs, yet nevertheless not a meaningless particle or Vibhakti but a full-fledged word with definite sense.

The concept of Kiraka Vibhaktis in Hindi has also led the traditional grammarians into a curious contradiction. In Sanskrit, the substantives and verbs undergo changes of declensions but not the अव्यय. Now, in Hindi, the form like कहाँका or जिधरसे is quite common wherein a non-substantive without number, gender or tense, obviously a true indeclinable, is followed by a so-called Vibhakti. The traditional grammarians taking का, से etc. as Kiraka Vibhaktis should recognise them as the declensions of an indeclinable कहाँ and जिधर and thus lead to the concept of a full-fledged *declinable indeclinable.* Of course, such absurdity can be automatically avoided by recognising कहाँका and जिधरसे both as separate indeclinables and the word कहाँका as a joint or a double indeclinable like wherefrom or wherein in English.

The changes that the substantives undergo before the so-called Vibhakti that might have possibly tempted the traditional grammarians to consider them a part of the word itself are not peculiar to them alone. There are a number of words, *pucca* substantives like साथ, आगे and others before which the preceding substantive undergoes a change, although the word that follows is obviously not a part of it.

Another absurdity indicative of the usual thoughtlessness of our grammarians is the retention of the word *preposition* (actually printed in English) in Hindi grammars. Now a *preposition* invariably precedes its object in English and, of course, its name there is quite appropriate. But in Hindi, the so-called *prepositions*, even in poetry, actually *follow* and *never precede* their objects. They always come after and never before the substantives they govern. 'At home' is always घरपर and not otherwise. Thus the so called prepositions in Hindi are actually *post-positions* (अनुगामक), but, it has been the glory of our grammarians so far to call them 'prepositions' and be sublimely unconscious of the contradiction !

As for [illegible] in Hindi, our grammarians usually feel shy of recognizing it either as a substantive or a verb. This question ought to be faced squarely and it must be recognized as full-fledged substantive seeing that it behaves as such and is independent of tense.

In connection with verbs I have felt that while the concept of संयुक्तक्रिया like देखना भालना, खिलखिलाना, देखपाना, देखता रहना, देखा करना, reduces the forms of verbal declensions sensibly, yet the संदिग्धभूत viz., 'किया होगा' looks like the future of 'किया होना'. If it is necessary to recognize it as a particular tense, a suitable explanation ought to be offered for fixing it up as that. This alone looks like a compound word while other conjugations are simple formations.

Besides noun-verbs known as तद्धित in Sanskrit such as मोल लेना, विजय करना, भला करना etc. wherein two words (in appearance) lead to one indivisible sense and wherein the two words cannot be grammatically separated, should be distinguished from verbal phrases like भलाई करना wherein the verb can be obviously distinguished from its complement or object, although in both cases the correctness of idiom may lie in the appropriate though arbitrary use of करना, लेना, देना and others with appropriate words (viz. पटक देना and not पटक करना as it would at first suggest to a novice. In fact, the proper use of the *verb following* in such verbal phrases is one of the most important forms of idiom in Hindi. A list of such idiomatic phrases should be attached to every regular grammar.

The agreement of verb with its subject and sometimes with its object often creates difficulties for beginners. It can however, be reduced to a general rule with a definite and regular exception and again an exception to that exception agreeing with the original rule. On the whole, general rules, divisions and nomenclature of terms, and the various forms of conjugations and declensions are to be reduced to an irreducible minimum and if possible, a thoroughly coherent system. In grammars written for actual use as texts, the inductive method ought to be adopted with a large number of appropriate and interesting exercises, and to relieve brain-fatigue in teaching a comparatively dry subject as grammar, illustrations and other devices may be used.

Lastly, we ought never to forget that the aim of education is as much the formation of mind as its information or instruction. The grammar of a language ought to be made at least coherent if not thoroughly scientific. It ought at least to avoid contradiction and confusions, and particularly the connivance of such confusions although inherited from traditional sense or lore.

माधवानल कामकन्दला.

By Krishna Sevak.

(Katni).

माधवानल कामकंदला नाटक अथवा उसकी कथा काफी ऐतिहासिक महत्वकी है; माधवानल कामकंदलाकी कथा तथा उसके प्रेमका आदर्श कदाचित् सबसे पहिले आनन्दधरने संस्कृतभाषामें माधवानलनाटकम् नामक ग्रंथमें वर्णन किया है व इस नाटककी एक हस्तलिपी जबपुरीनिवासी पं. लक्ष्मीभट्टके पास है। उसके पश्चात् सन् १५८३ ई. में मुगल सम्राट् अकबरके दरबारी मुसलमान कवि आलमने हिन्दी पद्योंमें इसकी कथा लिखी. इसका विवरण बाबू श्यामसुन्दरदास-सम्पादित "हिन्दी हस्तलिखित पुस्तकोंकी खोज" सन् १९०४ की वार्षिक रिपोर्टके १६-१७ पृष्ठोंमें दिया गया है. यह पुस्तक महाराजा साहब बनारसके पुस्तकालयमें है. सन् १९०२ की वार्षिक रिपोर्टसे पता चलता है कि आलम लिखित कथाके आधार पर सन् १७५९ ई में हरनारायण खासकलमने भी 'माधवानलकी कथा-भाषा' नामक पुस्तककी रचना पद्योंमें की है। यह पुस्तक छत्रपुरमें बाबू जगन्नाथप्रसाद हेड अका-उन्टेन्टके पास है। वर्तमान समयमें भी यह कथा भिन्न रूपोंमें प्रकाशित हुई है, जिससे यह पाया जाता है कि साहित्यसेवी सज्जनोंने अन्य रोचक एवं महत्त्वपूर्ण कथाओंकी भांति इस कथाको भी विशेष महत्त्व दिया है। किन्तु इस बातकी विशेष आवश्यकता मालूम होती है कि इस कथाके नायक माधवानल और नायिका काम-कंदलाके निवासस्थानों पर थोडा और प्रकाश डाला जावे.

माधवानलका जन्मस्थान पुष्पावती नगरी अथवा वर्तमान बिलहरी है। यह नगरी भारतके केन्द्र एवं मध्यप्रदेशान्तर्गत जबलपुर जिलेमें ८०-३० पूर्व रेखांस तथा २३-५० उत्तर अक्षांसमें स्थित एक प्राचीन नगरी है। इसका प्राचीन नाम पुष्पावती नगरी है। राजा कर्णने अवनति अवस्थामें पाकर इसे फिर बसाया और इसका नाम 'बिलहरी' रक्खा। ऐसा विदित होता है कि इस नगरीका नामकरण बहुत विचारपूर्वक किया गया है। यहां से लगभग ५ मील पश्चिमकी ओर भांडेर पर्वतके शिखरपर एक खंड अर्थात् गुफा है जिसे भैसाखंड कहते है। उसी गुफामें श्रीमहादेवजीकी एक मूर्ति विराजमान है। जिसे उसी गुफाके नाम परसे भैसाखंड

के महादेव कहते हैं। ऐसा कहा जाता है कि यह स्थान राजा कर्णकी बसाई हुई नई बस्ती के अतिसमीप था। संस्कृत भाषामें बिल शब्दका अर्थ गुफा होता है यथा 'कुहरं सुषिरं बिलम्' अमर कोश. तथा हरका अर्थ महादेव होता है। सम्भवतः भैसाखंडके महादेव अति निकटवर्ती होनेके कारण प्रचलित प्रथाके अनुसार इस नगरीका नाम देववाची बिलहरी रख दिया गया हो। क्योंकि इसके जीर्णोद्धार-कर्ता राजा कर्ण बड़े धर्मपरायण समझे जाते हैं। लोगोंका कथन है कि राजा कर्णने इस नगरीको २४ मीलके घेरेमें बसाया था और भैसाखंडके महादेव नगरीके मध्यमें थे.

राजा कर्ण कलचुरी वंशके थे। ये चेदिराज राजा गांगेयदेवके पुत्र थे। इनने सन् १०४० से १०८० तक राज्य किया। ये बड़े तेजस्वी, उदार, विद्यानुरागी तथा धर्मात्मा थे। उनके प्रताप एवं ऐश्वर्यकी प्रशंसा बहुत कुछ की जाती है व उनकी उदारताके विषयमें अब भी अनेक प्रकारकी कथाएं सर्व साधारणमें प्रचलित हैं। कहा जाता है कि बिलहरीके बसानेके पश्चात् राजा कर्ण वहां प्रतिदिन गरम तेलके कड़ाहमें कूदते थे। इस प्रकार देवीको प्रसन्न कर सवामन सुवर्ण प्राप्त करते थे व इस सुवर्णकी वर्षा प्रतिदिन किया करते थे। देवीका स्थान व कड़ाहके निशान मौके पर अभी भी बताए जाते हैं। इस कथासे यह अवश्य भासित होता है कि राजा कर्ण लोगोंको द्रव्यकी सहायता देकर वहाँ बसाते थे और उद्यममें लगाते थे.

बिलहरीके दक्षिणमें बहोड़ा नामक एक छोटासा नाला है। उसके विषयमें भी कहा जाता है कि राजा कर्णने भोजनसामग्रीके साथ जो भात तैयार करवाया था उसके मांड(मण्ड)से यह नाला बह गया है। लेखकके पास जो प्राचीन बिलहरीके बाबत हस्तलिखित नोट है उनमें उजियार कवि-रचित एक पद्य भी इस नालेकी प्रशंसामें उद्धृत है.

साऊ अठहत्तरमें जलकी त्रास भई
सूखे सर कूप मरजाद सब छोड़ा है।
शहर और गांवई गांव सरतानजीके बसे
(तिनको) आराम और दुखित गांव गौड़ा है।
लहर लहर होने लागे पंछन जीव
जन्तु कई २ रात्रो सिरियोंने मूब तोड़ा है।
कहै उजियार अस प्रकटो बिलहरीमें
गीषमकी रैन रोज बारत बहोड़ा है।

ऐसा प्रसिद्ध है कि गर्मीके दिनोंमें जब पानी सब जगह सूख जाता है तब इसमें चार पांच हाथ बढ़ जाता है तथा किनारेके पत्थर डूब जाते हैं। इससे यह प्रकट होता है कि जब अन्य स्थानोंमें पानी सूख जाता है तब राजा कर्णके बनाए हुए

किन्तु यह प्रभाव रहता है। कदाचित् यहां झिरने अच्छे है। बिलहरी लगभग २ मील के
री पर इसी नालेके समीप ५ कुंड है जो गयाकुंडके नामसे प्रसिद्ध है। लोगोंका कथन है
गयाजीसे झिरनोंके द्वारा यहां जल आया करता है व कई एक दन्तकथाएं कहते है।
लहरीमें जमीन खोदने पर खुदे हुए पत्थर तथा मूर्तियां मिलती है। जिनके विषयमें
हा जाता है कि राजा कर्णने बिलहरी उलट दी थी जिससे पुरानी आबादी नीचे
ब गई। और भी यहां एक दिशामें बाजा बजानेसे ऐसा प्रतीत होता था कि दूसरी
शामें बाजे बजा रहे है (निकटवर्ती चट्टानों तथा टेकडियोंके कारण प्रतिध्वनि होनेसे
सा मालूम होता है).

उपरोक्त बातोंसे यही पाया जाता है कि राजा कर्णने पुरानी पुष्पावती नगरीका
। कि उस समय नष्टप्राय हो चुकी थी, पुनः जीर्णोद्धार किया। उनने वहां उत्तम
नीका प्रबंध किया तथा सज्जनोंको वहां आकर निवास करनेके लिये अनेक प्रकारसे
न धान्य वितरण किया। अत एव वहां कई एक प्रकारके गुणवान् लोग आकर
स गये। प्राचीन तथा अर्वाचीन अनेक कवियोंने राजा कर्णकी स्तुतिमें कविताएं की
जैसा कि हमारे सम्मेलनके सभापति माननीय के. पी. जायसवाल साहबने हाल ही
बिहार प्रान्तीय हिन्दी साहित्य सम्मेलनके ११ वें अधिवेशनके सभापति होते हुए
हा थाः–

ग्यारहवी शताब्दीके अन्तमें राजा कीर्तिवर्म्मनूने राजा कर्णको हराया और
लहरी उनके हाथमें चली गई. बारहवीं शताब्दीके आरम्भमें जब गोविन्दचंद्र
नौजके राजा हुए तो यह नगरी (बिलहरी) उनके राज्यमें सम्मिलित हो गई.

राजा कर्णने जो उन्नतिके साधन उत्पन्न कर दिये थे उनके द्वारा क्रमशः
स नगरीकी उन्नति होती ही गई। साहित्य, संगीत और कलाओंसे इसने बहुत
ख्याति प्राप्त की। ऐसे वातावरणमे थोड़े ही कालमें अर्थात् १२ वी शताब्दीके आदिमें
हां अतिसुन्दर गुणवान् तथा संगीत और वाद्यकलामें अतिशय निपुण माधवानल
मक एक ब्राह्मणने जन्म लिया। इनके पिताका नाम शंकरदास था वे गोविन्दचंद्र
जाके पुरोहित थे। छोटी ही अवस्थामें ही माधवने व्याकरण, ज्योतिष, संगीत आदि
द्याओंमें पूर्णता प्राप्त करली। ये नित्य प्रति राजा गोविन्दचंद्रके दरबारमें जाया करते
। इनके वीणावादनकी कुशलताके विषयमें कथा है कि एक समय एक ब्राह्मणी
पने पतिको भोजन करा रही थी उसी समय माधवानलकी वीणाकी तान उसके
र्ण–गोचर हुई और वह बेसुध हो गई। ब्राह्मणने राजाको यह वृत्तान्त सुनाया
र उन्हे पुष्पावती नगरी(बिलहरी)से निर्वासित करा दिया.

वहांसे चल कर माधवानल, राजा कामसेनकी कामावतीमें पहुंचे। इसका पता
रगढ राज्यके अन्तर्गत डोंगरगढ नगरके समीप जो बिलहरीसे लगभग २०० मील

है [illegible] है। सम्भवतः डोंगरगढ़ ही प्राचीन कामावती नगरी है। उसी नगरीमें कामकंदला नामकी अतिरूपवती एवं संगीत विद्यामें पारंगत एक गंधर्व कन्या रहती थी। एकदिन समय था कि राजदरबार भरा हुआ था। कामकंदला अपने मधुर संगीत एवं नृत्यकलासे सबके मन मुग्ध कर रही थी। ठीक उसी समय माधवानल भी राज-महलकी ड्योढी पर पहुंचे किन्तु दरबार—भवनमें उन्हें प्रवेश न मिला। तब [illegible] ताल—भंग करते ही उनने बाहरसे कामकंदलाकी सजाव तथा बाजे बजानेवालोंकी [illegible]—[illegible] विषयमें द्वारपालसे कह दिया कि वेश्याके घुंघरूमेंसे अमुक स्थानका एक दाना निकल गया है और बाजा बजानेवाले आदमियोंमेंसे एकको अंगूठा नहीं है। द्वारपालने यह सब बातें राजाको बतलाई तो देखनेसे ही मालूम हुआ। राजाने प्रसन्न हो कर माधवानलको दरबारमें बुलाया और उनका सत्कार करके उन्हें एक मौक्तिक हार उपहारमें दिया। माधवानल बड़े गुणग्राही थे। उन्होंने कामकंदलाके संगीतपर मुग्ध हो कर वह माला उसे दे दी। वह भी इनके रूप और गुणोंपर अति-शय मुग्ध हो गई। यह देख राजा कामसेन माधवानलसे रुष्ट हो गये। और उन्हें अपनी राजधानीसे निकलवा दिया। तब माधवानलने राजा विक्रमादित्यकी राजधानी उज्जैनकी शरण ली।

राजा विक्रमादित्य बड़े गुणवान और उदारचित्त थे। वे सबको सुखी रखनेके लिये यथासाध्य प्रयत्न करते थे।

माधवानल, राजा विक्रमादित्यके शिवालयमें गए और उनने दीवाल पर कुछ लिखकर अपने कष्ट—निवारणके लिये राजासे प्रार्थना की। उनके चले जाने पर राजा शिवपूजनके निमित्त वहां गए। माधवानलके लेखको देखकर उन्हें विशेष चिन्ता हुई। राजभवनमें आकर उनने माधवानलका पता लगवाया तथा उन्हें बुलाकर उनका सत्कार किया और पूछा कि तुम्हें किस बातका कष्ट है और तुम क्या चाहते हो। माधवानलने उत्तर दिया कि राजा कामसेनके यहां कामवती नगरीमें कामकन्दला नामक एक गंधर्वणी है मैं उसीको प्राप्त करना चाहता हूं। राजा विक्रमादित्यने माधवानलको बहुतेरा समझाया परन्तु उसने एक न सुनी अन्तमें वचनबद्ध होनेके कारण राजा विक्रमादित्यने राजा कामसेनको पत्र लिखकर कामकन्दलाको बुलवाया। जब राजा कामसेनने कामकन्दलाको नहीं भेजा तब राजा विक्रमादित्यने कामवती नगरीपर चढ़ाई कर दी और कामसेनको पराजित कर कामकन्दलाको ले आए। एवं कामकन्दलाको उनने माधवानलको दे दिया। माधवानलको [illegible] भी राजा विक्रमादित्यने [illegible]के राजा गोविन्दचन्द्रसे करा दिया। माधवानल कामकन्दलासहित कभी [illegible]में और कभी कामवती नगरी डोंगरगढ़में सुखपूर्वक रहने लगे।

[illegible]ओंने कामकन्दलाको इंद्रकी अप्सराका अवतार और माधवानलको [illegible] [illegible] कामदेवका अवतार लिखा है। व यह भी लिखा है कि वह मेल दोनों-का [illegible] [illegible] तथा देवताओंके चलते हुआ था।

कामकन्दलाका भवन बिलहरीमें उजाड़ दशामें अभी भी देखा जाता है व
सकी मूर्ति (लिंग) एक बड़े आकारकी उस खंडहरके भीतर है। इस मकानके
पर व खम्भे इत्यादि पुरानी शिल्पकारीका नमूना दरसाते हैं। एक ऐसा पत्थर
रोक गयाकुंडके घाटपर उसका जीर्णोद्धार करते समय लगाया गया है। यह पत्थर
मकन्दलाके भवनका मालूम होता है। इसपर मरम्मतकी तिथि पूस बदी ७ सम्वत्
१९९ खुदी है उससे भी कामकन्दलाके भवनकी वयका कुछ आधार मिलता है।

ऊपर कहा जा चुका है कि माधवानलका मुख्य स्थान पुष्पावती नगरी अर्थात्
लहरी था तथा कामकन्दलाका निवासस्थान वर्तमान खैरगढ़ रियासत (Eastern-
ency) के डोंगरगढ़ नामक नगरके समीप स्थित कामसेनपुरी (कामवती)
री था. डोंगरगढ़के पहाड़पर एक महल नष्टप्राय जो कामकन्दलाके महलके नामसे
सिद्ध है अति जीर्ण अवस्थामें अब भी स्थित है। इसी नामके दूसरे महलका ध्वंसाव-
। जैसा उपर लिखा गया है, बिलहरीमें भी है। डोंगरगढ़ बिलहरीसे लगभग २००
ड है। बिलहरीके राजा मकरध्वजके समयके बीजकसे परिज्ञात होता है कि बिलहरी
र डोंगरगढ़के बीचमें आवागमनका सिलसिला था। नाटककारोंने लिखा है कि
नव १०० कोस चलकर बिलहरीसे कामसेनपुरीको दस दिनमें पहुंचा। इन सब
तोंसे पाया जाता है कि डोंगरगढ़ कामवती नगरीके नामसे प्रसिद्ध था और माधवा-
र यहांसे अपनी प्रियतमा कामकन्दलाके साथ बिलहरी गए। यह दोनों स्थान
हासिक महत्त्वके हैं।

बिलहरीके प्राचीन गौरवके विषयमें कोई शंका नहीं हो सकती, परंतु अब
ं कांसे प तलके मामूली बरतनोंके और पानके अतिरिक्त कोई उल्लेखनीय वस्तु न
ती है न उत्पन्न होती है। यहां के सफेद पानोंका वर्णन आईन अकबरीमें पाया
ता है। आज कल सफेद पान तो नहीं होते किन्तु एक तरहका स्वादिष्ट पान जो
लहरी पानके नामसे कहा जाता है उपजता है यह पान अन्यत्र भी उत्पन्न होता है।
ा लक्ष्मणसेनको धन्यवाद है कि जिनने ऐसा बड़ा तालाब अपने किलेके पास
वाया जो अबतक अच्छी दशामें है तथा जिसके कारण यहांकी प्राचीन उपज
ी तक कायम है। यह विभाग सन् १८२० के पश्चात् २ बार पश्चिमोत्तर प्रान्त
N. W. P.) में सम्मिलित किया गया तथा दो बार वहांसे पृथक् किया गया
। यह परिवर्तन भी इसकी उन्नतिमें बाधाका कारण हो सका है ! । बिलहरी अब
धारण कस्बा रह गया है, परंतु माधवानल कामकन्दलाके स्मारक पर इतना अवश्य
ेव कहा जावेगा कि उनका स्थान भारतके केन्द्रपर है।

Urdu Section.

President:

MOULVI ABDUL HAQ.

CONTENTS.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

By Moulvi Abdul Haq.

(*Hyderabad, Deccan.*)

حضرات !

سارے ہندوستان میں زبانوں کا ایک نسا جال پھیلا ہوا ہے - دنیا کے کسی ملک میں اتنی زبانیں نہیں بولی جاتیں جتنی ہمارے دیس میں - اُتر والا دکھن میں اور دکھن پورب اور پچھم میں ایسا ہی اجنبی ہے جیسا کوئی ہندوستانی افریقہ کے کسی خطے میں - ندرت کے خیال سے اگر کوئی اس پر فخر کرے تو شاید بے جا نہو ' لیکن حقیقت یہ ہے کہ موجودہ حالات میں یہ بھی ملک کی ایک بڑی بدنصیبی ہے - قومی اتحاد کے مستحکم کرنے اور قوموں کے بنانے میں زبان کا بڑا حصہ ہے - جہاں زبانیں اس کثرت سے ہوں جتنی یہاں ہیں ' وہاں خیالات کے اشاعت اور باہمی اتحاد میں ضرور مشکل پیش آتی ہے ' اور یہ مشکل اس وقت ہمارے سامنے بھی ہے - لیکن اس افراتفری میں امید کی ایک جھلکی اس میں نظر آتی ہے کہ انھیں زبان میں ایک ایسی بھی ہے جو ملک کے مختلف حصوں میں بولی جاتی اور اکثر حصوں میں سمجھی جاتی ہے اور اس کے بولنے والوں کے تعداد بھی اس قدر کثیر ہے کہ ہندوستان کی کسی اور زبان کو نصیب نہیں - اسے اب آپ اردو کہیئے یا ہندوستانی - زبان کا نہ کوئی مذہب ہوتا ہے اور نہ اس کی کوئی قوم اور ذات ہوتی ہے - اردو کے سرشت اور ساخت اس قسم کی ہے اور اس کے نشو ونما اس ڈھنگ سے ہوئی ہے کہ وہ بلا لحاظ قوم و ملت تقریباً سارے ہندوستان کی زبان ہے یا ہو سکتی ہے —

یوں تو دنیا کی کوئی زبان ایسی نہیں جس میں غیر زبانوں کے لفظ نہ پائے جاتے ہوں کیونکہ کوئی قوم دنیا میں بالکل الگ تھلگ نہیں رہ سکتی - دوسری قوموں کے میل جول سے لا محالہ کچھ نہ کچھ لفظ ان کے زبان کے آہی جاتے ہیں - لیکن قطع نظر اس کے بعض زبانیں ایسی ہیں جو دوسری زبانوں کے اثر اور میل سے کھچڑی بن گئی ہیں - یہ مخلوط زبانیں کہلاتی ہیں - ایک زمانے تک علماے لسانیات کو مخلوط زبانوں کے وجود سے انکار رہا لیکن مابعد کی تحقیقات نے قطعی طور سے ثابت کر دیا ہے کہ ایسی زبانیں موجود ہیں - انہیں میں ہماری زبان اردو کا شمار ہے - خود ریختہ کا لفظ جو پہلے اردو کا معروف نام تھا اس خیال کے تائید کرتا ہے -

مخلوط زبان کے وجود میں آنے کے متعدد اسباب ہوتے ہیں منجملہ ان کے ایک کشور کشائی ہے ' یعنے ایک ملک یا قوم کا دوسرے ملک یا قوم کو فتح کرنا - ہماری مخلوط زبان کا ابتدائی تعلق اسی سے ہے - اس کی بھی دو صورتیں ہیں - ایک تو جیسے آریاؤں کا هندوستان میں آنا کہ وہ بالکل یہاں منتقل ہوگئے یا ان کے مختلف قبائل فاتح کی حیثیت سے آگے پیچھے مسلسل طور پر یہاں آکر بس گئے - دیسیوں کو یا تو مار بھگا یا ' غلام بنا لیا یا اپنے میں جذب کر لیا - ملک کے بڑے حصے پر انہیں کی زبان چھا گئی اور بعد میں اس سے بگڑ بگڑا کر یا خلط ملط ہو کر دوسری پراکرتیں پیدا ہوگئیں - یا جیسے اهل یورپ کا امریکہ یا آسٹریلیا پر مسلط ہو جانا ' جہاں انہیں کی زبان کا بول بالا ہے اور سب ایک ہے زبان بولتے اور پڑھتے لکھتے ہیں - دوسری صورت مسلمانوں کی آمد کی ہے ' وہ بھی آریاؤں کے طرح فاتح کی حیثیت سے آئے - ان کی تعداد اهل ملک کے مقابلے میں بہت کم تھی - وہ فارسی بولتے تھے اور اهل ملک هندی - ان حالت میں جیسا کہ دستور ہے کاروباری ' ملکی اور معاشرتی ضرورت سے مسلمان بول چال میں هندی الفاظ استعمال کرنے کی کوشش کرتے تھے اور هندو فارسی الفاظ - کچھ عرصے تک تو مسلمانوں کا تعلق اپنے اصلی ملک سے رہا لیکن رفتہ رفتہ یہ تعلق کم ہوتا گیا اور وہ یہیں کے ہوگئے اس تعلق کے استقلال کے ساتھ اس زبان کو بھی استقلال

ہوگیا - اگرچہ سرکاری درباری زبان فارسی تھی اور مسلمانوں کی تعلیمی زبان بھی یہی تھی لیکن نوکر چاکروں، بیوی بچوں اور ملک کے دوسرے لوگوں سے جو اس زبان سے واقف نہ تھے انہیں ٹوٹی پھوٹی ہندی میں باتیں کرنی پڑتی تھیں - ادھر اس ملک کی ایک بڑی تعداد ایسی تھی جس کا تعلق دفاتر اور دربار اور امرا وغیرہ سے تھا اور بہت سے ایسے تھے جو حلقۂ اسلام میں آگئے تھے وہ سب فارسی جانتے اور بولتے تھے لیکن اصل زبان ان سب کی ہندی ہی تھی - اس لئے اس مخلوط زبان کو بہت زیادہ تقویت پہنچتی اور دن بدن فروغ ہوتا گیا - ایک عالم لسانیات * کا قول ہے اور بہت صحیح ہے کہ " غیر زبان جوکسی قوم کو سیکھنی پڑتی ہے مخلوط نہیں بنتی بلکہ اس کی اپنی زبان غیر زبان کے اثر سے مخلوط بن جاتی ہے " بعینہ یہی حال مسلمانوں کے آنے کے بعد اس ملک میں ہوا - فارسی مخلوط نہیں ہوئی بلکہ ہندی فارسی سے مخلوط ہوکر ایک نئی زبان بن گئی اور ہندی میں فارسی مخلوط کرنے والے اہل ہند تھے -

جب کبھی ہم غیر زبان کے سیکھنے یا بولنے کی کوشش کرتے ہیں تو اس بات کا خیال رکھتے ہیں کہ ہماری اپنی زبان کا کوئی لفظ نہ آنے پائے - ہماری کوشش ہمیشہ یہ ہوتی ہے کہ جہاں تک ممکن ہو ہم اس زبان (یعنی غیر زبان) کو صحیح اور فصیح بولیں اور اس بات کی سخت احتیاط کرتے ہیں کہ ہماری گفتگو میں ہماری زبان کے الفاظ یا طرز ادا کا شائبہ نہ پایا جائے - مگر غیر زبان کے بولنے میں ہم جس بات سے اس قدر پرہیز کرتے ہیں، اس کا ہم اپنی زبان میں خیال نہیں کرتے - مثلاً انگریزی کا آج کل ہمارے ہاں عام رواج ہے - جب کوئی ہندوستانی انگریزی بولتا ہے تو اپنی گفتگو میں حتی الامکان کبھی اپنی زبان کا لفظ نہیں آنے دیتا اور جہاں تک ہوسکتا ہے اہل زبان کی تقلید کرتا ہے اور یہی نہیں بلکہ انگریزی لب ولہجہ کی نقل اتارنے کی کوشش کرتا ہے - برخلاف اس کے اپنی زبان میں گفتگو کرتے وقت بیسیوں انگریزی لفظ بلا تکلف استعمال

* Windisch.

کرجاتا ہے - یا تو اس سے اپنی مشیخت اور علمی فضیلت جتانی مقصود ہوتی ہے یا پھر وہ ناواقفیت یا کاہلی کی وجہ سے ایسا کرتا ہے - کاہلی ان معنوں میں کہ اُسے اتنی توفیق نہیں ہوتی کہ اپنی زبان میں ان مترادف الفاظ تلاش کرے - اس میں وہ کسی قدر مجبور بھی ہے - فاتح قوم کی زبان کے مطالعہ، لکھنے، بولنے اور سننے سے معمولی اور عام ضرورت کے لفظ بھی اس کی زبان پر اس طرح چڑھ جاتے ہیں کہ بلا ارادہ بھی اپنی زبان میں انہیں بول جاتا ہے - اس کے علاوہ ایک وجہ اور بھی ہے - وہ بعض حالات میں غیر زبان (یعنے فاتح قوم کی زبان) کے خاص الفاظ اس لیے بھی استعمال کرتا ہے کہ اس کے خیال میں (اور یہ ایک حد تک صحیح بھی ہے) ان لفظوں کے استعمال سے وہ اپنا مفہوم زیادہ خوبی اور قوت کے ساتھ سامعین کے دل نشین کرسکتا ہے - حالانکہ اسے علم ہے کہ ان الفاظ کے مترادف اس کی زبان میں موجود ہیں مگر وہ انہیں استعمال نہیں کرتا، اس لئے کہ وہ جانتا ہے کہ ان سے کلام میں وہ زور پیدا نہیں ہوتا - آپ کو یاد ہوگا کہ تیس چالیس برس پہلے سویلزیشن، ریفارم، پولٹیکل، سیلف ریسپکٹ وغیرہ وغیرہ الفاظ ہماری زبان میں عام تھے؛ اُن کے استعمال کرنے والے سب کے سب ان کے مترادف الفاظ سے نا واقف نہ تھے لیکن وہ جانتے تھے کہ اپنے الفاظ سے پورا مفہوم جو وہ چاہتے ہیں اور جو ان انگریزی الفاظ میں موجود ہے، ادا نہ ہوگا - اب جو ہم ان کی جگہ اپنے لفظ استعمال کرنے لگے تو رفتہ رفتہ ان میں بھی وہی کس بل پیدا ہوگیا - ان سب باتوں سے غیر زبان (یا فاتح قوم کی زبان) کی فضیلت ثابت ہوتی ہے - فضیلت بھی کئی قسم کی ہوتی ہے لیکن طوالت کے خوف سے میں اس موضوع پر یہاں بحث کروں گا —

جو عام اصول میں نے ابھی بیان کیا ہے وہ ہندوستان کے اسلامی عہد میں حرف بحرف عمل میں آیا - ملکی تسلط کے وقت فاتح قوم کی زبان فارسی تھی - امرا اور بادشاہ، دربار اور دفاتر میں رسائی کا ایک بڑا ذریعہ یہ زبان بھی تھی - جیسا کہ ہونا چاہئے تھا اور ہوتا آیا ہے، ہندوؤں نے فارسی سیکھنی شروع کی اور ایسی سیکھی کہ استاد ہوگئے اور ان کا کلام یہاں تک مقبول ہوا کہ

درس میں داخل ہوگیا - فارسی میں ہند و تعلیم یافتہ طبقہ کی
ترقی نہایت حیرت انگیز اور قابل تعریف ہے - فارسی کا جاننا حصول
علم اور ضروریات زمانہ ہی کی خاطر نہ تھا بلکہ فارسی ' تہذیب
و شائستگی کی علامت سمجھی جانے لگی تھی - اور جیسا کہ دستور
ہے ' فیشن میں داخل ہوگئی تھی - متواتر مطالعہ ' انشا و شعر و سخن
کی مشق ' سرکاری اور دفتری نوشت و خواند کی وجہ سے اہل
ملک کی طبائع میں ایسی رچ گئی تھی کہ انہوں نے فارسی لفظ
ملکی زبان میں دھڑا دھڑ داخل کرنے شروع کردیے - ایسے الفاظ ک
داخل ہونا جو یہاں کے لیے نئے تھے یا ملکی زبانوں میں ان کے ہم
معنی دستیاب نہیں ہوسکتے تھے ' کچھ بیجا نہ تھا لیکن جب غیر
زبان کے الفاظ کا استعمال عادت اور فیشن میں داخل ہو جاتا ہے ت
پھر اس کی روک تھام مشکل ہو جاتی ہے اور نتیجہ یہ ہوتا ہے ک
روز مرہ کی ضروریات کے ایسے لفظ بھی جن کے ہم معنی اپنی
زبان میں پہلے سے موجود ہوتے ہیں یا ان کے مفہوم اپنی زبان کے
ذریعہ ذرا سے رد و بدل یا کسی اور طریقے سے باسانی ادا ہوسکتے
ہیں ' زبان میں داخل ہو جاتے ہیں - گو یہ سلسلہ ایک لحاظ سے
نا مناسب ہو ' مگر اس سے زبان میں وسعت اور شوکت پیدا ہ
جاتی ہے اور ادیب کے لیے ایک وسیع اور زرخیز میدان نکل آتا ہے
جس میں اسے گونا گوں خیالات کے اظہار اور تخیل کی جولانی
موقع ملتا ہے - مترادفات میں سے موقع و محل کے لحاظ سے ٹھیک
لفظ کا انتخاب ادیب کا معمولی کام نہیں اور یہ اسی وقت ممکن
ہے جب کہ خیالات کی مختلف باریکیوں اور معانی کی نزاکتوں -
لیے ایک ہی مفہوم کے مختلف پہلوؤں کے واسطے متعدد الفاظ موجو
ہوں - اس میں شک نہیں کہ اہل ملک کی بدولت فارسی عربی
الفاظ بے ضرورت بھی داخل ہوگئے مگر اس سے ہماری زبان -
سرمایے میں بہت بڑا اضافہ ہوگیا اور اس اختلاط نے اردو میں وسعت
شوکت اور قوت پیدا کردی ہے - ہندی الفاظ دل نشینی اور اثر
لیے اور فارسی عربی الفاظ شان و شوکت اور خاص خاص مضامین
اور خیالات کے اظہار کے لیے اپنے اپنے موقع پر بڑا کام دیتے ہیں —

انگریز بھی اس ملک کے فاتح ہیں اور ان کی زبان کا اثر بھی ہماری زبانوں پر بہت ہوا ہے اور ہو رہا ہے لیکن وہ ہمیشہ ہم سے الگ رہے اور آخر تک وہ فاتح اور ہم مفتوح بنے رہے - مسلمان بھی فاتح تھے لیکن تھوڑے ہی عرصے کے بعد وہ یہیں کے ہوگئے اور ان کے بے تکلف میل جول اور معاشرت ، ادب اور حکومت کی باہمی شرکت کی وجہ سے ان کی زبان نے ملکی زبان پر یہ اثر ڈالا کہ دونوں کے اختلاط سے ایک نئی زبان پیدا ہوگئی جو ان دونوں قوموں کے اتحاد و تہذیب کی بے نظیر یادگار ہے —

جب اردو نے اپنی جگہ بنالی اور بول چال سے نکل کر ادب میں قدم رکھا تو ابتدا ، جیسا کہ اکثر زبانوں کی ہوتی ہے ، شعر و سخن سے ہوئی اور اس وقت الفاظ ہی نہیں بلکہ فارسی ترکیبیں انداز بیان ، تشبیہات و استعارات اور تلمیحات یہاں تک کہ بعض صرفی نحوی صورتیں بھی خود بخود اس میں منتقل ہوگئیں - اس زمانے میں ہمارے اکثر شعرا فارسی اردو دونوں زبانوں میں شعر کہتے تھے ، اس میں ہندو مسلمان دونوں شریک تھے - رفتہ رفتہ فارسی کا زور کم ہوتا گیا اور اردو کو فروغ ہونا شروع ہوا - مگر اس کی ساخت وہی رہی جو قائم ہو چکی تھی - جس طرح ہندوؤں نے فارسی میں امتیاز حاصل کیا تھا اسی طرح انھوں نے اردو میں بھی نام پیدا کیا جس کی شہادتوں سے ہمارا علم ادب بھرا پڑا ہے —

غرض یہ کہ یہ زبان اسی ملک میں بنی اور اسی ملک والوں نے بنائی اور انھیں کی عطا کی ہوئی ہے - اس میں شک نہیں کہ مسلمان بھی ان کے ساجھی ہیں لیکن شریک غالب ہندو ہی ہیں - اگر اس میں فارسی عربی الفاظ اور فارسی ترکیبوں کی کثرت پائی جاتی ہے تو اس بدعت کے مرتکب بھی زیادہ تر ہندو ہی ہوئے ہیں - اور اب جو یہ اعتراض کیا جاتا ہے کہ اردو میں عربی فارسی الفاظ اور ترکیبیں بکثرت داخل کی جارہی ہیں تو (گستاخی معاف!) اس کا الزام بھی ہندی والوں ہی کے سر ہے - وہ اگر بحیثیت جماعت اس سے کنارہ کشی کر لیتے

تو یہ نوبت نہ آتی اور ان کی شرکت روک تھام کا کام دیتی اور وہی توازن قائم رہتا جو اس سے پہلے تھا —

ایک وجہ اور بھی معلوم ہوتی ہے ۔ جب تک دلی اُردو کا مرکز رہی ہندی کے دل کش الفاظ اس میں برابر داخل ہوتے رہے اور اب تک دلی کے ادیبوں نے اس کی پابندی کی ہے ۔ چنانچہ زمانۂ حال کے مصنفین خصوصاً آزاد، حالی، ذکاءاللہ، نذیر احمد، نیز مرزا داغ نے سینکڑوں ہزاروں ہندی لفظ جو صرف زبانوں پر تھے اور مبتذل سمجھے جاتے تھے اور جنھیں ادب میں بار نہیں ملتا تھا، اس خوبی سے اپنے کلام میں استعمال کیے ہیں کہ خاصے متین اور سنجیدہ معلوم ہوتے ہیں ۔ جب یہ زبان دوسرے صوبوں اور علاقوں میں پہنچی تو وہ اس سے محروم ہوگئی اور خصوصاً انگریزی تعلیم کے اثر سے زبان میں جب نئے نئے خیالات آنے شروع ہوئے تو انھوں نے مجبوراً فارسی عربی الفاظ سے کام لینا شروع کیا پھر اکثر مترجموں نے جو انگریزی تعلیم یافتہ تھے اور اپنی زبان پر پوری قدرت نہ رکھتے تھے، فارسی عربی الفاظ کے سوا انگریزی الفاظ کا بھی اضافہ کیا ۔ (میں اس میں مسلمانوں کو بھی بری الذمہ نہیں سمجھتا لیکن) اگر ہندی والے پہلے کی طرح شریک رہتے تو یہ افراط تفریط نہونے پاتی ۔ ان کی کنارہ کشی نے درحقیقت اردو زبان کو نقصان پہنچایا ہے ۔ ہندو برابر کے دعویدار ہیں بلکہ اس سے بھی کچھ بڑھ کر؛ یہ انہیں کی زبان ہے، اس کی ترقی و اشاعت ان پر ایسی ہی لازم ہے جیسی اوروں پر جو اسے اپنی زبان خیال کرتے ہیں ۔ اب صرف ایک صورت ہو سکتی ہے کہ ایک ایسی جامع اور مبسوط لغات مرتب کی جائے جس میں ہر قسم کے الفاظ جو اردو ادب اور اردو زبان میں رائج ہیں، خاص اصول کے تحت جمع کیے جائیں اور ان کے استعمال مثالوں کے ساتھ بتائے جائیں تاکہ پڑھنے والے کو معلوم ہو کہ اس خزانے میں کیسے کیسے انمول موتی موجود ہیں جو ہماری غفلت سے بیکار پڑے ہوئے ہیں اور جن کو کام میں لانے سے زبان کی رونق ہی نہیں بلکہ قوت و وقعت بھی بڑھے گی ۔ اور اسی پر بس نہ کیا جائے بلکہ اس نوعیت کی متعدد اور بکثرت کتابیں تالیف کی جائیں تاکہ

زبان ملک کے ہر کونے میں پہنچ جائے اور ہر شخص اس کے صحیح استعمال پر قادر ہو جائے۔

حضرات! آج کل اخباروں، تقریروں اور تحریروں میں یہ جملہ عام طور پر سننے اور پڑھنے میں آتا ہے کہ ہندی اردو دونوں ایک ہیں صرف رسم الخط کا فرق ہے۔ اس کے کہنے والے معمولی لوگ نہیں بلکہ بڑے بڑے قابل، ذمہ دار اور واجب الاحترام بزرگوں نے بھی اس کا اعادہ فرمایا ہے کیا یہ قول حقیقت پر مبنی ہے؟ حقیقت پر پردہ ڈالنا یا جانتے ہوئے خاموش رہنا بھی اخلاقی جرم ہے۔ اس لئے اگر میں اظہار حقیقت پر مجبور ہوں تو مجھے معاف فرمایا جائے گا۔ میں اس قول کے قائلین کو الزام نہیں دیتا ممکن ہے کہ ان کے ذہن میں کوئی ایسی بات ہو جس کی بنا پر وہ اسے حقیقت سمجھتے ہوں جس کا ہمیں علم نہیں، لیکن موجودہ حالت میں میں اس کا قائل نہیں۔ یہ قول یا تو سیاسی مصالح پر مبنی ہے یا ناواقفیت پر۔ جو دونوں زبانوں سے واقف ہیں وہ جانتے ہیں کہ یہ ایک نہیں۔ اردو کا اخبار یا رسالہ کسی ہندی داں کے سامنے پڑھئے یا ہندی کا اخبار یا رسالہ کسی اردو داں کو سنائیے اور پھر دیکھئے کہ یہ دو زبانیں ایک ہیں۔ ایک زمانہ تھا کہ یہ دونوں ایک ہو سکتی تھیں۔ لیکن اب روز بروز ان میں اس قدر بُعد پیدا ہوتا جاتا ہے کہ ان کا ایک جگہ لانا اور ایک کر دینا اختیار سے باہر ہو گیا ہے اس بُعد کو کم کرنے کے لئے بارہا یہ کہا جاتا ہے کہ اردو والے عربی فارسی کے ثقیل الفاظ سے اور ہندی والے اسی قسم کے سنسکرت الفاظ سے احتراز کریں۔ یہ مشورہ بہت معقول ہے لیکن عمل کرنا دشوار ہے۔ خود مشورہ دینے والے ہی عامل نہیں تو اوروں سے کیا توقع ہو سکتی ہے۔ انصاف سے دیکھئے تو ہم نہ اردو والوں کو الزام دے سکتے ہیں نہ ہندی والوں کو۔ مغربی تعلیم اور جدید حالات و تغیرات کے رو میں ہر آن نئے نئے خیالات اور اسلوب بیان بہے چلے آرہے ہیں آخر ہم ان کو اپنی زبان میں کیوں کر ادا کریں، ہندی والا مجبور ہے کہ سنسکرت کے کوش آلٹے پالٹے اور اردو والا عربی فارسی لغات۔ اس میں دونوں مجبور ہیں اور کوئی چارہ نہیں۔ الزام تو اس وقت

جاتا کہ ہم نے ان کے لئے کوئی سہولت پیدا کی ہوتی اور وہ اس
پر عمل نہ کرتے دونو ایک حمام میں ننگے نہا رہے ہیں ایک کو
دوسرے پر ہنسنے کا کوئی موقع نہیں - رہی "ہندوستانی"
جس کا آج کل بہت غلغلہ ہے اور جس کا ذکر ہمیر سیاسی اور
معاشرتی تقریروں اور بسا اوقات تحریروں میں کیا جاتا ہے' وہ
کیا ہے؟ کہاں ہے؟ اس کے لکھنے والے کون ہیں؟ اس کا تعین
کبھی کسی نے کیا ہے؟ اس کا وجود سوائے معمولی بول چال اور
کا روبار کے کہیں نہیں پایا جاتا - جب ہم ادبیات اور علم وفن کی
سرحد میں قدم رکھتے ہیں تو یہ نہ ہندی میں نظر آتی ہے نہ اردو
میں - معمولی بات چیت اور سوداسلف کی بولی ادبی اور علمی
زبان نہیں ہوسکتی خصوصاً جب وہ تحریر میں آکر جھٹ اپنا
روپ بدل دیتی ہے - ایک فریق کے ہاتھ پڑکر یہ ہندی ہو جاتی'
ہے اور دوسرے کے ہاں اردو - اصل یہ ہے کہ اس مسئلہ پر اس نظر سے
کسی نے غور ہی نہیں کیا اور اب تک کوی با قاعدہ اور متحدہ
کوشش کی گئی ہے کہ کیونکر اس فرق کو مٹایا جائے اور اس زبان
کو جسے ہم ہندوستانی کہتے ہیں کیونکر علم و ادب کے دربار میں
پہنچایا جائے - میری سمجھ میں ایک تدبیر آتی ہے اور میں
نے اس پر عمل بھی شروع کردیا ہے اور وہ یہ ہے کہ ہندی ادب میں
اب تک جتنے عربی فارسی (یا اردو) لفظ آئے ہیں یا ہندی
بولنے والوں کی زبان پر ہیں وہ سب جمع کیئے جائیں اور اسی
طرح اردو ادب میں جس قدر ہندی الفاظ استعمال ہوے ہیں یا اردو
بولنے والوں کی زبان پر ہیں وہ بھی اکٹھے کئے جائیں اور ان
سب کو ملا کر ایک لغات مرتب کی جاے - گویا یہ اردو ہندی
زبانوں کے مشترکہ الفاظ اور محاورے ہونگے - یہ کتاب ایک ایسی
جماعت کی خدمت میں پیش کی جاے جو دونوں فریقوں کے
نمائندے ہوں' وہ اس پر غور و بحث کریں اور اگر وہ اسے
مستند قرار دیں تو کتاب شایع کردی جاے - نیز یہ جماعت یا اس
کی مقرر کی ہوی کوئی مجلس اس امر کی مجاز کی جاے کہ
ہندی اردو زبانوں میں سے جن الفاظ کی ضرورت سمجھے اس
میں اضافہ کردے اور نئے خیال یا مفہوم کے لئے باہمی مشورہ سے

جدید الفاظ تجویز کرے اور ان کا اعلان مناسب طریقہ پر ملک میں کردیا جائے - اگرچہ اس طرح سے اب تک کوئی زبان نہیں بنی لیکن ہمارے ملک اور ہماری زبانوں کی حالت بالکل مختلف ہے - علاوہ اس کے یہ کیا ضرور ہے کہ جو بات اب تک نہیں ہوی وہ آیندہ بھی نہو - یہ زمانہ بدعت و جدت کا ہے اور اس میں اس قسم کی بدعتیں بالکل جائز اور مستحسن ہیں - اگر یہ صورت عمل میں آجائے تو کچھ تعجب نہیں کہ اہل علم اور ادیبوں کا ایک ایسا طبقہ پیدا ہوجائے جو اس مشترک زبان کو رواج دینے پر آمادہ ہوجائے اور اپنے قلم کے زور سے اس کی حیثیت منوالے - اگرچہ ادیب یا شاعر پر کسی کا بس نہیں چلتا اور کسی کا کیا وہ خود اپنے بس میں نہیں ہوتا ' تاہم یہ کوشش اُس کی بہت کچھ رہنمائی کرے گی ' اور کچھ نہیں تو کم سے کم اس فرق کے کم کرنے میں بہت کام دے گی جو روز بروز بڑھتا چلا جاتا ہے - اور اگر چند اخبار اور رسالے اس زبان میں نکالنے شروع کردئے جائیں تو ممکن ہے کہ اس کے رائج ہونے میں آسانی پیدا ہوجائے - اگر یہ صورت قابل عمل خیال نہ کی جائے تو پھر ان دونوں زبانو کو اپنے اپنے حال پر چھوڑ دیا جائے - باہمی رقابت اور مخالفت کی کوئی وجہ نہیں - ہندی کی اشاعت سے ہندی سیکھنے والے اردو سے اور اردو سیکھنے والے ہندی سے زیادہ قریب ہوجائیں گے ' کیونکہ ہندوستان کی کوئی دو زبانیں باہم اتنی قریب نہیں جتنی ہندی اردو - اسی کے ساتھ یہ بھی یاد رکھنا چاہئے کہ کوئی شخص اردو زبان کا اعلیٰ ادیب اور محقق نہیں ہوسکتا جب تک ہندی نہ جانے اور اسی طرح ہندی کے ادیب اور محقق ہونے کے لئے اردو کا جاننا لازم ہے - ان دو زبانوں کا بلا مبالغہ اور اصلی معنوں میں چولی دامن کا ساتھ ہے اور اس لئے ایک دوسرے کی مخالفت نا حاصل ہی نہیں بلکہ مضر ہے —

رہا رسم الخط کا مسئلہ ' تو اس کا حل بھی اسی وقت ممکن ہے جبکہ وہ صورت قابل عمل ہو جس کا ذکر میں نے ابھی کیا ہے - اور یہ مسئلہ کچھ ہندی اردو ہی سے مخصوص نہیں

بلکہ ہندوستان کی تمام زبانوں سے متعلق ہے - اگر یہ جھگڑا
چک جاے اور ہماری زبانوں کے حروف ایک ہو جائیں خواہ
وہ رومن ہی کیوں نہوں ' تو ہمیں ایک دوسرے کي زبان
سیکھنے میں بیحد سولت ہو جاے گی اور وہ ابتدای دشواری
جو آخر تک قائم رہتی ہے خود بخود اٹھہ جاے گی ' اور ہم
ایک دوسرے سے زیادہ قریب ہوجائیں گے - دوسرے کی زبان
سیکھنے سے خود ہماری زبان پر نیز ہمارے دلوں پر اثر پڑتا ہے
اور زبان کے ساتھہ زبان والوں کی طرف سے دلوں میں اُنس
ہمدردی پیدا ہو جاتی ہے - ایک زمانہ آئے گا جب یہ مسئلہ
اس قدر دشوار نہیں رہے گا جیسا کہ اب معلوم ہوتا ہے —

ماضی سے گزر کر ہمیں حال کی طرف دیکھنا چاھئے کہ اس
پچیس تیس سال میں ہماری زبان کا رخ کس جانب ہے - دور کے
ڈھول سہانے معلوم ہوتے ہیں - اکثر اوقات دور کی بھونڈی
چیزیں بھلی معلوم ہوتی ہیں - انسان کسی قدر قدامت پسند واقع
ہوا ہے ' گزشتہ میں اُسے وہ خوبیاں نظر آتی ہیں جو قریب ہونے
کي وجہ سے حال میں نہیں دکھائی دیتیں - لیکن حال سے غفلت
کرنا اپنے مستقبل سے غفلت کرنا ہے - یہ صحیح ہے کہ ہم میں اس
وقت سرسید ' آزاد ' نذیر احمد ' حالی اور شبلی جیسے انقلاب
انگیز مصنف نہیں ہیں ' لیکن کون کہہ سکتا ہے کہ انہیں غریب
مزدوروں میں سے جو قصر ادب کے لیے اینٹ چونا تیار کر رہے
ہیں ویسے ہی یا اُن سے بڑھ کر معمار پیدا نہیں ہوں گے - اور یہ
کیا ضرور ہے کہ حال کی رفتار اُسی کھنڈے کی ہو جو پہلے تھی -
ادب صناعی ہے ' صناعی میں (بر خلاف فطرت) اعادہ محال
ہے - کسی شاعر میں کتنا ہی سوز و گداز کیوں نہ ہو ' میر نہیں
ہو سکتا - کوئی کیسا ہی بلند فکر کیوں نہ ہو ' دوسرا غالب ہونا
ممکن نہیں - بعد کے ادیب کے لیے اس کے سوا چارہ نہیں کہ یا تو
اگلوں کی راہ پر پڑے ' جس میں سر سبز ہونا دشوار ہے یا اپنے
لیے نئی راہ نکالے - یہی وجہ ہے کہ ادب کی راہ ہمیشہ صاف
اور سیدھی نہیں ہوتی ' اس میں بہت سے پیچ و خم ہوتے ہیں -
اِسی لیے اس کے جانچنے کے لیے ہر کونے کھدرے پر نظر دوڑانی

چاہیے - چنانچہ اس زمانے میں بعض ایسی خصوصیات نظر آتی
ہیں جو پہلے نہیں تھیں اور تھیں تو بہت کم - مثلاً چھوٹے فسانے
لکھنے کا آج کل عام رواج پایا جاتا ہے - اگرچہ اس وقت سوائے
منشی پریم چند کے بعض فسانے درحقیقت بے نظیر ہیں، کوئی
ایسا نظر نہیں آتا جس میں وہ جدت ہو - لیکن ان لکھنے والوں
میں بعض بہت ہونہار ہیں جن سے توقع ہے کہ آگے چل کر نام
پیدا کریں گے - دوسری چیز ادبی تنقید ہے جس کی ابتدا مولوی
حالی نے کی اور اب اس فن پر متعدد لکھنے والے پیدا ہوگئے
ہیں جن میں سے بعض اپنی زبان کی بڑی خدمت کر رہے ہیں -
یہ زیادہ تر مغربی تعلیم کا اثر ہے اور کم و بیش مغربی اصول پر
یہ کام ہو رہا ہے - شاید اسی کانفرنس میں بھی بعض تنقیدی
مقالے پیش کیے جائیں - اس وقت بھی ہم میں ایسی قابل نقاد
موجود ہیں جیسے پروفیسر شیرانی یا اور لوگ جنھیں ابھی شہرت
حاصل نہیں ہوئی یا جوفی الحال اپنے کام میں مصروف ہیں
جو حال کے ادب میں اپنے قابل قدر یادگار چھوڑ جائیں گے -
تنقید صحیح ذوق کے لیے لازم ہے - لیکن ایک نقاد کے لیے جو
اس کٹھن اور صبر آزما کام میں ہاتھ ڈالتا ہے وسیع معلومات،
گہری نظر اور ذوق سلیم کی ضرورت ہے - صحیح تنقید مصنف
اور پڑھنے والے دونوں کے لیے مفید ہے - ہمارے دو چار رسالے
اس منصب کو انجام دے رہے ہیں، اکثر بے پروائی کے ساتھ
اور کبھی کبھی مستعدی اور قابلیت سے - حال کے انقلابات اور
تغیرات سے ہمارا ادب بھی متاثر ہوا ہے اور اس میں طرح طرح
کی جدتیں پیدا ہو رہی ہیں - ان کے جانچنے کے لیے پرانے
اصول کام نہیں آسکتے ان نئی چیزوں کے پرکھنے کے لیے ہمیں نئے
اصولوں سے کام لینا پڑے گا —

اس زمانے میں اردو زبان و ادب کے متعلق ہمارے معلومات
میں ایک جدید اضافہ ہوا ہے - بعض محققین نے بڑی محنت اور
تلاش سے قدیم اردو ادب کا پتا لگایا ہے اور بہت سی ایسی بے
بہا اور نایاب کتابیں ڈھونڈھ نکالی ہیں جو اب تک گمنامی

میں پڑی ہوئی تھیں - اس کی بدولت اُردو زبان کی زندگی میں تقریباً تین سو سال کا اضافہ ہوگیا ہے اور اُردو زبان و ادب کی تاریخ کے لئے ایک نیا باب کھل گیا ہے - یہ جستجو جاری رہی تو بہت سی نئی چیزیں ایسی دریافت ہوں گی جن کی امداد سے تاریخ ادب کے سلسلے کی بعض کڑیاں جو اب تک نہیں ملیں ہاتھ آ جائیں گی--

شعر و سخن میں بھی اُردو زبان کسی سے پیچھے نہیں، اگرچہ اس وقت حالی سا کوئی انقلابی شاعر پیدا نہیں ہوا، سوائے ایک شخص کے جس نے حقیقت میں اُردو شاعری میں جان ڈال دی تھی اور جس نے اپنی قوت کلام اور زور بیان سے زبان میں ایک نئی تازگی اور نیا جوش پیدا کر دیا تھا، لیکن اس بد نصیبی کا کیا علاج کہ اقبال اُردو سے روٹھ گئے ہیں، تاہم ایسے نئے شاعر پیدا ہو رہے ہیں جن کا قدم آگے ہے اور اُردو شاعری میں نیا رنگ پیدا کر کے صناعی کا حق ادا کر رہے ہیں - زندگی کے عام حالات اور قدرت کے عجائبات سے ہماری شاعری کو جو ایک گونہ بے تعلقی سی تھی وہ اب رفع ہو رہی ہے - عنقریب زمانے میں انہیں میں سے بعض ایسے خوش گو شاعر نکلیں گے جن پر اُردو زبان فخر کرے گی - میں چاہتا تھا کہ چند نام پیش کروں لیکن ابھی ان کے متعلق صحیح رائے دینے کا وقت نہیں آیا، بعض ان میں سے ایسے ہیں جو ابھی اُبھر رہے ہیں، اگر انہیں چھوڑ دوں تو نا انصافی ہوگی اور اگر نام لوں تو قبل از وقت ہوگا - لیکن وہ وقت دور نہیں جب اُن کے نام پیش کرنے میں کوئی تامل نہ ہوگا --

تالیف و ترجمہ میں بھی ترقی کے آثار نظر آ رہے ہیں- بعض صاحب ذوق ذی علم محض اپنے شوق سے اس کام کو انجام دے رہے ہیں ان میں خاص کر اہل پنجاب اور عثمانیہ یونیورسٹی کے تعلیم یافتہ نوجوان قابل تعریف ہیں جو ادب اور علوم و فنون کے مختلف شعبوں میں تالیف و ترجمہ

کر رہے ہیں - تالیف و تصنیف کا پایہ ابھی ہماری زبان میں بلند نہیں ہے - ہم اس عہد کی (جو نوجوانوں کا عہد ہے) کوی ایسی بلند پایہ تالیف یا تصنیف نہیں پاتے جسے دوسری زبانوں کے مقابلے میں دعوے سے پیش کر سکیں لیکن اس میں شک نہیں کہ شوق بڑھ رہا ہے اور تعداد بھی بڑھ رہی ہے اور یہ بہت اچھے آثار ہیں - ترجمہ کو بعض اوقات حقارت سے دیکھا جاتا ہے لیکن ترجمہ کوئی معمولی کام نہیں ہے ' اس میں اسی قدر جان کاھی اور سر دردی کرنی پڑتی ہے جتنی نئی تالیف یا تصنیف میں - ترجمہ میں وہی کامیاب ہو سکتا ہے جو مضمون پر حاوی ہونے کے علاوہ دونوں زبانوں میں کامل دسترس رکھتا ہو ادب کی نزاکتوں سے واقف ہو اور اصل مصنف کے صحیح مفہوم کو اپنی زبان میں اسی قوت سے بیان کر سکے - یہ آسان کام نہیں اور ہر ایک کا کام نہیں - ترجموں سے زبانوں کو بہت فائدہ پہنچتا ہے - یہی نہیں کہ ہمارے علم اور معلومات میں اضافہ ہوتا ہے بلکہ خود زبان بھی اس سے متمتع ہوتی ہے ایک اعلیٰ درجے کی تصنیف کا عمدہ ترجمہ بہت سی معمولی تصنیفوں سے کہیں بڑھ کر مفید ہوتا ہے - وہ ادب کا جزو ہو جاتا ہے - ہمارے ادب میں عمدہ ناولوں اور ڈراموں کی بہت کمی ہے - اگرچہ ان کا رواج پہلے سے زیادہ ہے لیکن ہماری زبان میں اب تک ایک بھی ایسا ناول یا ڈراما نہیں جسے ہم اعلیٰ پایہ کا کہہ سکیں - تصنیف تو درکنار کسی اعلیٰ پایہ کے ناول یا ڈرامے کا عمدہ ترجمہ اب تک نہیں ہوا - یہ امر نہایت قابل افسوس ہے -

اسی سلسلے میں چند ایسے اداروں کا ذکر کرنا مناسب سمجھتا ہوں جو تالیف و ترجمہ کے کام میں مشغول ہیں - ان میں ایک انجمن ترقیء اردو ہے جس نے ادب اور علوم و فنون کی کتابوں کے ترجمے اور تالیف کے علاوہ اپنے رسالۂ اردو اور مطبوعات کے ذریعے سے سب سے پہلے دسویں گیارھویں صدی ہجری کے قدیم ادب کو روشناس کرایا' جس سے ادب اردو کی

تاریخ میں انقلاب پیدا ہوگیا۔ انجمن نے قدیم ادب کا بے بہا
ذخیرہ فراہم کیا ہے اور یہ کام برابر جاری ہے۔ نیز قدما کا کلام اور
اساتذہ کے نایاب تذکرے جواب تک گمنامی میں تھے، شایع کئے
جن کی بدولت اردو کی تاریخ اور اساتذہ کے حالات کے متعلق
بہت سی غلط فہمیاں رفع ہو گئیں۔ یہ کام اب بھی ہو رہا ہے۔
انگریزی اردو کی کوئی اچھی ڈکشنری نہ تھی۔ جتنی کتابیں لکھی
گئی ہیں (اور انہیں لکھے بہت مدت ہوی) سب ناقص، ناکمل
اور موجودہ ضروریات کے لئے ناکافی ہیں۔ انجمن نے ایک جامع
اور مکمل ڈکشنری بصرف کثیر کئی سال کی مسلسل محنت کے بعد
تیار کرای جو زیر طبع ہے۔ اس کی اشاعت سے سینکڑوں نئے یا بھولے
بسرے لفظ ہماری زبان میں رائج ہو جائیں گے۔ علاوہ اس کے قدیم
اردو کی لغات، قدیم کتابوں کے ایک مدت کے مطالعہ کے بعد تیار کی
گئی ہے جو اردو زبان و ادب کے مطالعہ تحقیق میں بہت مدد دے
گی۔ ایک ضخیم لغات پیشہ وروں کی اصطلاحات کے متعلق
مرتب ہو رہی ہے جس میں بڑی محنت اور کھکھیڑ اور بہت سی
پریشانیوں کے بعد ایک سو سے زائد پیشوں کے ہزارہا لفظ جمع
کئے گئے ہیں۔ انہیں دیکھ کر حیرت ہوتی ہے کہ ہماری زبان میں
اس کثرت سے اور ایسے اچھے اچھے لفظ موجود ہیں جنہیں
افسوس ہم بھولتے جاتے ہیں۔ انجمن نے کئی سال سے ایک رسالہ
سائنس کے نام سے جاری کر رکھا ہے جس کا مقصد یہ ہے کہ اردو
میں سائنس کے مضامین اور خیالات ادا کرنے کی کوشش کی جائے
اور اردو دان طبقے میں سائنس کا ذوق پیدا کیا جائے اگرچہ
انجمن کو اس میں خسارہ ہے لیکن خوشی کی بات ہے کہ لوگوں
میں اس کا شوق پیدا ہو چلا ہے۔ دارالمصنفین اعظم گڈہ کی سر
گرم جماعت اور جامعہ ملیہ کے پر خلوص ارکان بڑی مستعدی
سے اردو ادب میں معد ترجمہ اور تالیف کے ذریعے سے بہت اچھا
اضافہ کر رہے ہیں اور ان اداروں سے مختلف علوم و فنون اور
ادب کے متعلق قابل قدر کتابیں شایع ہو رہی ہیں۔ الہ آباد کی
ہندستانی اکاڈیمی کی مساعی بھی اس بارے میں لایق شکر

گزاری هیں ، وهاں سے متعدد علمی اور ادبی تالیفات اور ترجمے شایع هو چکے هیں -

سب سے آخر میں میں اس ادارے کا ذکر کرتا هوں جو اپنی اهمیت اورحیثیت کے لحاظ سے سب سے مقدم هے - یعنی عثمانیه یونیورسٹی حیدر آباد دکن کا سررشته تالیف و ترجمه جو عام طور پر دارالترجمه کے نام سے مشہور هے - عثمانیه یونیورسٹی اور خاص کر اس سررشتے کے قیام سے اردو زبان کو بڑی تقویت پہنچی هے بلکه یوں سمجھنا چاهئے که اس کی جڑیں مضبوط هو گئی هیں - شاید هی کوئی فن هو که دارالترجمه میں اس کی کسی کتاب کا ترجمه نه هوا هو - تاریخ هند کی چند کتابوں کے علاوه باقی سب ترجمه هیں ، لیکن اب تالیف کا بھی انتظام هو رها هے - غرض تاریخ ، دستور اساسی ، قانون ، نفسیات ، فلسفه ، طبعیات ، کیمیا ، اعلی ریاضی اور ان کی مختلف شاخوں نیز ڈاکٹری انجینیری وغیره وغیره پر کئی سو کتابیں شایع اور تیار هو چکی هیں گویا اس ادارے نے علم کا دریا بہا دیا هے - لیکن اس کے بعد بھی میں دبی زبان سے اتنا کہنے کی جسارت کرتا هوں که جو کچھ هوا هے بہت خوب هے لیکن همیں اس سے زیاده کی توقع تھی ، کمیت اور کیفیت دونوں میں —

ایک اور بڑا کام اعلی حضرت حضور نظام خلدالله ملکه کی منظوری سے نظام گورمنٹ کی سر پرستی میں هو رها هے - یه اردو کی جامع اور محققانه لغات هے جو خاص اهتمام سے جدید اصول پر مرتب هو رهی هے - بخوف طوالت میں طریقۂ کار اور ان اصولوں کو اس وقت تفصیل سے بیان نہیں کرسکتا جو اس کام کے لئے اختیار کئے گئے هیں ، لیکن میں آپ کو یقین دلاتا هوں که اس پیمانے پر اس قدر صحت و تحقیق کے ساتھ همارے ملک کی کسی زبان کی لغات اب تک نہیں لکھی گئی هے - اس کی منظوری بھی انجمن ترقیء اردو هی کی تحریک پر هوئی تھی - ایک انسائکلو پیڈیا کی ضرورت اور ره جاتی هے - مجھے قوی امید هے که دیر سویر اس کی بھی کوئی صورت ضرور نکل آے گی —

کس قدر خوشی کی بات ہے کہ آج کل جس قدر اخبار اور رسالے جاری ہیں پہلے اس کا عشر عشیر بھی نہ تھا اس میں پنجاب کا نمبر سب سے اول ہے - ان میں برے بھلے سب ہی قسم کے ہیں ' لیکن اس میں شک نہیں کہ ان کا معیار پہلے کی نسبت بہتر اور بلند ہے - بعض اردو رسالوں میں ادبی ' علمی ' تنقیدی اور تاریخی مضامیں بہت تحقیق اور متانت سے لکھے جاتے ہیں اور کبھی معاملات حاضرہ پر بھی معقول بحث ہوتی ہے - اس زمانے میں اخبار اور رسالے علم اور معلومات کی اشاعت کا بڑا ذریعہ ہیں - یہ اپنے دوسرے مقاصد کے ساتھ اپنی زبان کی بہت بڑی خدمت کر سکتے ہیں - میں کیا کوئی بھی یہ نہیں کہہ سکتا کہ ہمارے اخبار ایسے ہی ہیں جیسے ہونے چاہئیں یا جیسے دوسرے ممالک یا ہمارے ہی ملک کی دوسری زبانوں میں ہیں - لیکن اتنا ضرور کہہ سکتا ہوں کہ ان کی حالت روبہ ترقی ہے ' ان کی تحریر میں جان ہے اور معلومات اور نظر میں پہلے سے زیادہ وسعت ہے ' ظاہری صورت اور چھپائی لکھائی بھی (خاصکر روزانہ اخباروں کی) بہت بہتر ہے - لیکن ان صاحبوں کی (اور خاصکر پنجاب کے اڈیٹر صاحبوں کی) خدمت میں دو ایک باتیں مختصر طور پر عرض کرنے کی جرات کرتا ہوں امید ہے کہ وہ مجھے معاف فرمائیں گے اول یہ کہ ان کے بعض نامور روزانہ اخباروں میں مقالہ افتتاحیہ (لیڈنگ ارٹیکل) میں غیر ضروری بلند آہنگی اور طوالت کے ساتھ اس قدر پیچیدہ ' مغلق اور ثقیل الفاظ اور جملوں کی بھرمار ہوتی ہے کہ اصل مفہوم الجھ کر رہ جاتا ہے - الفاظ زیادہ اور معنی کم - دوسرے آپس کی تو تو میں میں اور ایک دوسرے کی پگڑی اچھالنی بالکل ترک کردی جائے - یہ ان کی شان کے خلاف ہے - تیسرے ملکی معاملات میں ذاتی عناد اور بغض و عداوت کا اظہار یا کسی کی ذات پر عامیانہ اور سوقیانہ جملے بالکل ناجائز ہیں - چوتھے اُن کی رائے کچھ ہی ہو مخالف کے بیان کو کبھی مسخ کرنے کی کوشش نہ کی جائے اور جہاں تک ممکن ہو

صداقت اور ایمانداری سے ظاہر کیا جائے - پانچویں پراپیگنڈے کی رو میں صداقت اور متانت کو ہاتھ سے ندینا چاہئے -

ہمیں ایک یا کئی ایسے ہفتہ وار اخباروں کی بھی ضرورت ہے جو روزانہ اخبار کی خبروں کو صحیح معلومات کے ساتھ اس طرح بیان کریں کہ ان میں کسی قسم کا ابہام باقی نہ رہے اور پڑھنے والا کامل طور پر انہیں سمجھ لے - معاملات حاضرہ مثلاً مسائل سیاسیات و معاشیات پر نہایت محنت اور غور کے ساتھ ایسے مضامین لکھیں یا ماہرین سے لکھوائیں کہ پڑھنے والا مسئلہ کے ہر پہلو کو پورے طور پر سمجھ جائے اور سمجھنے کے بعد اسے غور و فکر کرنے کا موقع ملے - خبروں کو سلیقے کے ساتھ درج کریں اور ان کے متعلق جن ضروری معلومات کی ضرورت ہے انہیں بیان کر دیں - جتنے بندی سے بالا ہوں - مختلف ملکوں یا فریقوں کے لڑانے کی کوشش نہ کریں بلکہ ان کے نقطۂ نظر کو صفائی اور سچائی سے بیان کریں اور اپنی رائے کو کسی پر حملہ کئے بغیر آزادانہ اور بے باکانہ ظاہر کرنے میں دریغ نہ کریں - بے لاگ رہیں مگر ناگواری پیدا نہ ہونے دیں - کبھی کبھی اپنی زبان اور ادب کے متعلق ملک میں جو کام ہو رہا ہے اس پر بھی بحث کرتے رہیں - طرز تحریر میں متانت سلاست اور شگفتگی ہمیشہ مد نظر رہے - ایسے اخبارات سے اردو دان طبقے کو خبروں کی بہم رسانی کے علاوہ تعلیمی فائدہ بھی پہنچے گا اور ان کے علم اور معلومات میں اضافہ ہوتا رہے گا - ممکن ہے کہ شروع میں ایسے اخبار کی بکری کم ہو لیکن کچھ مدت کے بعد اسے ضرور فروغ ہو گا —

یہ بھی کچھ کم مسرت کی بات نہیں ہے کہ ہندوستان کی متعدد یونیورسٹیوں میں اردو کی اعلیٰ تعلیم کا انتظام ہو گیا ہے اور ہماری یہ توقع کچھ بے جا نہو گی کہ ان یونیورسٹیوں سے جو نوجوان تعلیم پا کر نکلیں گے وہ یونیورسٹیوں کے معلمین کی حیثیت سے یا بحیثیت انشا پرداز اور ادیب

کے اپنی زبان کی خدمت بجا طور پر انجام دینگے - اس ضمن میں میں ایک اور بات بیان کرنا چاہتا ہوں جسے بیان کرتے ہوئے مجھے کسی قدر حجاب معلوم ہوتا ہے وہ یہ ہے کہ آج کل یورپ ڈگریوں کو وہ غیر معمولی عظمت حاصل ہوگئی ہے کہ ہماری زبانوں کی اعلیٰ ڈگریاں بھی وہیں سے حاصل کی جاتی ہیں - میں عربی فارسی سنسکرت کے متعلق کچھ نہیں کہتا غالبا ان کا سامان وہاں یہاں سے زیادہ ہو گا لیکن اُردو کی ڈگری وہاں سے حاصل کرنا اور ایسے فضلا سے سند لینا جو خود ہماری زبان و ادب سے بے بہرہ ہیں، مجھے مضحکہ معلوم ہوتا ہے - میں ان حضرات کو کیٹلا گی محقق کہتا ہوں - ان کا علم زیادہ تر اُن کیٹلاگوں (فہرستوں) پر مبنی ہوتا ہے جو یورپ کے علما نے مرتب کردی ہیں - وہ سوائے کتاب کے کتاب کے متعلق ہر قسم کا علم رکھتے ہیں - وہ یہ بتا سکتے ہیں کہ اس کتاب کا مصنف کون ہے، کس زمانے میں ہوا ہے، سنہ وفات کیا ہے، اس کے معاصر کون تھے - اس کی تصانیف کون کون سی تھیں، اس کے مآخذ کیا کیا ہیں، اس کے مختلف نسخے کس کس کتب خانے میں ہیں، ان کے سنین کتابت کیا ہیں اور ان نسخوں میں کیا کیا اختلاف ہے وغیرہ وغیرہ لیکن جب وہی کتابیں کھول کر ان کے سامنے رکھی جاتی ہیں تو ان کے سمجھنے اور بعض اوقات صحیح پڑھنے سے بھی قاصر رہتے ہیں - کہا جاتا ہے کہ تحقیق کا ڈھنگ وہیں آتا ہے ہم نے وہ مقالے (تھسس) بھی دیکھے ہیں جو وہاں سے لکھ ہوے آے ہیں، ہمارے بعض مستعد طلبہ، معلمین اور پروفیسروں نے گھر بیٹھے اُن سے کہیں بہتر اور زیادہ محققانہ مقالے لکھے ہیں - اس کا دوش میں ان کو نہیں دیتا جو یورپ جاکر یہ ڈگریاں لائے ہیں، بلکہ اس میں سراسر قصور یونیورسٹیوں کا ہے جو ڈگری دیکھتی ہیں اور کام نہیں دیکھتیں اور غلامانہ ذہنیت کی وجہ سے بلا امتیاز ہر ڈگری کے کاغذ کو سند فضیلت خیال کرتی ہیں - اردو کی اعلیٰ سے اعلیٰ تعلیم کا انتظام یہاں کہیں بہتر ہو سکتا ہے اور یہاں اس کے لئے کہیں زیاد

اساں لوجوڑ ہے ۔ کیا مسلم یونیورسٹی یا جامعہ عثمانیہ
ں کا انتظام نہیں کرسکتی ؟ بجائے اس کے کہ ہم وہاں
ا کر اپنی زبانوں کی نمائشی سندیں حاصل کریں ' ہمیں
ید یہاں کام کرنے حقیقی سند حاصل کرنی چاہئے اور اس
انتظام ایسا مکمل اور بہتر ہونا چاہئے کہ اہل یورپ بھی
س کا لوہا مان جائیں اور ضرورت ہو تو وہ یہاں آکر
ماری زبانوں کی سند حاصل کریں - یہ کوئی اتنا مشکل کام
ہیں جتنا کہ خیال کیا جاتا ہے —

حضرات ! افسوس ہے کہ مجھے آپ کے سامنے کئی ناگوار
تیں کہنی پڑیں لیکن ایک بات اور کہنے کی اجازت چاہتا
وں - انہیں چند دنوں میں مجھے بعض ایسی تحریریں پڑھنے
اتفاق ہوا جنہیں دیکھ کر ملال ہوتا ہے - پنجاب کے ایک
سالے کے قابل اڈیٹر کو کسی غیر معروف شخص نے یوپی کے
سی مقام سے شاید رسالے کی بعض غلطیوں کی طرف توجہ
لائی تھی - اس پر اڈیٹر صاحب نے نہایت تلخ و ترش لہجے
یں غم و غصہ کا اظہار فرمایا ہے اور سارے صوبے اور اس کے
ل زبان کی خبر لے ڈالی اور اس پر بس نہیں کی بلکہ
کن کی بعض علمی تحریکوں اور کارناموں کے حال پر بھی
ازش فرمائی ہے - اس کے بعد ہی مجھے ایک لایق تعلیم
فتہ کا لکھچر ملا جو انہوں نے جنوبی ہند کی ایک کانفرنس
یں اعلیٰ تعلیم یافتہ طبقے کے سامنے پڑھا تھا اس کی ابتدا
ی اسی الپ سے کی ہے - چند ہی روز ہوئے میرے پاس دو
ابیں پہنچیں جن میں ایک قابل ادیب اور شاعر اور نقاد نے
ضرورت اور بلا وجہ اس مضمون کو چھیڑ کر جلی کٹی
نائی ہیں - یہ حالت قابل افسوس ہے - جہاں تک مجھے علم
، یوپی کے کسی معقول پسند اور مستند شخص نے کبھی
نجاب یا دکن کے علمی کاموں کی تحقیر نہیں کی بلکہ ایسے
ام صاحبوں نے ہمیشہ ان کے علمی اور ادبی کارناموں کی
ل کھول کر داد دی ہے - اور اگر تنقید کرنے والے کبھی کچھ

کچھہ لکھہ دیا یا بعض غلطیاں جاگئیں تو اس میں برا ماننے کی
کیا بات ہے - کیا خود ان کے ہم وطن ان کی تنقید کرنے وقت
کچھہ کمی کرتے ہیں - کیا یوپی کے اہل زبان نے اپنے ادیبوں
اور شاعروں پر نکتہ چینی نہیں کی ؟ کونسا ایسا ادیب اور
شاعر ہے جو اس سے بچ رہا ہو - جب میر اور سودا اور غالب
تک نہیں بچے تو دوسرا کس منہ سے شکایت کر سکتا ہے - آزاد
مرحوم بار بار مصحفی کے امروہہ پن پر طعن کرتے ہیں - یہ
کب نہیں ہوا اور کہاں نہیں ہوا ؟ پہلے مشاعروں میں رودررو
اعتراض ہوتے تھے ' اب اخباروں اور رسالوں میں ہوتے
ہیں - جب مسدس حالی شایع ہوا تو کیا کچھہ طوفان نہیں برپا
ہوا - کئی مسدس اس کے جواب اور رد میں لکھے گئے - اور یہ تو
آپ میں سے بعض صاحبوں کو یاد ہو گا کہ مقدمۂ شعر و شاعری کی
اشاعت پر کس قدر اعتراضوں کی بوچھار ہوئی - ایک اخبار نے تو
مسلسل بیس تیس مضا میں لکھے جن میں کتاب اور اور مصنف
دونو کا مضحکہ اڑایا تھا - مولانا حالی نے نہ کبھی جواب دیا
اور نہ برا مانا - یہ باتیں جواب دینے یا غم و غصہ کے اظہار کی
نہیں ' اس سے اپنی کمزوری کااظہار ہوتا ہے - ایسے صوبہ واری
رشک و حسد یا سیاست اور تجارت کی طرح رقابت و مخالفت
کا اکھاڑا نہیں بنانا چاہئے - اس میں سب کا نقصان ہے - ہم
سب اپنی زبان کے خادم ہیں - ہمیں اتحاد عمل کی ضرورت
ہے - میں شروع ہی میں عرض کرچکاہوں کہ زبان ذات پات '
قومیت ' وطنیت سے بری ہے - جو اسے بولتا ہے اسی کی زبان
ہے - جو زیادہ صحت اور فصاحت کے ساتھہ لکھتا اور بولتا ہے
وہی زیادہ تر زبان داں اور اہل زبان کہلانے کا مستحق ہے -
اس میں نہ کسی صوبے کی تخصیص ہے اورنہ کسی قوم اور
نسل کی - انجمن ترقی اردو یہ تجویز کر رہی ہے کہ جو ادارے
مختلف مقامات میں اردو زبان کی خدمت انجام دے رہیں
ان کے نمایندے اور خاص خاص ایسے لوگ جنہیں زبان سے
ہمدردی ہے اور علم و فضل اور تجربہ رکھتے ہیں ایک جگہ
جمع ہوں ' زبان کے مسائل پر غور کریں ' اپنے کاموں کا جائزہ

لیں ، آیندہ کے لیے پروگرام بنائیں اور ان پیچیدگیوں اور دشوا
ریوں کے رفع کرنے کی کوشش کریں جو اس کی ترقی میں حائل
ہیں - اس طریق کار سے عمل میں نیز آپس میں اتحاد کی
شکل پیدا ہو جائے گی — میں حال ہی میں مدارس گیا تھا ،
وہاں مجھے اردو زبان کے متعلق بعض مقامی حالات ایسے معلوم
ہوے جن کا کبھی علم نہ تھا - مجھے اپنی بے خبری پر بہت
افسوس ہوا ، ممکن ہے کہ اسی طرح ہم میں سے اکثر اسی بے
خبری میں مبتلا ہوں - یہ بے خبری ہماری زبان کے حق میں
بہت مضر ہے - اس لیے مجھے خیال ہوا کہ جہاں تک جلد ممکن
ہو ہمیں ہر صوبے کی اصل حقیقت سے آگاہ ہونے کی کوشش
کرنی چاہئے - اس خیال کے آتے ہی میں اس ادھیڑبن میں
لگ گیا اور ایک فہرست ایسے استفسارات کی مرتب کی جو
تقریباً تمام حالات پر حاوی ہیں - تجویز یہ ہے کہ یہ فہرست
ایک مختصر کمیٹی کے سامنے پیش کی جاے اور ان کے مشورے
اور منظوری کے بعد ہر صوبے اور علاقے کے بعض ایسے اصحاب
کے پاس بھیجی جاے جو اس کام سے ہمدردی اور اپنے صوبے
کے حالات سے واقفیت رکھتے ہیں تاکہ غور کرنے کے بعد اس
کے جواب تیار کریں - اس کے بعد کمیٹی کے چند ارکان یعنی کم
سے کم تین شخص ہر صوبے اور علاقے میں جا کر مقامی حالت
کا معائنہ کریں اور وہاں کے واقف کار حضرات سے مل کر
ان مسائل پر گفتگو کریں - غرض اس طرح ہر مقام سے معلومات
کا ذخیرہ جمع کریں اور آخر میں ایک مفصل رپورٹ تیار
کریں یہ رپورٹ اتحاد عمل اور آئندہ مختلف مقامات میں
کام کرنے کے لئے بنیاد کا کام دے گی - ابھی تک ہم نہ اصل
حقیقت سے واقف ہیں اور نہ ضرورتوں سے - اس رپورٹ
کے بعد ہم یہ طے کر سکیں گے کہ ہر صوبے میں کس نہج پر
کام کیا جاے - یہ ایک بہت ہی سرسری سا خاکہ ہے -
تفصیل کا یہ وقت نہیں - اس میں کئی امور ایسے ہیں جو
قابل غور ہیں اور جن کے طے کئے بغیر کام شروع کرنا ممکن
نہیں ، مثلاً ایک مسئلہ اخراجات ہی کا ہے جو سب میں

دشوار ہے - بہرحال ان سب مسائل پر غور کرنے کے بعد
اس کام کی ابتدا ہوسکتی ہے - مجھے یقین ہے کہ کام کی
خاص اہمیت دیکھ کر ہمارے اہل علم اور اہل ثروت ہمیں
ضرور اس میں مدد دیں گے —

حضرات! ہمیں اس بات پر نہ بھولنا چاہئے کہ اردو
ہندستان کی عام زبان ہے تقریبا ہر صوبے میں بولی یا
سمجھی جاتی ہے اور ہر قوم و ملت کے لوگ اسے بولتے
یا سمجھتے ہیں، بلکہ ہندوستان سے باہر بھی اپنا تسلط
جماتی جاتی ہے اور سواحل عرب، مکہ مدینہ، بغداد و
دمشق، افغانستان، افریقہ کے بعض علاقوں وغیرہ میں بھی
اس کے بولنے اور سمجھنے والے موجود ہیں - جب تک اس
میں وسعت کے ساتھ گہرائی نہو، جب تک اس کی بنیاد
بھی مضبوط نہوں اور جب تک یہ علمی زبان نہ بنے
اس وقت تک یہ سب فخر بیجا ہیں اس میں شک
نہیں کہ اس زبان میں وسعت ہے اور اس میں لوچ اور
جذب کرنے کی قوت اور آگے بڑھنے کی صلاحیت موجود
ہے - لیکن یہ خوبیاں اُسی وقت کام آسکتی ہیں کہ ہم ان
سے کام لیں اور زبان کو مستحکم اور مکمل بنانے پر آمادہ
ہو جائیں - بعض اہل سائنس کا قول ہے کہ آئندہ انسان
جیسا چاہے گا ویسا بن جائے گا - میں اس قول کی تصدیق
یا تردید نہیں کر سکتا لیکن زبان کے متعلق بہ وثوق کہہ
سکتا ہوں کہ جیسا ہم نے چاہا ویسی بنی اور جیسا ہم چاہیں
گے ویسی بنے گی - اپنی زبان پر فخر کر کے دوسروں کو
چنوتی (چیلنج) دینا اور اپنی فوقیت جتانا فعل عبث ہے -
اسے ایسا مکمل اور کامل بناؤ کہ دوسرے خود اس کی طرف جھک
جائیں اور اس کی افضیلت مان جائیں - یہ ہماری ہمت پر
موقوف ہے - اور اس کی صورت وہی ہے جو میں نے عرض کی
کہ مختلف ارادوں کے نمایندے اور اردو کے ایسے بھی خواہ جن
کے دل میں اپنی زبان کا درد ہے ایک جاجمع ہوں اور آیندہ

دس سال کے کام کا پورا نقشہ بنالیں اور اس پر ثبات واستقلال کے ساتھہ عمل کرنے کا تہیہ کرلیں - اب رہی کامیابی سو اس کی نسبت یہ عرض ہے کہ ہمت نہ ہارئیے - جس نے ہتھیار ڈال دیے وہ مغلوب اور غلام ہے - جو آخر تک مقابلے پر تلا رہا جیت اُسی کی ہے ' خواہ وہ ہار ہی کیوں نہ جاے -

کامیابی آسمان سے نہیں اترتی ' یہ سب محنت ' صبر استقلال کی کرامات ہے - جانیں کھپانی پڑتی ہیں تب کچھہ ہاتھہ آتا ہے —

ہر ایک کو نہیں ملتی یہاں بھیک راہد
بہت جانچ لینے ہیں دینے ہیں تب کچھہ
ہے

THE ART OF WARÂQAT DURING THE ABBASIDE PERIOD.

By Kazi Ahmedmian Akhtar.

(*Junagad*).

Introductory.

At a time when the art of printing was unknown, copying and writing by hand was very popular, and hence this art, known as warāqat, came into existence and flourished for a long time throughout the Islamic world.

Meaning of Warāqat.

Different interpretations have been given to the term warāqat. Generally, it was used for copying and stationery as defined by as-Sam'āni.[1] But the French orientalist De Slane has translated it as "Bookbinding", in the notice of the Spanish poet and man-of-letters as-Shantarini (d. 617 A.H.), as inferred from his verses given by Ibn Khallikān.[2] The learned orientalist has also explained, in a footnote, the general meaning of the term to signify also the profession of a stationer and that of a copyist.[3] But there is no justification for such inference, as in these verses the similarity of a book-binder to a tailor, who prepares dress for others and remains himself naked, does not apply to a bookbinder, but in this way the greatly fallen condition of this art is indicated.

The term warāqat was also applied to bookselling, as suggested by Ibn an-Nadim's use of "*warrāqin*" for the

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1. Ansāb, fol 579, London.
2. Vol. I, p. 264.
3. English translation of Ibn Khallikān Vol. III, pp. 59-61.

ksellers of Baghdad,[1] as well as Ibn Jauzi and Khatib's mention[2] of the "*Suqal-warraqin*" for the Book Markets of Baghdad.[3]

Thus it is evident that the term warāqat was applied to:-

(1) Copying and Transcription,
(2) Stationery,
(3) Bookselling.

Now we are going to show under each separate head, and by other details pertaining thereto, how far the Muslims had given an impulse to the art of warāqat absolutely for the cause of disseminating arts and sciences among the people. The scope of our paper will be confined to the Abbaside period as the Islamic Rule for its culture and civilization covers a more extensive field.

The Art of Copying.

In the earlier centuries of Islam, this art was cultivated and developed to the highest pitch. The persons well-versed in this art were called "warraqin" or "Nassakhin"

Like the pre-Islamic poets, who had their own "Rāwi" or humanist, almost all the learned men had their own "warrāq" or amanuensis. Ibn Sa'ad, the author of a huge compendium on the Prophet's biography, was the scribe of al-wāqidi.[4] Ishāq b. Hunain, the renowned Christian physician of Baghdad, had employed a scribe named Arzaq in whose handwriting Ibn Abi Usaibi'a saw the Arabic translations of Galen's works signed by his master Hunain.[5] Sandi b. 'Ali was the scribe of the celebrated musician of Baghdad Isiqal-Musili.[6] Ahmed b Akhi, a Shaf'itic man of letters was an employee of Ibn Abdūs al-Jihshiyāri.[7] Ahmed b. Muhammad al-Qarashi

1. Fihrist, p. 169, Cairo ed.
2. J. R. A. S. (1912) p. 71, the Arabic text quoted from Al-Khatib's Hist. of Baghdad, Vol. 27 M. S.
3. Manaqib Baghdad p. 26.
4. Fihrist p. 145.
5. Tabaqāt al-Atibbā, I, p. 188.
6. Fihrist p. 203.
7. Yāqut, Irshad, I, p. 81.

worked as a copyist to Ibn Fatis of Damascus (d. 350).[1] Ibn Malsâqâ wrote for the eminent Jewish physician Ifraim az-zaffān; Ibn Abi Usaibi'â saw Mss. of his writing signed by his master.[2]

The art of copying, being greatly profitable, was acquired and adopted as a means of livelihood by many literary men of the day. Ibn Haithem, the great mathematician and optician of Egypt in the 4th century of Hegira, used to transcribe the Arabic versions of Euclid and Majesti (syntaxix) of Ptolemy, and sold them for a price which provided him a living all the year round.

Abu Sa'id[3] as-Sirāfi (d. 368) who was appointed a Qāzi in some suburbs of Baghdâd, lived on this profession. Before attending to his duties, which he discharged honorarily, he used to copy twenty pages for which he received a remuneration of 10 Dirhems (four rupees) daily.[4] A famous litterateur Fez Ahmad b. Abdullah al-Hutai'ah depended on copying for his daily bread.[5] Al-Kirmâni (d.329 A. H.), a grammarian and lexicographer, wrote on remuneration.[6] Ibn Abkhar the Qâzi of Alexandria (d.568), used to copy books and was paid for it.[7]

Copying as a means of livelihood for the unemployed.

Those who were unemployed and could not betake themselves to any career, were seeking their daily bread by adopting the profession of a copyist. There were many learned men who, in the days of their adversity had fallen back upon this helpful profession. Yâqût has furnished us the instance of a scholar Ahmad b. Sulaimân al-Qati'i who on account of his adverse circumstances suffered from starvation. His wife and children also shared the same fate with him. At last his wife cried out for the starvation of her younger ones. She

1. Ibid, II. p. 78.
2. T. Atibbâ, II. p. 105.
3. T. Atibbâ, II, p. 90.
4. Yâqut, Irshâd, III, pp. 84, 105.
5. Ibn Khall, I. p. 54.
6. Suyuti, Bughya, p. 47.
7. Ibid, p. 297.

advised her husband to sell out his books, but the true lover of books did not like to part with them and at last succeeded in saving himself and his family from starvation by applying himself to the profession of copying books and selling them in the market.[1]

Another man, a learned traditionist, who was one of the teachers of at-Tirmizi and Nasai, earned his living by copying books. Safadi gives a curious anecdote about him. Once he was reduced to chill penury and worked hard at his profession. One night while he was writing with a fast hand, suddenly he lost his eye-sight through cataract He was totally blind and could not see even the light of the lamp that was burning. On this sudden calamity he began to shed tears of remorse and in the same state he fell asleep. He dreamt and beheld the Prophet in a vision. The Prophet inquired the cause of his weeping. He complained of the loss of his eye-sight and his deprivation from writing the Prophet's sayings. The Prophet then put his hand on his eyes, and chanted something on them. When he awoke he saw to his astonishment his eye-sight restored. He sat again at his work and began copying.[2] Ar-Raffâ as-sirri (d. 360), the celebrated poet of Baghdad, who wrote his encomiums on Saifud-Dawlah and other princes of the Hamdânid dynasty, in his impecuniosity used to compose his poems and sell them out in the market. But when he incurred much debts, he began to work as a copyist.[3] An eminent literary man and lexicographer Abu Nasr Sulaimân b. Qatramish (d. 620) after his father's death wasted his wealth and money on gambling, and in utter destitution he started the career of a copyist.[4] In the 9th century of the Hegira how the art of copying had fallen into decay, can be gauged from the verses of as-Shantarini, referred to above, who tried hard to secure any humble situation for him but unfortunately could not get any, and at last entered in the service of the Governor of a Province as a scribe. His services being dispensed with, he obtained his living by copying the Mss.[5]

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1. Yaqut, I. pp. 38-39. 2. Nakt-ul-Himyân, p. 312. 3. Ansâb, fol. 255.
4. Suyuti, Baghiya, p. 46. 5. Ibn Khall. I. p. 264.

Prolific copyists.

In this connection it is noteworthy that there were persons among these copyists who wrote abundantly and with a fast hand, which excites our marvel and wonderment. The Hanbalite traditionist and jurist Ahmad b. Abdu d-Dâim al Maqrisi (d. 668) wrote so rapidly that he transcribed nine Kurrâsâ (36 pages) in his leisure hours. It is said of him that he copied the text of the well-known work on Jurisprudence al-Qudûri in one night, which may seem very improbable. He was engaged in his profession for fifty years. During this period, he copied two thousand volumes, to which he alludes in a poem quoted by as-Safadi.[1] He also copied twice the history of Damascus which is a voluminous work.

It is said of Yahyā b. Adi, a philosopher at Baghdad, that he was a prolific copyist. Once a friend expressed his wonder at his writing so much, to which he replied:-"You may be astonished at my sitting for a long time and reading so many books. But you should be aware that I have written with my own hand two copies of Tabari's commentary on the Qur'ân, a stupendous work of enormous size, and submitted them to the princes in the neighbourhood. And the works of the scholastic philosophers which I have copied are numerous and countless. By God, I can write more than hundred pages during day and night."[2]

Shakir al-kutbi informs us that a traditionist and poet of the 6th century Ibn Ikhwatul-'âttâr (d. 548) had written a large number of books which it is difficult to enumerate. Ibn an-Najirami has seen a copy of al-Tanbih by Abu Ishâq Shirâzi written by him, at the end of which he says that it was written in one day. He transcribed one thousand Mss[3] . Ibn at-Quti (d. 644), a historian and a philosopher, was a calligrapher and an expert copyist. He used to write four *Kurrâsâ* (16 pages) daily, while lying down on his back. He wrote a large work named Majma-ul-Âdâb fi Mu'jma' il-Asmâ-'âlā Mu'jam il-Alqâb, comprising 50 volumes.[4]

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1. Nakt-ul-Himyan, p. 99 and Fawâtul-Wafayât, I. p. 46.
2. Qifti, Târikh al-Hukamâ, p. 369, Lippert ed.
3. Safadi, Fawât I. p. 268.
4. Fawât, I. p. 272.

Preponderance of copyists.

As the amanuensis and scribes were employed in almost all the private and public libraries, so this profession attracted towards it a large number of persons who were paid good remuneration. In the grand library of the Banu 'Ammâr at Tripoli, 180 scribes were employed for copying Mss. and out of them 30 persons were constantly at work and never left the library.[1] There were several scribes in the library of the famous historian Abul-Fidâ, the ruler of Hamât (Syria). In the middle of the seventh century, there were numerous scribes in the library of Ibn al-Ghazzâl the Vazir. Once he wanted to get copied Ibn 'Asâkir's History of Damascus comprising 80 closely written Ms. volumes, and it being a colossal work was distributed to ten scribes, eight volumes to each. They sat at copying the work and could finish it in two years.[2] In the same way, scribes were employed in the libraries of Cairo[3] and Shiraiz.[4] The same was the case in Egypt in the library of the Caliph al-'Aziz[5] and in Spain in al-Hakam's library.[6]

Ibn Khallikân, in his notice of al-Farrâ the grammarian, describes the incident of getting transcribed his two works, K. al-Ma 'âni and K. al-Hudûd at the instance of Caliph al-Mâmûn, which gives us an idea of the preponderating number of the scribes. When al-Mâmûn, says the author, ordered al-Farrâ to compose a book on the principles of grammar he employed the scribes and dictated to them for two years when the book was completed. Next time when al-Farrâ called the copyists in his presence to dictate to them his book on rhetorics a large number of the amanuensis rushed to the spot which rendered their counting difficult. Only judges among them were counted 80 in number.[7] The same author

1. History of Ibn al-Furet, Ms. fol. 36.
2. T. Aubba, II, pp. 234-236.
3. Maqrızi, Khitat, I. p. 458.
4. Yaqût Irshad, V. p. 447.
5. Maqrizi, I. p. 409.
6. Ibn Khaldun, Vol. IV p. 146.
7. Ibn Khallikan, II, p. 228.

has stated in his notice of the Vizier Ibn Killis that in his house sat different batches of scribes employed for particular branches. One batch copied the Qurān only, the other transcribed books on Hadith, Jurisprudence, Literature and Medicine. A large number of them was simply retained for putting diacritical points.[1]

The art of Calligraphy.

It was a bye-product of the art of copying which was carried to perfection. It produced artists like Ibn al-Bawwab, Ibn Muqlah, Yâqût al-Musta'simi and a host of others. There were learned divines, men of letters and artists among them, like Ibn Jauzi al-Jauhari, the author of the Arabic dictionary, as-Sihâh, the celebrated musician, Abd-al-Momin Isfahâni etc. On account of their beautiful penmanship their works were appreciated and sold at fancy prices. The well-known calligrapher Yâqût al-Musta 'simi (d. 618) who bore the title of "Abud-Durar" (father of pearls) on account of his beautiful writing, was a master hand of great reputation. It is stated by Ibn Khallikan that his Mss. had spread throughout the whole Islamic world. He had a special attachment with al-Jauhari's dictionary of which he prepared several editions and sold them at 100 Dinārs (£ 50) each[2]. Al-Juwaini known as "the pride of copyists" (Fakhrul-Kuttāb) (d. 586), was a famous calligrapher of Baghdad. His Mss. brought handsome prices. According to Ibn Khallikān, he was an unequalled master of his time in Egypt.[3]

The writing of some of the calligraphers was so much appreciated and admired that in spite of inaccuracy, their Mss. were greatly merited. Such was Ibn al-Qaṣṣār of Baghdad (d. 576) whose beautiful writing fetched high prices.[4]

Remuneration for copying.

The charges for copying depended on beautiful hand and its accuracy, and varied according to the quality of work. as-

1. Ibn Khallikan, II, p. 334.
2. Ibn Khall. II, p. 207.
3. Ibid, I, p. 144.
4. Ibid, I, p. 344.

Sirāfi charged 1 Dirhem (6 d.) per folio (2 pages).[1] The Nestorian physician Bukhtishū received one thousand Dinārs (£ 500) for 200 folios (400 pages). When al-Farrā called the copyists for dictating his work K. al-Ma'āni, they demanded 1 Dirhem for 5 folios, but when insisted upon to lower down the rate, they consented to write 10 pages for 1 Dirhem.[2] This goes to prove that in the third century 1 Dirhem for 5 pages was taken to be excessive at Baghdād. Sometimes accurate and finely written Mss. were sold at high prices. The Mss. of Ibn Khurzād of Egypt and a copy of the Diwān of the Arabic poet Jarir, written by himself, fetched 10 Dinārs (£ 5).[3] The writings of Amir al-Musabbihi (d. 395) being much appreciated were remunerated at one pound for 50 folios.[4]

Stationery.

Although stationery is also included in warāqat, we possess no information regarding it in the Arabic historical works. Of course we gather certain details about the art of paper-making, but here we are not concerned with it. Paper was sold, as it is in our times, at the booksellers' shops. According to as-Sam'āni[5] a stationer was called "Kāghadi" and still the same term is used for a stationer in Gujarat and Kathiawar. We have no information about the different prices for the different kinds of paper at that time. But it can easily be understood that, on account of the flourishing condition of the paper industry and the large consumption of paper the numerous shops for paper-selling might have been established, especially when we know that paper was manufactured in Islamic countries and paper mills were erected in almost all the chief towns of the Muslim Empire. The art of manufacturing paper from rags was invented during the Abbaside period.[6] Some scholars think the word "Kāghid"

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1. Yāqūt, Irshād, III, p. 84.
2. Ibn Khall II, p. 228.
3. Ibn Khall II, p. 228.
4. Ibid I, p. 516.
5. Ansāb fol. p. 472.
6. Fihrist, p. 32.

to be of Chinese origin, and it was the Chinese prisoners of war brought to Samarqand, after the battle of Aṭlakh near Tālās, that first introduced in 134 A. H. (751 A. D.) the industry of paper-making from linen flax or hemp rags after the method of the Chinese.[1]

At the end of the third century, the first paper mill was established at Transoxiana,[2] and afterwards there flourished paper mills at Damascus, Palestine[3] and Tripoli (Syria).[4] Notwithstanding this, Samarqand was the only centre for paper manufacture whence people used to send for paper for their libraries. The well-known prose-writer and epistolographer al-*Kh*wàrizmi jestingly excuses a friend for not writing, on the ground that he lives a long distance from Samarqand and so finds paper too dear.[5] This shows how dear the paper was sold at places far from the centre where paper was manufactured. Ibn an-Nadim has given the names of the different kinds of paper then in vogue.[6]

Bookbinding.

It will not be out of place here, to say in brief, about the art of bookbinding. How refined a taste the Muslims had about this art, can be imagined from the precious leather-bound books referred to in the Arabic chronicles.[7] Ibn an-Nadim tells us that originally the bindings were very crude. Books were bound in leather dressed in lime, which, by reason of defective process, remained much too stiff and hard. At a later date, in Kûfa, a more effective way of dressing leather was invented. This was done by means of dates, with the result that the leather became softer and limper. Later on the art was much developed and much progress was made in ornamentation and illumination of leather-bound books. A European scholar Sarre has furnished a monograph

1. Encyclopædia of Islam II, p. 626.
2. Istakari p. 288.
3. Maqrisi, p. 180.
4. Nasir Khusru, Safar Namah p. 11 Bombay ed.
5. Al-Khwarizmi, Resail, p. 25.
6. Fihrist p. 14.
7. Arib, As-silah, p. 90, Leiden.

on the Islamic Bookbinding which contains 36 coloured illustrations of Arabic and Persian bindings. These pictures looked like genuine and one, taking them to be real, touches them with his fingers. All the illustrations have been taken from the Kaiser Fredrick Museum of Berlin.

Art of painting in gold and illustrating.

Along with the art of calligraphy and bookbinding the art of painting in books also came into vogue. Gilding with gold and siver and binding of artistic designs were carried to perfection by the Muslim artists. There were some scholars expert in this art, like Abu 'Ubaidah, known as Tarsûni (d. 730) who, according to Sayuti, was an expert bookbinder and painter in gold.[1] as-Sam'âni saw a MS. of Qurân written by Abu Usâmâ, the ruler of the Syrian fortress Shaizar (5th century), in letters of gold on the Syrian mica, the like of which, he says, no human eye has ever perceived.[2] Ibn an-Nadini has given the names of some experts who were gilding the MSS. of Qurân.[3]

As the pictures of living beings were forbidden in Islam, at first the labours of the Muslim artists were solely confined to painting flowery designs and lifeless articles, but in course of time living beings were also painted. Yâqût makes a mention of a MS. of Bal'ami's Sowar al-aqalim, containing pictures, which he presented to az-Zahir, the son of Salâhud-Din and ruler of Hamat.[4] Even at the present day, we find hundreds of illustrated MSS. in the libraries of Europe and the Near East.[5]

Book Trade.

Owing to the particular attention of the Muslims towards reading of books and their increasing popularity, the book-trade received a great impetus. Book-shops were established

1. Bughiya, p. 51.
2. Ansab, fol. 346 and Yaqut II, p. 190.
3. Fihrist, p. 14.
4. Yâqût, Irshad.
5. For an account of such illustrated books see the discourses of the Arabian Academy, Damascus Vol. I p. 185.

in every Muslim land. The manufacture of paper was a chief factor in the development of book-trade. In the third century of Hegira, there were 300 book-shops at Baghdad.[1] Maqrizi writes of a book-market in his own time.[2] Al-Khatib of Baghdad, in the middle of the fourth century, refers to the book-market of Baghdad which was in a flourishing condition, all the shops being full of books.[3] These were in small shops in close proximity to each other and generally in the vicinity of a mosque. Books exposed for sale on trestles had a label on the back to facilitate the search for them.

Books were sold either privately or by auction. The auctioneer was called "Munādi". Most[4] of the booksellers were men of learning and scholars like Abu Hâtim Sahl b. Muh. as-Sijistâni, the lexicographer, Yâqût (d. 620), the geographer and others. The booksellers had their agents called Dallāl ul Kutub[5] who used to supply them with books. As for instance, the poet Haziri, who owing to his profession was named "Dallâl ul Kutub".[6] Another Dallāl's agent was al-Wajih b. Surah in Egypt who sat at the door of his house with books, and learned scholars used to come to him on Monday and Tuesday to purchase books from him.[7]

In this connection, it will be interesting to note that a blind scholar Zainuddin al-Āmidi of the eighth century, was a book-dealer and knew the price of each book in his house. Whenever he bought any book, he made a coil of a paper, made letters according to the Abjad method, pasted it inside the book and putting a scrap of paper on it, he embossed it, so that the letters could be easily felt by hand. When he wanted to ascertain the price he used to lay his hand on the embossed letters.[8]

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1. Yaqubi cf. Von Kremer.
2. Maqrizi III. p. 165.
3. J. R. A. S. (1912) p. 71.
4. Bughiya p. 97.
5. Ibn Khall i, p. 63.
6. Ibid i, p. 286.
7. Ibid i, p. 63.
8. Safadi, Nakt. pp. 207-208.

Price of Books.

Although owing to the extensive use of paper and flourishing book-trade the prices of books had comparatively gone down, yet these do not appear to have been so cheap. In the fifth century a copy of Ibn Duraid's Jumhara was sold at 60 Dinârs[1] (£ 30 or Rs. 425). The voluminous chronicles of at-Ṭabari were bought at one hundred Dinârs[2]. (£ 50 or Rs. 700.) The Omayyad poet Jari's Diwan was purchased at 200 Dinârs[3] (£ 100 = Rs. 1400). Kitâbul 'Aain of *Kh*alil b. Ahmad which a bookseller brought from Khorâsân in the market of Basra was sold at 50 Dinârs[4] (£ 25 or Rs. 350). An Arabic translation of the commentary of Acroasis of Alexander Aphrodosias was bought at 100 Dînârs (£ 50 or Rs. 700).[5] But as the number of books and the scribes went on increasing, the price of books fell down gradually. The inference of some oriental scholars as to the average price of books in the Abbaside period at 1 Dinâr (10 shillings or Rs. 7/8) is not correct. Syed Amir Ali,[6] Miss Olga Pinto [7] an Italian lady orientalist and F. Krenkow, the learned Arabist, have deduced from Yâqût's statements regarding the ad-Damiriyah library of Marv, whence he used to borrow books. "My residence" says the author "was never without 200 books; among them were books worth 200 Dinârs lent to me without any deposit."[8]

From this it is clear that Yâqût used to retain books, most of them worth 200 Dinars, from which it does not follow that the average price was 1 Dinar.

Sometimes, precious books were sold at low price, owing to the pecuniary circumstances of the seller. It is said of Avicenna that he had read Aristotle's work on Metaphysics

1. Ibn Khall. I, p. 479.
2. Maqrizi, I, p. 408.
3. Ibn Khall., II, p. 522.
4. Fihrist, p. 42.
5. I, pp. 69-70.
6. History of the Saracens 460, new ed.
7. Islamic libraries, translated by F. Krenthow. Islamic Culture.
8. Mu'jamul. Buldân, IV, pp. 509-510.

forty times and had learnt it by heart, and yet he was unable to comprehend it thoroughly. One day at evening he went to the bookseller's market, when a book-agent was putting a book on auction. He requested Avicenna to buy it but he refused, thinking it a worthless book. It is dirt cheap, insisted the auctioneer and sold it at 3 Dirhems (Re. ¼) only, its owner being in urgent need of money. At last the book was purchased and the buyer, to his utmost joy, found it to be the commentary of Al Farabi on the Metaphysics of Aristotle, which solved his difficulties. For possessing such a useful book, he gave alms to the poor in gratitude to God.[1]

Fraudulent tricks of the Book sellers.

The book-selling being a profitable business and books being sold at high prices, some clever book-dealer demanded high price for the works of some well-known author. Sometimes a cunning book-dealer charged exorbitant price for an ordinary book by selling it under the name of some renowned author. Thus a book-seller once compiled a Book of Songs in the name of the celebrated musician Ishaq al Musili, and sold it for a considerable price[2]. Such tricks were often played in the book markets. Counterfeit coins and forged documents were brought for sale in the market. Such frauds were not common only with the book dealers. The customers also were not short of such tricks. It is related of a grammarian 'Abdullah b. Ahmad al-*Kh*ā*sh*s*h*āb, who, while selecting books from a lot on sale, was accustomed to take advantage of the book-seller's inattention and tear the book, and alleging it to be incomplete, he purchased the incomplete portions at a nominal price[3]. The Booksellers of Baghdad Ibn al-*Kh*azzār, Abu Bakr al-Qantari and Abu Husain at *Kh*urasāni relate of as-Sirāfi, the Judge at Baghdad, that on account of his poverty whenever he wanted to sell any book, he used to get it copied by his pupils and wrote at the end of each MS. that he has collated it with the text and

1. T. Atibba, II, pp. 3-4.
2. Fihrist, p. 141.
3. Bughiya, p. 278.

made corrections therein, his object being to draw more money for a correct text.[1]

Book Shops as Literary Clubs.

On account of the special importance attached to the book-sellers' shops during that literary age, book-stalls were generally used as literary clubs, whither scholars and savants used to assemble, lively discussions being held there on literary topics. The booksellers were not only ordinary publishers, but men of talents and ability and most of them were famous authors. Bookshops were so much held in esteem that at Muhallibi, the Vazir, advised his son not to sit in the Bazar except at the book-market.[2] Maqrizi has given verses of some poet who has expressed the same idea.[3]

The book-shops had become the rendezevous and a place of recreation for the scholars. Yâqût informs us about the shop of a certain bookseller Sa'ad, a litterateur, poet and prose-writer[4]. It was the resort of scholars and men of letters. Yâqût has also related of a blind grammarian Abul-Ghanâim Habashi b. Muhammad (d. 568), who in spite of his blindness constantly used to go at night to the book-market of Baghdad and thus continued for 20 years.[5] In the seventh century, a scholar Ibn al-Qun'e was accustomed to sit in the book-market of Damascus.[6] Ibn Jauzi (d. 597) writing about the book-market of Baghdad, remarks that it is a repertory of savants, scholars and poets.[7] Writing about the book market of the old Egypt, the vestiges of which were seen till 780 A. H. in his own time and which was afterwards transferred to Cario, Maqrizi says that it was a centre where learned men used to meet.[8]

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1. Yâqût, Irshâd, II, p. 190.
2. Al-Fakhri, p. 3, Cairo Ed.
3. Maqrizi, III, pp. 125-126.
4. Yâqût II, p. 23.
5. Yâqût III, p. 3, Safadi, Nakt, p. 134.
6. Bughiyah, p. 97.
7. Manaqib, Baghdad, p. 26.
8. Maqrizi, III, p. 125.

Conclusion.

To judge of the cultivation and development of the art of Warāqat, suffice it to think of those public, private and royal libraries and the colossal mass of books scattered in mosques, Madrasahs, Khanqahs, Serais, hospitals and royal palaces, in the length and breadth of the Islamic Empire.

I think no nation has ever written, copied and collected so many books as the Mussalmans have done during their halcyon days. Alas, that precious treasure of Arabic learning disappeared and was partly destroyed by the destructive invasion of the Tartars, partly drowned in the waters of Tigris, partly committed to flames by the brutal depredations of the crusaders and partly by the internecine wars between the Muslim princes. Notwithstanding this, the pages of the literary labours of the sons of Islam are scattered in the libraries of the East and the West and reveal their glorious past.

سودا کی حیات اور کلام کے متعلق غلط فہمیاں اور غلط بیانیاں

MISUNDERSTANDINGS ABOUT THE LIFE AND POETRY OF SAUDA.

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میں اس علمی مجلس میں ہرگز لب کشائی کی جراءت نہ کرتا اگر اس شعبہ کے فاضل صدر میری ہمت نہ بڑھاتے اور مجھے اپنے مضمون کا موضوع نہ سجھاتے میرا موضوع بظاہر کچھ زیادہ اہم اور جاذب نظر نہیں - اس کی اہمیت محض اس وجہہ سے ہے کہ وہ ہمیں ایک فراموش کردہ فرض کو یاد دلاتا ہے زبان کے ہر فدائی کا فرض ہے کہ وہ اپنے ادب کی صحیح تاریخ سے واقف ہو - ادب قوم کی روح ہے - یہ بھی ہمارے دماغی جمود اور ادبی مذاق کی پستی کا بڑا ثبوت ہے کہ ہماری زبان و ادب کی تاریخ بڑی حد تک تاریکی میں ہے - میرا مدعا یہ نہیں ہے کہ ہم اس کی طرف سے بالکل غفلت اور سردمہری برت رہے ہیں - بے شبہ اس میدان میں بھی چند سالوں سے بعض حضرات اپنے قلم کی جولانیاں دکھا رہے ہیں اس سلسلہ میں اب تک جو کوششیں ہوئی ہیں وہ بڑی حد تک انفرادی ہیں اور اسی لئے غیر مکمل و غیر کافی بلکہ غیر اصولی و غیر علمی بھی ہیں - ابھی ضرورت ہے کہ باضابطہ اصولی و علمی طریقوں سے ادبیات اردو کے منتشر اجزاء کو یکجا جمع کرکے

صحیح تاریخ مدون کی جائے - قدیم ادب کے باب میں یہ عذر ہو سکتا ہے کہ قدامت اور زمانہ کی گردش نے اس کو گوشہ گمنامی میں چھپا دیا ہے اور اس لئے دیرودوررفتہ شاعروں ادیبوں اور مصنفوں کے حالات و تصانیف کس مپرسی سے روشناس اور بے التفاتی کا شکار ہیں - لیکن ان مشہور و بلند پایہ اساتذہ کے حق میں ہمارا کیا عذر ہے جن کے کلام و تصانیف کو رات دن مزے لے لے کر پڑھتے ہیں اور انکے صحیح حالات اور تصانیف سے تقریباً لا علم ہیں - اکثر اساتذہ کی غلط تصویریں ہمارے ذہنوں میں ہیں - ہماری سینہ بسینہ روایتوں اور تذکرہ سنجوں کی فسانہ آرائیوں نے مشہور سے مشہور استادوں کی تصویروں کے خط و خال بدل دئے ہیں - اور ہمارے سامنے جو مرقعے پیش کئے ہیں وہ نہایت غلط اور بھونڈے ہیں بہت کم ارباب ادب اور اساتذہ سخن ایسے ہیں جن کے حقیقی سوانح اور کارنامے ہم اصلیت و واقفیت کی روشنی میں دیکھ سکتے ہیں - میں مثلاً آج کی صحبت میں اردو زبان کے ایک مشہور استاد کا ذکر کرونگا - مرزا محمد رفیع سودا کا نام اردو زبان کے ساتھ اس کی بقا تک وابستہ ہے - لیکن اس کی زندگی کے سوانح اور اس کی تصانیف و کلام سے ہم نہایت افسوس ناک طور پر ناواقف ہیں -

میرے مضمون کے دو حصے ہیں - پہلے حصہ میں میں ان غلطیوں اور غلط فہمیوں کو بے نقاب کرنا چاہتا ہوں جن کا شکار سودا کی حیات ہے - دوسرا حصہ اس کے کلام کے متعلق ہے - جس میں یہ دکھانے کی کوشش کرونگا کہ اس کے کلام میں ایک حصہ ایسا ہے جو دوسروں کا ہے اور غلطی سے اس سے منسوب ہوگیا ہے - اور ایک حصہ ایسا بھی ہے جو اب تک معرض اشاعت میں نہیں آیا —

سودا کی حیات میں سب سے پہلے غلط فہمی اس کے خاندان کے متعلق ہے - آزاد اور اسکی تقلید میں بعد کے تمام تذکرہ

نگاروں نے اس کے آباو اجداد کو سپاہی پیشہ لکھا ہے - قدیم تذکرہ نویسوں نے کہیں اس کی طرف اشارہ نہیں کیا - قایم سب سے پہلا تذکرہ نگار ہے جس نے سودا کے والد مرزا محمد شفیع کی نسبت لکھا ہے کہ بطریق تجارت ہندوستان آئے اور عمل تجارت میں مشہور ہوئے - اس بیان سے سودا کے آبائی پیشے کا کہیں حال نہیں کھلتا - صرف اس کے والد کا تاجر ہونا ثابت ہوتا ہے - سودا آبائی سلسلہ سے مغل تھا اور اسکے اجداد مغلوں کے پیر تھے - جیسا کہ اس کے شاگرد حکیم اصلح الدین نے اپنے اس قصیدہ میں اس کی طرف اشارہ کیا ہے جو مصحفی کی ہجو میں تحریر ہوا ہے --

ہے ایک سبب یہ کہ وہ آپ مغل تھا
اور جتنے بزرگ اوس کے تھے مغلوں کے تھے وہ پیر

اس بیان سے بھی سودا کی آبائی سپاہ گری کی تردید ہوتی ہے مادری سلسلہ بھی سپاہی پیشہ نہ تھا - شاہ کمال نے لکھا ہے کہ سودا کے نانا نعمت خان عالی تھے جن کا آبائی پیشہ طبابت تھا خود اس کا ابتدائی تخلص حکیم بقول آزاد بلگرامی اس پیشے کی مناسبت کی قوی شہادت ہے - اس میں شبہ نہیں کہ نعمت خان نے بادشاہی نوکری اختیار کرلی تھی لیکن سپاہیوں کے زمرہ میں اس کا شمار نہیں ہوسکتا - ان شواہد کی موجودگی میں یہ کسی طرح صحیح نہیں ہوسکتا کہ سودا کا آبائی یا مادری پیشہ سپاگری تھا - گردیزی کا یہ بیان صحیح معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ خود سودا نے سپاگری اختیار کرلی تھی اسکا ثبوت اس کے کلام سے بھی ملتا ہے - لیکن بہت جلد اس سے سبک دوش ہوکر مصاحب پیشگی پر اتر آیا تھا جیسا کہ قایم نے لکھا ہے -

سودا کی عمر کا بھی ابھی تک صحیح یقن نہیں ہوا - ازاد نے پیدا ئش کا سنہ ۱۱۲۴ ھ لکھا ہے - وفات ۱۱۹۵ ھ میں

ہوگی - اس لحاظ سے ستر (۷۰) سال کی عمر قیاس ہے - یقینی نہیں - سنہ پیدائش کسی تذکرہ میں درج نہیں - قائم نے لکھا ہےکہ مرزا رفیع بہادر شاہ کی فوج کے ساتھ دکن گئے تھے - بہادر شاہ کا زمانہ ۱۱۱۹ تا ۱۱۲۴ ھجری ہے - سودا نے فوجی ملازمت کا ذکر کیا ہے لیکن زمانہ کا اظہار نہیں کیا - حضرت علی کی منقبت میں قصیدہ لکھا ہے اس کی تمہید میں مظالم گردوں کی شکایت کا آغاز اس طرح کیا ہے —

کہی جاتی نہیں وہ مجھ سے جو اوس ظالم نے
جس طرح کے میرے اوقات میں ڈالے ہیں خلل

بٹھایا مجھے گھربار چھڑا لشکر میں
پال بے چوگب تلے اپنے بضرر از پرتل

اگر ہم قایم کے بیان کو صحیح تسلیم کریں اور سودا کے اس بیان سے بہادر شاہی فوجی ملازمت مان لیں تو ظاہر ہےکہ ۱۱۱۹ اور ۱۱۲۴ ھ کے درمیان اس کی عمر فوجی ملازمت کے لئے کم سے کم اٹھارہ سال کی ہوگی اس لحاظ سے اسکی ولادت کا سنہ ۱۱۰۶ ھ سے قبل ہوسکتا ہے اور اس طرح اس کی عمر کم و بیش نوے سال ہوتی ہے - میر حسن نے ۱۱۸۵ اور ۱۱۸۸ (مدت قیام دربار اودھ بہ عہد شجاع الدولہ) کے مابین لکھا ہے کہ اس کی عمر ستر سال کی ہوگی - اس اعتبار سے اس کا سال ولادت ۱۱۱۵ اور ۱۱۱۷ ھ کے درمیان پڑتا ہے اور عمر اسی سال کے لگ بھگ - لیکن یہ قیاس ہے -

ان بیانات سے صاف ظاہر ہے سودا کی عمر کا صحیح یقین اب تک نہیں ہوا اور ابھی ضرورت ہے کہ اس باب میں مزید تحقیق سے کام لیا جائے -

سودا کے تخلص کی وجہ بھی متحقق نہیں ہوئی - آزاد نے " بعض " کا قول نقل کیا ہےکہ باپ کی سوداگری وجہ

تعلمی ہوئی - حوالہ نہیں دیا اسپر نگر نے بھی قائم کے حوالے سے ہی لکھا ہے - قایم کا تذکرہ چھپ چکا ہے اس میں یہ درج نہیں -

آزاد اور اسکے مقلدوں نے لکھا ہیکہ خان ارزو نے سودا کو مشورہ دیا کہ " مرزا - فارسی اب تمہاری زبان مادری نہیں اس میں ایسے نہیں ہو سکتے کہ تمہارا کلام اہل زبان کے مقابل میں قابل تعریف ہو - طبع موزون ہے شعر سے نہایت مناسبت رکھتی ہے - تم اردو کہا کرو تو یکتائے زمانہ ہوگے مرزا بھی سمجھ گئے اور دیرینہ سال استاد کی نصیحت پر عمل کیا" -

تمام قدیم تذکرہ نگار اس بارے میں خاموش ہیں - آزاد کے بیان کا ماخذ معلوم نہیں - سودا نے خود ایک قطعہ لکھا ہے جس میں ایک فارسی دان کا قول نقل کیا ہے - خان آرزو کے مشورہ کا ذکر نہیں

میں ایک فارسی دان نے کہا کہ اب مجھکو
ہوئی ہے بندش اشعار فرس ذہن نشیں
جو آپ کیجئے اصلاح شعر کی میرے
نہ پائیے غلطی تو محاورہ میں کہیں

ہے اور زیر فلک ذات میرزا فاخر
سلامت ان کو رکھے حق سدا بروے زمین
سو کب انہوں کو ہے اصلاح کا کسو کی دماغ
قبول کب کرے ان کی معانت رنگیں

کہا یہ بعد تامل کہ دوں جواب تجھے
جو میری بات کا اے یار تجھکو ہووے یقین
جو چاہے یہ کہ کہے ہند کا زبان دان شعر
تو بہتر اس کے لئے رحمت کا ہے آئین

وگرنہ کہہ کے وہ کیوں شعر فارسی ناحق
ہمیشہ فارسی دان کا ہو مورد نفرین

کوئی زبان ہو لازم ہے خوبیء مضمون
زبان فرس پہ کچھہ منحصر سخن تو نہیں

اگر فہیم ہے تو چشم دل سے کر تو نظر
زبان کا مرتبہ سعدی سے لے کے تا بہ حزیں

کہاں تلک ان کی زبان تو درست بولیگا
زبان اپنی میں تو باندہ معنی رنگین

دیار ھند میں دو چار ایسے ہو گزرے
جنھوں نے باز رکھا مضحکہ سے اپنے تئیں

چنانچہ خسرو و فیضی و آرزو و فقیر
سخن انہوں کا بمثل کے ہے قابل تحسین

سوائے ان کے کوئی اور بھی ہو پر شاعر
سواد ھند میں وہ ھی ھیں بامزہ تمکیں

اس سے ظاہر ھیکہ خان آرزو کا مشورہ نہیں تھا اگر وہ مشورہ دیتے تو اس طرح فخر سے مسلم الثبوت اساتذہ میں اپنا شمار نہ کرتے - اردو میں طبع آزمائی کے مشورہ کی اس زمانہ میں کوئی ضرورت نہ تھی - خود اردو کی مقبولیت اور لوگوں کے بڑھتے ہوئے عام رجحان نے فارسی کا بت توڑ دیا تھا - نو وارد سے نو وارد ایرانی بھی اس سے نہ بچ سکے - سودا تو ھندوستان میں پیدا ہوا تھا اور پورا ھندوستانی تھا - ماحول کے عام مذاق کے اثر سے اس نے بھی فارسی کو کم التفاتی سے دیکھا ـــ

سودا کی استادی اور شاہ عالم بادشاہ کی شاگردی کے بارے میں ایک نہایت پر لطف افسانہ بیان کیا جاتا ہے - آب حیات میں لکھا ہے

"جب کلام کا شہرہ عالمگیر ہوا تو شاہ عالم بادشاہ اپنا کلام اصلاح کے لئے دینے لگے اور فرمائش کرنے لگے - ایک دن کسی غزل کے لئے تقاضا کیا انہوں عذر بیان کیا - حضور نے فرمایا۔ بھئی مرزا کئی غزلیں روز کہہ لیتے ہو - مرزا نے کہا پیرو مرشد جب طبیعت لگ جاتی ہے دو چار شعر کہہ لیتا ہوں - حضور نے فرمایا بھئی ہم تو پائخانہ میں بیٹھے بیٹھے چار غزلیں کہہ لیتے ہیں - ہاتھ باندھ کر عرض کی ویسی بو بھی آتی ہے - یہہ کہکر چلے آئے - بادشاہ نے پھر کئی دفعہ بلا بھیجا اور کہا کہ ہماری غزلیں بناؤ ہم تمہیں ملک الشعرا کردینگے - یہ نہ گئے اور کہا کہ حضور کی ملک الشعرائی سے کیا ہوتا ہے - کریگا تو میرا کلام ملک الشعراء کریگا - پھر ایک بڑا مخمس پر آشوب لکھا"

کہا میں آج یہ سودا سے کیوں ہے ڈانواں ڈول

یہ محض افسانہ ہے واقعات اس کی مطلق تائید نہیں کرتے - شاہ عالم بادشاہ سنہ ۱۱۷۳ ھ میں تخت نشین ہوئے اور سودا ۱۱۶۷ ھ میں دھلی کو خیرباد کہہ چکا تھا - وہ نواب عمادالملک غازی الدین خان کے ساتھہ فرخ آباد گیا تھا - یہ وہ موقع ہے جب نواب عماد الملک احمد شاہ درانی کے ایماء سے دوآبے سے زرتاوان وصول کرنے گئے تھے - سودا ساتھہ تھا - مہربان خان رند دیوان احمد خان بنگش والئی فرخ آباد کے شدید اصرار سے وہاں ٹھہر گیا تھا - قایم نے سنہ ۱۱۶۸ ھ میں یہ واقعات لکھے ہیں اس کے بعد سودا دھلی نہیں آیا بلکہ سنہ ۱۱۸۵ ھ کے قریب فیض آباد اور ۱۱۸۸ ھ میں لکھنئو گیا اور بالآخر لکھنئو میں فوت ہوکر وہیں پیوند خاک ہو گیا - ایسی صورت میں شاہ عالم بادشاہ کی شاگردی محض افسانہ ہے - اس میں بھی صداقت کا شائبہ تک نہیں کہ شاہ عالم نے ملک الشعرائی کے خطاب کی ترغیب و تحریص دلائی تھی - اس لئے کہ سودا شاہ عالم کی تخت نشینی سے کم سے کم آٹھہ سال قبل اس خطاب سے سرفرا

ہوچکا تھا جیسا کہ میر تقی میر نے سنہ ۱۱۶۵ ھ میں لکھا کہ " ملک الشعرائی ریختہ اورا شاید " اور قایم نے سنہ ۱۱۶۸ ھ میں اس کی تائید اس طرح کی ہے " بالفعل بخطاب ملک الشعرائی کہ مہیں پایہ سخنوران است اعزاز و امتیاز دارد " خطاب ملک الشعرائی کے متعلق ایک اور غلط بیانی کا ازالہ اس سلسلہ میں بے محل نہ ہو گا —

عام طور پر مشہور ہے کہ آصف الدولہ نے سودا کو یہ خطاب دیا تھا لیکن آج تک کسی نے کوئی معتبر سند اس کی نہیں پیش کی - نہ تو قدیم تذکروں میں اس کا ذکر ہے اور نہ خود سودا کے کلام میں اس کا کہیں حوالہ ہے - اس کے علاوہ میر اور قایم کے بیانات سے جن کو میں ابھی پیش کرچکا ہوں اس کی قوی شہادت ملتی ہے کہ آصف الدولہ کی تخت نشینی سے کم سے کم (۲۳) سال قبل اس خطاب سے سرفراز ہوچکا تھا - اس میں شبہہ نہیں کہ میر اور قایم نے یہ نہیں بتایا کہ اس کو یہ خطاب کہاں سے ملا - اگر دربار دہلی سے ملا تو شاید احمد شاہ بادشاہ نے یہ خطاب دیا ہو اس لئے کہ اس زمانے میں سودا کی شاعری چمکی - لیکن ایک مشہور روایت ہے (جس کو محمد انوار حسین تسلیم سہسوانی نے بھی کلیات سودا مطبوعہ نولکشور ۱۲۸۹ ھ کے خاتمہ پر نقل کیا ہے) یہ معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ شیخ علی حزین نے سودا کو یہ خطاب دیا تھا - جب شیخ ۱۱۴۶ ھ میں ہندوستان آیا تو کچھ عرصہ تک دہلی میں بھی رہا ایک روز سودا ملنے گئے - شعر پڑھنے کی اجازت حاصل کی - اپنا یہہ شعر پڑھا —

ناوک نے تیرے صید نہ چھوڑا زمانے میں
تڑپے ہے مرغ قبلہ نما آشیانے میں

شیخ نے پوچھا تڑپے ہے کے کیا معنی کہا می تپد - شیخ نے پھر شعر پڑھوایا اور زانو پر ہاتھ مار کر کہا " میرزا رفیع قیامت

کردی - یک قبلہ نما باقی بود آنرا ہم نگزاشتی" یہ کہہ کر اٹھ کھڑے ہوئے فرط مسرت سے بغل گیر ہوئے اور اس خطاب سے سرفراز کیا - اس روایت کی ہلکی سی تایید سودا کے اس شعر سے ہوتی ہے

ممکن نہیں یہ روح مقدس سے حزیں کے
ایسی جو غزل ہووے تو سودا صلہ دے چھوڑ

اگر یہ روایت صحیح ہے تو ظاہر ہیکہ سودا کو یہ خطاب محمد شاہ کے اخیر زمانے میں ملا اسلئے کہ شیخ کا قیام اس زمانے میں دھلی میں تھا ممکن ہے کہ میر و قایم نے اسی واقعہ کی بناء پر لکھا ہو - لیکن شیخ سے ایسی توقع رکھنا بیجا ہے کہ اس نے ایک ریختہ گو ہندوستانی شاعر کو محض ایک شعر کے سننے پر اتنی عزت بخشی ہو - اس کی کتاب احوال حزین اپنے وقت کی " مدر انڈیا " ہے - مصحفی کا بیان ان سب سے مختلف ہے اس نے لکھا ہے " بعضے اورا درین فن بہ ملک الشعرئی پرستش می کنند" بہر حال میر و قایم کے بیانات اور یہ روایت ثابت کرتے ہیں کہ سودا کو دربار اودھ سے یہ خطاب نہیں ملا تھا —

سودا کے ممدوحین دھلی میں ایک نام مہربان خان کا بھی لیا جاتا ہے اس نام کا کوئی امیر اس زمانے میں دھلی میں مشہور نہیں ہوا ہے - دھلی کے ممدوحین میں ابتک شاہ عالم گیر ثانی نواب عمادالملک ' نواب سیف الدولہ احمد علی خان ' بسنت خان خواجہ سرا کا ذکر ملتا ہے - بسنت خان محمد شاہی عہد کا خواجہ سرا ہے - محمد شاہی عہد کے آخر میں سودا کی شاعری نے فروغ پایا - جیسا کہ سودا نے رسالہ سبیل ہدایت اور عبرۃ الغافلین میں اس کی طرف اشارہ کیا ہے - اس زمانے میں صرف یہی خواجہ سرا سرپرست تھا - اس کے بعد احمد شاہی دور میں

سیف الدولہ نے اور عالم گیر ثانی کے عہد میں خود بادشاہ اور اس کے وزیر نواب عمادالملک نے سرپرستی کی - ان کے سوا کوئی امیر مہربان خان نام کا نہیں تھا - یہ مہربان خان فرخ آبادی احمد خان بنگش کا دیوان تھا - اس کی سرکار میں سودا نے تقریباً اٹھارہ سال گزارے - ۱۱۶۷ ھ سے ۱۱۸۵ ھ تک یہ سودا کا سرپرست رہا ہے کلیات میں جہاں جہاں یہ نام آیا ہے اس سے مراد فرخ آبادی مہربان خان ہے - اس کی تعریف میں جو قصیدے موجود ہیں ان سے بھی کوئی قرینہ اس بات کا نہیں پایا جاتا کہ یہ دہلوی امیر ہے - اس کے سوا سنہ ۱۱۷۳ ھ کے مکتوبہ کلیات میں یہ قصیدے موجود نہیں - یہ وہ کلیات ہے جس میں صرف قیام دہلی کے دوران کا کلام مدون ہوا ہے - یہ نسخہ مولانا حبیب الرحمن خان شروانی کے کتب خانے میں محفوظ ہے —

یہ کہا جاتا ہے کہ دہلی چھوڑنا گوارا نہ تھی اس لئے شجاع الدولہ کی اشتیاق بھری طلبی پر لکھنو جانے سے انکار کر دیا اور معذرت میں ایک رباعی لکھ بھیجی —

سودا والی ملک کی نااہلی و کمزوری اور اعیان حکومت کی سازشوں خود غرضیوں اور ناعاقبت اندیشیوں سے بیزار تھا - اس لئے دہلی سے بھاگنا چاہتا تھا - اس کی شہادت میں وہ مخمس پیش کیا جا سکتا ہے جس میں سودا نے والی ملک کی ناگفتہ بہ حالت اور ملک کے زبون حال کی تصویر کھینچی ہے - بادشاہ اور دربار داروں کی ہجو تو کہی ہے لیکن دلی بیزاری کا رنگ بھی نمایاں ہے —

امیر اب جو ہیں دانا انہوں کی ہے یہ چال
ہوے ہیں خانہ نشین دیکھ کر زمانے کا حال

بچھے ہے سوزنی ہوجا کھڑے جھلے ہے رومال
حضور بیٹھے ہیں ایک دو ندیم لعل کمال

دھرے ہے روبرو اک پیکدان و اک تنبول

جو کوئی ملنے کو انکے انھوں کے گھر آیا
ملے یہ اوس سے گر اپنا دماغ خوش پایا
جو ذکر سلطنت اس میں وہ درمیان لایا
انھوں نے پھیر کے اودھر سے منھہ یہ فرمایا
خدا کے واسطے بھائی کچھہ اور باتیں بول

جو مصلحت کے لئے جمع ہوں صغیر و کبیر
تو ملک و مال کی فکر اس طرح کریں ہیں مشیر
وطن پہنچنے کی سوجہی ہے بخشی کو تدبیر
کھڑا یہ ان کنے دیوان خاص بیچ وزیر
کہ شامیانے کے بانسوں پہ نقرئی ہیں جہول

غرض میں کیا کھوں یارو کہ دیکھکر یہ قہر
کروڑ مرتبہ خاطر میں گدرے ہے یہ لہر
جو ٹک بھی امن دل اپنے کو دیوے گردش دھر
تو بیٹھہ کر کہیں یہ روئیے کہ مردم شہر
گھروں سے پانی کو باھر کریں جہکول جہکول

یہ بین ثبوت اس امر کا ھیکہ سودا دلسے دھلی کو ترک کرنا چاھتا تھا لیکن کچھہ دنون جو دھلی مین ان دل شکن حوادث و انقلابات کے باوجود ٹھیر گیا - محض دوست احباب کے اصرار سے - چنانچہ ایک رباعی میں خود اسکی طرف اشارہ کیا ھے - خواجہ میر درد کا نام خصوصیت سے لیا ھے -

نا دیدنی از بسکہ ھے روئے عالم
ھے کفر ملاقات جو کیجئے باھم
کرتا ھوں کھیں جانے کا جس وقت میں عزم
درد آن کے سودا میرے پکڑے ھے قدم

ان حالات میں اگر اس کو کہیں سے عزت آمیز دعوت پہنچتی تو وہ خوشی سے قبول کرلیتا - چنانچہ ایسا ہی ہوا جب سودا کے سرپرست نواب غازی الدین خان عمادالملک احمد شاہ ابدالی کے ایماء سے دوآبے جانے لگے اور راستہ میں فرخ آباد میں قیام کیا تو احمد خان بنگش رئیس فرخ آباد کے دیوان مہربان خان نے اصرار کیا تو سودا اسے غنیمت جان کر ٹھہر گیا - اس کے سوا شجاع الدولہ کا سودا کے قیام دھلی کے زمانے میں دعوت دینا کئی وجوہ سے غیر صحیح معلوم ہوتا ہے - شجاع الدولہ ۱۱۶۶ھ میں مسند نشین ہوے - یہ وہ زمانہ ہے جس میں ان کو اہم ملکی معاملات و مہمات سے سر کھجانے کی فرصت نہ تھی - دوسرے سودا کے سرپرست عمادالملک سے انکی مخالفانہ چشمک تھی - اور ان کی تخت نشینی کے بعد ہی عمادالملک نے احمد شاہ ابدالی سے وعدہ کیا کہ وہ شجاع الدولہ سے زر خطیر وصول کر کے پیش کرینگے چنانچہ اس غرض سے انہوں نے بڑے لاؤ لشکر کے ساتھہ دوآبے کا سفر کیا - سودا بھی ساتھہ تھا - فرخ آباد سے آگے مہربان کے اصرار نے اس کو بڑھنے نہ دیا - جس رباعی کو اس دعوت کی معذرت کے طور پر بیان کیا جاتا ہے وہ رباعی سنہ ۱۱۷۴ھ کے مکتوبہ کلیات میں موجود نہیں ہے - ان حالات میں شجاع الدولہ کا دعوت دینا قرین صحت نہیں معلوم ہوتا - ہ ممکن ہے کہ قیام فرخ آباد کے دوران میں یہ طلبی ہوئی ہو اسلئے کہ اس وقت تک شجاع الدولہ کے حصے میں بڑی حد تک فرصت و فراغت آ چکی تھی - اور سودا نے حسن معذرت کے طور پر رباعی لکھہ بھیجی ہو —

سودا پئے دنیا تو بہر سو کب تک - آوارہ ازیں کوچہ بہ آں کو کب تک
حاصل یہی اس سے نہ کہ دنیا ہووے - بالفرض ہوا یوں بھی تو پھر تو کب تک

اس رباعی کی کوئی تحریری سند نہیں صرف روایت ہے اگر یہ صحیح مان لی جائے تو فرخ آباد سے لکھی ہوگی - اس لئے کہ

سودا نے اس میں نربدر کی آوارگی کا اشارہ کیا ہے - فرخ آباد جانے سے پہلے اس کو تلاش معاش میں کسی دوسری جگہ جانے کا اتفاق نہیں ہوا تھا - یہاں سے دوسری جگہ جانا آوارگی تھی شجاع الدولہ کے علاوہ محمد یارخان خلف نواب علی محمد خان والی ملک روہیل کھنڈ وغیرہ نے اس کو اپنے ہاں آنے کی دعوت دی تھی - لیکن فرخ آباد میں اس قدر خوش تھے کہ اس دعوت کو بھی رد کردیا - اگر خوش نہ ہوتے تو ممکن تھا کہ دونوں جگہ میں سے کہیں چلے جاتے - اس لئے کہ دونوں شعر و سخن کے قدردان تھے شجاع الدولہ کی سخاوت و قدردانی مشہور ہے - محمد یارخان بھی صاحب ذوق امیر تھا - موسیقی کا بڑا ماہر تھا - خود شاعر تھا اور شاعروں کا زبردست پرستار - کئی مشہور شاعر اس کی سرکار میں تھے - یہ بھی بیان کیا جاتا ہے کہ نواب احمد خان بنگش کے انتقال پر سودا فرخ آباد سے فیض آباد چلا گیا - نواب احمد خان اپنی وفات سے دو سال قبل بصارت سے محروم ہوگئے تھے - دو سال ان کے نہایت ابتری میں گذرے اور ان کو حکومت کے کاروبار کو پوری طرح دیکھنے بھالنے کا موقع نصیب نہوا - سودا کا سر پرست امیر مہربان خان دیوان بھی نواب کے علاج معالجے میں اپنے سرکاری فرائض کی بہ نسبت زیادہ مصروف تھا - نواب کی بیماری اور ان کے اوہام پرستانہ معالجے نے فرخ آباد کے پناہ گزیں شعراء کو نئی گردش کا پیام سنا دیا تھا - یہی وجہ ہیکہ سودا نے احمد خان کی وفات سے قبل نہ کہ بعد وفات فرخ آباد کو خیر آباد کہا - اس کا ثبوت خود اس کے کلام میں موجود ہے اس میں مہربان خان کے اشعار کی تعریف میں ایک مثنوی لکھی ہے اس میں اپنے رخصت ہونے کا ذکر کیا ہے اور دعا دی ہے کہ تو نواب کے سایہ میں پھولے پھلے - اور سوز کی سفارش کی ہے کہ وہ ایک طائر خوش نوا ہے جو اتفاق سے تیری محبت کے جال میں گرفتار ہے اگر وہ یہاں سے چھوٹا تو پھر کبھی ہاتھ نہیں آئیگا -

شعر کے بحر میں تو اوستاد ۔ کبھی ذہن کو ہے یاد مراد ۔
اس کو ہرطرح توغنیمت جان ۔ پھر ملیگا نہ سوز سا انسان
کیسے ہی رام ہوں کسی کے ساتھ ۔ پنچھی بھڑ کے ہوئے نہ آوین ہاتھ

کرچکا میں دعا پہ ختم کلام   پہونچے رخصت کا میرے تجکوسلام
حشر تک زیرسایہ نواب   رہیو جوں آفتاب عالمتاب

ان اشعار سے صاف روشن ہے کہ نواب احمد خان کی وفات سے قبل سودا نے فرخ آباد کو خیرباد کہا اور اس بناء پر سودا کا سنہ ۱۱۸۵ھ میں فیض آباد پہنچنا بھی مشتبہ ہوجاتا ہے ۔

آزاد نے لکھا ہے کہ فرخ آباد سے لکھنو گئے ۔ یہ صحیح نہیں پہلے فیض آباد گئے جو شجاع الدولہ کی راجدھانی تھی ۔ یہاں شجاع الدولہ کی وفات سنہ ۱۱۸۸ھ تک رہے اسکے بعد جب آصف الدولہ نے لکھنو کو اپنا مرکز حکومت قرار دیا تو لکھنو گئے ۔

آزاد کا بیان ہے جب سودا نے شجاع الدولہ کی ملازمت حاصل کی تو نواب بہت اعزاز سے ملے لیکن با توبے تکلفی سے یا طنز سے کہا مرزا وہ رباعی تمھاری اب تک میرے دل پر نقش ہے اور اس کو مکرر پڑھا انہیں اپنے حال پر بڑا رنج ہوا اور بپاس وضع داری پھر دربار نہ گئے ۔ یہاں تک کہ شجاع الدولہ مرگئے اور آصف الدولہ مسند نشین ہوئے ۔

آزاد کو رباعی کے مضمون پر رنگ چڑھانے کے لئے یہ قصہ گھڑنا پڑا ۔ یہ بھی ایک افسانہ ہے جو صداقت سے سراسر خالی ہے ۔ سودا شجاع الدولہ کی وفات تک برابر اسکے دربار میں رہے ۔ اسکے تین ثبوت ہیں ۔ پہلا تو خود سودا کا کلام ہے جس میں کئی قصیدے قطعے وغیرہ نواب کی مدح میں موجود ہیں بعض تاریخی قطعے بھی ہیں دوسرا ثبوت میرحسن کا بیان ہے جس نے لکھا ہے " الحال در سرکار

نواب شجاع الدولہ بوسیلہ شاعری سرفراز ست" تیسرا ثبوت مصحفی کا بیان ہے جس نے لکھا ہے -

"فقیر در عہد نواب شجاع الدولہ روزے برائے دیدن این بزرگ بخدمتش رسیدہ بود"

آگے چل کر لکھتا ہے "نواب مرحوم و مغفور نیز .... بودن اورا در سرکار خود بسیار غنیمت می دانستند"

لکھنو کے قیام کے متعلق بالاتفاق کہا جاتا ہے کہ والی ملک اور اہل لکھنو کی قدردانی سے سودا ہر طرح فارغ البال رہا - اور امن و اطمینان سے بسر کرتا رہا - یہ بڑی غلط فہمی ہے شجاع الدولہ کے زمانے میں سودا بے شک آسودہ حال اور مطمئن تھا - لیکن آصف الدولہ کے زمانے مین وہ معاش کی طرف سے زیادہ مطمئن نہ تھا - اسپرنگر اور علی لطف نے لکھا ہے کہ آصف الدولہ نے چھہ ہزار سالانہ مقرر کردئے تھے لیکن اسکو اس نقد رقم کے حاصل کرنے میں درباری کارکنون اور عاملون کی بڑی منت سماجت کرنی پڑتی تھی اور خزانے سے رقم اس دشواری اور ذلت سے ملتی تھی کہ سودا نے اس کی باربار شکایت کی ہے ایک قصیدہ میں آصف الدولہ سے ان دقتون کی شکایت کی ہے اور نقد رقم کے عوض جاگیر سے سرفراز کرنے کی درخواست کی ہے -

اس نظم سے غرض نہ مجھے عرض مدعا
مقصد میرا قلیل ہے پہونچے بانصرام

اپنی تیری جناب میں اتنی ہی عرض ہے
کس کس کا ملتجی ہوں کہا کر ترا غلام

انصاف ہے کہ ہو وہ عطا اس جناب کی
اور اون کی میں سماجت و منت کروں مدام

دیہات جو ہیں مصرف مطبخ کے اوس میں سے
اس نقدی کے عوض ہو مجھے صمدک طعام

حسن رضا خان سرفرزالدولہ نائب سلطنت تھے سودا کے شاگرد اور ممدوح تھے ان سے بھی اس نے یہی شکایت کی ہے -

پھرا کروں میں لئے مشت استخوان اپنے
مہانے میں پچے عمال زیر کہنہ رواق

سو اب تو اس سے بھی نوبت گزر گئی ہے مگر
گلے میں کرتا ہپا کفش ہاتھ میں چماق

سپرد تجکو ہی سررشتہ سب کی حرمت کا
کیا ہے اسنے وہ مخلوق کا ہے جو خلاق

سو طالب اتنی میں حرمت کا اب نہیں جس سے
کروں معاش بسر انذا میں بہ تم و طراق

عوض میں دے مجھے اس نقدی کے تو ایسا گاوں
بسر ہو عمر میری جس سے زیر کہنہ رواق

نہ شکل نور علی خان ہوں کہا کے میں فربہ
نہ سو کہہ کر ہوں طرح میرزا رفیع کے فاق

بہ نان و دال میں سازش کو ایک گوشہ میں
مدام مدح میں تیری لکھا کروں اوراق

یہ وہ صحیح اور داخلی بیانات ہیں جن سے سودا کی لکھنوی زندگی کا سچا سچا حال معلوم ہوتا ہے - اب تک ہم اس کی فارغ البالی اور آسودہ خاطری کے حق میں عجب حسن ظن رکھتے تھے شاعر کی شکایتیں ہماری خوش عقیدگی کو بدل دیتی ہیں -

ممکن نہیں کہ سودا کا ذکر آئے اور اس میں اس کے غلام غنچہ کو جگہ نہ ملے - مشہور ہے کہ یہ اس کا خادم تھا جو قلمدان لئے ہمیشہ ساتھ رہتا تھا - کسی قدیم تذکرہ میں اس غنچہ کا نام

دیکھنے میں نہیں آیا - آزاد اور اس کے مقلدین نے اس روایت کو نقل کیا ہے - سودا کے ساتھ اس کا ایک شاگرد ہمیشہ رہا کرتا تھا وہ شاعر بھی تھا اور اشرف علی خان صاحب تذکرہ فارسی کا بیٹا تھا - مرزا کے مسودات کی تبییض وہی کرتا تھا - میر حسن اسکے متعلق لکھتا ہے "میر فخرالدین خلف اشرف علی خان صاحب تذکرہ فارسی - اکثر ہمراہ مرزا می باشد و غزلہائے ایشان را ترقیم می نماید" -

مصحفی کا بیان ہے -

"فخرالدین ماہر......... مدتے بخدمت مرزا رفیع السودا اوقات عزیز خودرا بہ کتابت دیوانش صرف ساختہ.........
ازین جہت اکثر اوقات خودرا از مصاحبان و مشیران مرزا می شمارد و فخریہ می گوید کہ مونس ہر وقت ایشان بودہ ام و طرفہ تر این کہ با وصف آگاہی فن اگر کلامش نگاہ کنی خالی از سخافت نیست درین جا این مثل بسیار بموقع بیاد آمدہ - دوران باخبر در حضور و نزدیکان بے بصر دور" -

صرف ماہر کے متعلق تذکروں میں یہ ملتا ہے کہ وہ ہمیشہ ان کے ساتھ رہتا تھا ممکن ہے اس وقت زندہ دلوں نے اس کی خدمت کے اعتبار سے یہہ نام رکھدیا ہو - بہر حال اس کے سوا کسی تذکرہ یا تحریر میں غنچہ کا نام نہیں ملتا -

آزاد نے ایک بہت ہی پر لطف قصہ سودا اور میر جعفر زٹل کے بارے میں لکھا ہے کہ "جب مرزا رفیع لڑکے تھے اس وقت میر جعفر زٹل کا بڑھاپا تھا - اگلے وقتوں کے لوگ رنگین جریبیں جن پر نقاشی کا کام ہوتا تھا اکثر ہاتھ میں رکھا کرتے تھے - ایک دن شام کے قریب میر موصوف ایک سبز رنگ جریب ٹیکتے ٹہلنے کو باہر نکلے - مرزا بغل میں کتابوں کا جزدان لئے سامنے سے آتے تھے اس زمانے میں ادب کی بڑی پابندی تھی بزرگوں کو سلام کرنا اور ان کی زبان سے دعا لینے کو بڑی نعمت

سمجھتے تھے - مرزا نے جھک کر سلام کیا - انہوں نے خوش هو کر دعا دی - چونکہ بچپن هی میں مرزا کی موزونی طبع کا چرچا تھا - میر صاحب کچھ باتیں کرنے لگے - مرزا ساتھ هولئے انہوں نے نوخیز طبیعت کو بڑھا نے کے لئے کہا مرزا بھلا ایک مصرع پر مصرع تو لگاؤ —

ع-لالہ درباغ داغ چون دارد — مرزا نے سوچ کر کہا -
ع-عمر کوتا است غم فزون دارد — میر صاحب نے فرمایا واہ مرزا دن بھر کے بھو کے تھے • کہا گئے - مرزا نے پھر کہا ع-از غم عشق سینہ خون دارد — میر صاحب نے فرمایا واہ بھئی دل خون ہوتا ہے جگر خون ہوتا ہے بھلا سینہ کیا خون ہوگا - مرزا نے پھر ذرا فکر کیا اور کہا - ع- چہ کند سوزش درون دارد — میر صاحب نے کہاں هاں ٹھیک ہے ذرا طبیعت پر زور دیکر کہو- مرزا دق ہوگئے جھٹ کہہ دیا ع -یک عصا سبز زیر— دارد میر جعفر مرحوم ھنس پڑے اور جریب اٹھا کر کہا کیوں ہم سے بھی - دیکھ کہونگا تیرے باپ سے - بازی بازی بریش بابا هم بازی - مرزا تو لڑکے تھے هی - بھاگ گئے " —

یہ لطیفہ کسی قدیم تذکرہ میں نہیں - میر حسن نے لکھا ہے لیکن اس کو سودا سے کوئی تعلق نہیں - اس میں میر جعفر زٹلی اور سودا کے بجائے میر جعفر زٹلی اور مرزا بیدل هیں - میر حسن کے اصل الفاظ هیں —

" نقل است کہ روزے (میر جعفر زٹلی) پیش میرزا بیدل رفت - مرزا درفکر مصرع مصروف بودند ملتفت نشدند - پرسید صاحب و قبلہ کدام مصرع فرمودہ اند - گفت بلے و آن این مصرع بود - ع . لالہ برسینہ داغ چون دارد - میر مسطور گفت درین تامل چیست - ع چوبکے سبز زیر - دارد میرزا ازاین معنی بہم برآمد زود چیزے دادہ رخصت نمود "

میر حسن کے اس بیان سے ظاہر ھیکہ یہ سب لوگ کی فسانہ آرائی کے شاخسانے هیں -

آزاد نے میر تقی کی ایک رائے سودا کے متعلق درج کی ہے۔
"لکھنؤ میں کسی نے پوچھا کہوں حضرت آج کل کون کون شاعر ہے - کہا ایک تو سودا دوسرا یہ خاکسار ہے اور کچھ تامل کر کے کہا آدھے خواجہ میر درد - کوئی شخص بولا کہ حضرت - اور میر سوز صاحب - چین بجبیں ہو کر کہا کہ میر سوز صاحب بھی شاعر ہیں؟ انہوں نے کہا کہ آخر استاد نواب آصف الدولہ کے ہیں۔ کہا خیر یہ ہے تو پونے تین سہی"

میر صاحب کی یہ رائے کسی تحریر میں نہیں ملتی - ممکن ہے کہ آزاد کی نظر سے کہیں گزری ہو یا روایتاً کہیں سنی ہو لیکن اس کی صحت پر یقین نہیں کیا جا سکتا - میر صاحب سودا کی زندگی میں لکھنو نہیں گئے - بلکہ دو سال بعد جیسا کہ ذکر میر گلزار ابراھیم اور گلشن ھند سے ثابت ہے ایسی صورت میں آج کل والا فقرہ کسی طرح صحیح نہیں ہو سکتا۔

جب میر صاحب کا قصہ چھڑ گیا ہے تو ایک غلط فہمی کا ذکر کر دینا ضروری معلوم ہوتا ہے - بعض تذکرہ نویسوں نے لکھا ہے اور اسے اکثر معتبر ادیبوں نے نقل کیا ہے کہ سودا نے میر تقی میر کے ایک مرثیے اور ایک سلام پر ناقدانہ اعتراضات کئے ہیں اور ان کے فنی نقائص کی پردہ دری کی ہے - یہ منظوم اعتراضات دراصل ایک رسالہ ہے جس کا نام سبیل ھدایت ہے - حکیم اصلح الدین نے اس پر ایک نثری دیباچہ فارسی میں لکھا ہے جس سے صاف معلوم ہوتا ہے کہ یہ میر تقی میر نہیں بلکہ یہ بزرگ میر محمد المتخلص بہ تقی ہیں - سودا نے تقی کے جن اشعار پر اعتراض کئے ہیں ان میں تقی کا تخلص اکثر قلمی دیوانوں میں موجود ہے مرتب نے تقی کو میر کر دیا ہے - میں سبیل ھدایت سے ایک بند نقل کرتا ہوں ۔

تقی اس حکایت کو کوئی کیا کہیگا
یہ تو حرف ہیں اس کے جو میں ہوں بولا

کوئی مہربان ہو کہے کربلا جا
کہ وہاں جا کے مرنے کی دل کو طلب ہے

تمام قلمی دواوین میں یہی تخلص استعمال ہوا ہے - فہرست مخطوطات انڈیا آفس نشان (۱۳۷) میں سودا کے اس دیوان کا ذکر ہے جسکی کتابت یقین کے بیٹے مقبول نبی خان نے ۱۲۱۴ھ میں شاہ جہاں آباد میں کی ہے اس نے صاف طور سے محمد تقی دہلوی عرف گھاسی شاگرد فخرالدین لکھا ہے یہ وہی شاعر ہے جسکا ذکر میر حسن نے اپنے تذکرہ کے صفحہ (۷۰) پر کیا - ان شواہد کی موجودگی میں تقی کو میر سمجھ لینا کسی طرح قابل قبول نہیں -

سودا اور ضاحک کی ہجویات کے بارے میں آزاد نے لکھا ہیکہ سودا ضاحک کے انتقال کے بعد ان کے فرزند میر حسن سے عزاپرسی کرنے گئے - دیوان اپنا ساتھ لیتے گئے بعد رسم عزاپرسی کے اپنی بیہودہ گوئی پر جو کہ اس مرحوم کے حق میں کی تھی بہت سے عذر کئے اور کہا کہ سید مرحوم نے دنیا سے انتقال فرمایا تم فرزند ہو جو کچھ اس روسیاہ سے گستاخی ہوئی معاف کرو- بعد اس کے نوکر سے دیوان منگا کر جو ہجویں ان کی کہی تھیں سب چاک کرڈالیں - میر حسن نے بمقتضائے علو حوصلہ و سعادت مندی اسی وقت دیوان باپ کا گھر سے منگایا اور جو ہجوین ان کی تھیں وہ پھاڑ ڈالیں "

میر ضاحک کا انتقال سنہ ۱۱۹۶ھ میں ہوا جیسا کہ خود آزاد نے گلزار ابراہیم کے حوالے سے لکھا ہے اور سودا کا انتقال سنہ۱۱۹۵ھ میں اس حالت کے تحت آزاد کا یہ بیان بالکل بے بنیاد اور سراسر غلط ہو جاتا ہے -

آزاد نے ایک لطیفہ لکھا ہے -

" ایک ولایتی نے کہ زمرہ اہل سیف سے تھا عجب تماشا کیا یعنی سودا نے اسکی ہجو کہی اور ایک محفل میں اس کے سامنے ہی

پڑھنی شروع کردی - ولایتی بیٹھا سنا کیا - جب ھجو ختم ہوئی اٹھ کر سامنے آ بیٹھا اور ان کی کمر پکڑ کر مسلسل و متواتر گالیوں کا جھاڑ باندھ دیا - انہیں بھی ایسا اتفاق آج تک نہ ہوا تھا حیران ہو کر کہا کہ خیر خیر باشد خیر باشد - جناب آغا اقسام این مقالات شایان شان شما نیست - ولایتی نے پیش قبض کھینچ کر ان کے پیٹ پر رکھ دی اور کہا ' نظم خودت گفتی - حالا این نثر را گوش کن - ہر چہ تو گفتی نظم بود - نظم از ما نمی آید ما بہ نثر ادا کردیم - ' یہ اور اس قسم کے چند لطیفے آزاد نے اپنی کتاب میں درج کئے ہیں - نہ تو کسی کتاب کا حوالہ دیا اور نہ کسی روایت کا ذکر کیا۔ ایسی حالت میں ان کی صداقت مشتبہ ہے - اوپر کی مثالوں سے واضح ہے کہ تاریخی حقایق کو تذکرہ سنجوں نے فسانہ آرائی سے مسخ و مجروح کردیا ہے اور واقعات و حالات کو بدل کر ان کی نوعیت کچھ کی کچھ کردی ہے تو اس قسم کے خیالی قصے وضع کرنے میں کیا امر مانع ہے -

سودا کی حیات کے متعلق غلطیوں کو میں یہاں ختم کرتا ہوں اور اب اس حصے کو لیتا ہوں جو اس کے کلام کے متعلق ہے -

سودا کا کلام کلیات کی شکل میں مدون ہو کر شایع ہو چکا ہے اس کا سب سے زیادہ رائج متداول اور عام دسترس میں جو نسخہ ہے وہ نول کشور کا ہے - لیکن ایک تو یہ غلط ہے - دوسرے اس میں الحاقی کلام کثرت سے ہے جو دوسروں کا ہے - تیسرے اس میں بہت سا ایسا کلام موجود نہیں ہے جو سودا کا ہے اور قلمی نسخوں میں ملتا ہے - اس کا مرتب غلام احمد ہے جس نے کئی جگہ سے جمع کیا اور بے تحقیق و تفتیش سودا سے منسوب کر کے مرتب کردیا - چنانچہ اس نے خود لکھا ہے -

" بندہ غلام احمد کہ مولف کلیات ھذا است می گوید کہ دیوانہائے افضل المتاخرین مرزا رفیع المتخلص بہ سودا بشوق تمام

و ذوق مال کلام بکمال محنت و دماغ سوزی از چند جا بہم رسانیدہ بترتیب دلپذیر مرتب ساختہ یادگار روزگار گذاشت چون این کلیات جامع تر از دیگر دواوین مشہور است اکثر عزیزان و صاحبان شوق بقیمت صد روپیہ طالب نسخہ موصوف بودند لیکن دوران آن قبول طبع خاکسار نیفتاد خدا شاہد این مقال است "

غلام احمد کا مرتبہ نسخہ ہر طرح غیر معتبر ہے - یہ حال نہ صرف اس نسخہ کا ہے بلکہ اکثر قلمی نسخے اس عیب سے خالی نہیں - میرے پیش نظر کلیات سودا کے کم و بیش چالیس قلمی نسخے ہیں اور متعدد تذکرے اور حوالے کی کتابیں - یہ ذخیرہ انجمن ترقی اردو کے مہربان معتمد نے اپنی عنایت سے میرے لئے فراہم کیا ہے - میں نے اس مواد کی مدد سے تحقیق کیا ہے کہ سودا کے کلیات میں کچھ کلام ایسا بھی ہے جو دوسروں کا ہے اور غلطی سے اس سے منسوب ہوگیا ہے اور اس کا کچھ کلام ایسا بھی ہے جو ابھی تک معرض اشاعت میں نہیں آیا - میں پہلے الحاقی کلام سے بحث کرونگا —

الحاقی کلام کے سلسلے میں سب سے پہلے قایم کا ذکر ضروری ہے قایم سودا کا نامور شاگرد ہے اسکا حسب تفصیل ذیل کلام سودا کے کلیات میں داخل ہوگیا ہے —

(۱) مثنوی در مذمت سرما - یہ ۵٦ چھپن شعر کی مثنوی ہے - اس کا مطلع ہے -

سردی اب کی برس ہے اتنی شدید - صبح نکلے ہے کانپتا خورشید - یہ مثنوی قایم کی ہے اس کے ثبوت ہیں - پہلا تو یہ کہ کلیات قایم کے ایک قدیم قلمی نسخے میں یہ مثنوی موجود ہے - دوسرا ثبوت یہ ہوکہ میر حسن اور قدرت اللہ شوق نے اس مثنوی کو قایم ہی سے منسوب کیا ہے اور اس کے انتخابی اشعار بھی دئے ہیں - یہ دونوں تذکرے ہونا کی

[illegible] میں لکھے گئے میں - اس کے علاوہ سودا کے [illegible]
[illegible] میں یہ مثنوی موجود نہیں ہے ان قلمی نسخوں میں
بعض سودا کی زندگی میں لکھے گئے ھیں اور اکثر اس
[illegible] وفات کے پس و پیش - سودا کی مروجہ کلیات میں یہ مثنوی
ہے لیکن قایم کے کلیات کی مندرجہ مثنوی سے مقابلہ کیجئے تو
اکثر اشعار میں جگہ جگہ الفاظ وتراکیب کا فرق ہے سودا کے
کلیات میں یہ اصلاح یافتہ شکل میں پائی جاتی ہے - اس سے
ظاھر ھوتا ہے کہ سودا کے پاس بغرض اصلاح یہ مثنوی آئی سودا نے
اصلاح تو کردی لیکن واپس نہیں ھوئی اور جب غلام احمد نے
دیوان مرتب کیا تو اس میں اس کو بھی داخل کردیا - یہی حال
قایم اور سودا کے دوسرے شاگردوں کے کلام کا ہے جن کی تفصیل
آگے آئیگی خلط ملط اور الحاق و اتصال کا یہ سلسلہ سودا کے
کلام کے متعلق اب تک جاری ہے - چنانچہ حکیم اصلح الدین کا
قصیدہ جو مصحفی کی ھجو میں تحریر ہے - سید مطلب حسین
عالی بی - اے - لکھنوی نے سودا سے منسوب کردیا ہے اور اپنے
انتخاب مین اس کو شامل کردیا ہے - حالانکہ قصیدے کے ہر شعر
سے معلوم ھوتا ہے کہ اس کا لکھنے والا سودا کا حمایتی اور شاگرد ہے

(۲) قایم کی دوسری مثنوی "ھجو طفل پتنگ باز" سودا
کے کلیات میں ملتی ہے - یہ (۵۶) اشعار پر مشتمل ہے -

ایک لونڈا ہے پتنگ کا کھلاڑ

قایم کی مصنفہ مثنوی ھونے کے وھی ثبوت ھیں جو اس سے
قبل بیان ھوچکے ھیں کلیات سودا کے قلمی نسخوں میں یہ درج
نہیں - شوق نے اپنے تذکرہ میں اسے قایم ھی سے منسوب کیا
ہے اور اس کے (۲۴) انتخابی شعر بھی نقل کئے ھیں - اس میں
بھی الفاظ وتراکیب کا اختلاف ہے اور یہ بھی اصلاح کی غرض
سے سودا کے پاس آئی تھی اور اصلاح پاکر دھری رھی اور
بالاخر سودا کے کلیات میں مرتب نے داخل کردی -

(۳) گیارہ شعر کی ایک حکایت بطرز مثنوی ہے جس کا مطلع ہے -

[illegible] اک مرد اھل طریق نہایت ھی واقع ھوا تھا [illegible]

یہ بھی قایم کے کلیات کے قلمی نسخے میں ہے اور کلیات سودا کے قلمی نسخوں میں درج نہیں -

(۴) (۲۳) شعر کی ایک اور حکایت ہے جسکا مطلع ہے -

سلف کے زمانے کا تاریخ دان - یہ لکھتا ہے احوال رفتگان

(۵) ۱۶ شعر کی ایک تیسری حکایت ہے جسکا مطلع ہے -

سنا ہیکہ ایک مرد آزادہ طور - جز اپنے نرکھتا تھا اسباب اور

(۶) ۱۲ شعر کی ایک چوتھی حکایت ہے اس کا مطلع یہ ہے -

سنا جاے ہے ایک مہوس کا حال - کہ رکھتا تھا نت کیمیا کا خیال

یہ سب حکایتیں قایم کی ہیں - نہ سودا کے قلمی دواوین میں موجود نہیں اور قایم کے قلمی کلیات میں درج ہیں - ان کی تراکیب اور الفاظ وغیرہ میں اختلاف موجود ہے -

(۷) ۳۵۹ شعر کی ایک طویل عشقیہ مثنوی " حکایت مرد درویش پنجاب " سودا کے مروجہ کلیات میں داخل ہے جسکا مطلع ہے

الہی شعلہ زن کر آتش دل - تپ دل دے بقدر خواہش دل

یہ بھی قایم کے کلیات میں موجود ہے مگر کلیات سودا کے قلمی نسخوں میں درج نہیں - اسپر دیگر کے بیان کے مطابق ۱۱۹۷ ھجری کے ایک مکتوبہ کلیات قایم میں یہ مثنوی ۱۰۶ صفحوں پر موجود ہے - ہر دو کلیات میں اکثر مقامات پر اختلاف پایا جاتا ہے - سودا کے کلیات میں مثنوی کی اصلاح یافتہ شکل ہے اور قایم کے ہاں غیر اصلاح یافتہ - قایم کی ان کل الحاقی نظموں کے اشعار کی تعداد (۵۳۳) ہے یہ اشعار حقیقتاً سودا کے نہیں ہیں اس میں شبہہ نہیں کہ ان سب پر سودا کی اصلاح ہے لیکن اصلاح کرنے سے سودا کی تصنیف میں شمار ہونا لازم نہیں آتا - یہ مرتب کی غلطی سے داخل ہوگئے ہیں ان پر سودا کو مصنفانہ حق نہیں پہنچتا - البتہ یہ ضرور ہیکہ اس سے سودا کی استادانہ اصلاح اور شاعرانہ مہارت کا اندازہ ہوتا ہے -

اسی طرح سودا کے اور شاگردوں کا کلام بھی اس کے کلیات میں داخل ہو گیا ہے - ان میں ایک نعیم علی شیدا ہے - شیدا کی

ب مثنوی " بوم و بقال " ہے جو فدوی لاہوری کی ہجو میں
کھی گئی ہے - میرحسن اور قدرت اللہ شوق نے اس کو فتح علی
یدا کی مصنفہ بتایا ہے - شیدا میر سوز کا متبنی تھا اور
ودا کا شاگرد - جب فدوی نے احمدنگر عرف فرخ آباد میں
ودا سے شاعرانہ معادلہ کیا تو شیدا نے اس کی ہجو لکھی
یر حسن اور شوق کے بیانات کے سوا خود مثنوی کے اشعار
ں خیال کی تائید کرتے ہیں -

وارد احمد نگر، اںک ہیں مرد عزیز
فہم میں سرتا 'قدم' اور سراپا تمیز
عر پر ہر ایک کے کرتے ہیں وہ اعتراض
امی کے دیوان سے خوب جانیں ہیں اپنی بیاض
حضرت سودا تلک جو میرے استاد ہیں
شعر پہ انکے بھی اب انکے یہ ایراد ہیں

ن اشعار سے صاف ظاہر ہے کہ ان کا لکھنے والا سودا کا شاگرد ہے -
مقطع میں بھی شیدا کا تخلص صاف طور سے موجود ہے - سودا
کے اکثر قلمی نسخوں میں یہ مثنوی موجود نہیں - اس کی
ی وہی شکل ہے جو دوسری الحاقی نظموں کی ہے - یعنی
ہ اصلاح دافتہ صورت میں سودا کے کلیات میں داخل ہے - سودا
کے ایک ترجیع بند کا اقتباس پیش کرتا ہوں جس سے اس کی
مزید تائید ہوتی ہے کہ مثنوی بوم وبقال شیدا کی مصنفہ ہے

فد وبا بولے ہے میں ہوں اوستاد
میں کیا فن شاعری ایجاد

آکے شیدا جو ہو مرا شاگرد
گوش دل سے سنے مرا ارشاد

مرتبہ اس کے شعر کا ہو یہ
سخن اس کا سخن کے ہو استاد

رفتہ رفتہ سنا یہ شیدا نے
کہا اس نے کہ خانمان برباد

مفتی کے گھر کو تونے ویران کر
پھینک دی اس کی کھود کر بنیاد

کس طرح سے میں ہوں ترا شاگرد
بیت سعدی کی یہ مجھے ہے یاد

کس نیاید بزیر سایۂ بوم
ورھما از جہان شود معدوم

سودا کے ایک اور شاگرد فضل علی ممتاز کی ایک نظم "مثنوی در توصیف چھڑی سودا کے کلیات میں داخل ہو گئی ہے - میر حسن نے اس کو ممتاز سے منسوب کیا ہے اور اس کے انتخابی اشعار بھی نقل کئے ہیں - میر حسن کا بیان ہے - "ممتاز......... یک مثنوی مسمی بہ لاٹھی نامہ خوب گفتہ کہ سلسلہ او را بہ عصاے حکیم رسانیدہ و بہے مانند شاخ گل بر و گلہائے فکر روہانیدہ چند ازان بیادست من مثنوی —

ہوتی ہے دنیا میں جو کچھ تحفہ چیز
سب سے ہے ممتاز کو لاٹھی عزیز -

سودا کے کلیات میں مصرعہ ثانی اس طرح درج ہے -

سب سے ہے سودا کو یہ لاٹھی عزیز

یہ مثنوی بھی سودا کے کلیات میں اصلاح یافتہ شکل میں ہے قلمی دواوین میں موجود نہیں —

بندرابن راقم سودا کا شاگرد تھا اس کا ایک ہجویہ قصیدہ (۱۴) شعر کا سودا کے قدیم مطبوعہ کلیات میں داخل ہے حالانکہ راقم کا تخلص مقطع میں صاف طور سے موجود ہے -

راقم نے ہجو از بس غصے میں جو کہی ہے
اڑجاویگا یہ تیرے اب منہہ کا نور بھڑوے

الحاقی کلام کے سلسلے میں سودا کے مرثیوں پر نظر ڈالنی بھی ضروری ہے سودا کے مرثیوں کا دیوان ہی الگ ہے اس میں (۹۱) مرثیے کہے ہیں - لیکن ان میں (۱۸) ایسے ہیں جو

میں مہربان کا تخلص موجود ہے - منشی کریم الدین کا بیان ہیکہ سودا مرثیوں میں مہربان تخلص کرتا تھا - یہ ممکن ہیکہ لفظ سودا کو منحوس خیال کرکے ازراہ ادب اس کا استعمال نہ کرتا ہو لیکن بقیہ (۷۳) مرثیوں میں اس کا تخلص سودا ہی درج ہے - اس لحاظ سے یہ توجیہ کسی طرح صحیح نہیں ہوسکتی - اس کے سوا نہ تو سودا نے کہیں اس کی طرف اشارہ کیا ہے کہ مرثیوں میں اسکا تخلص مہربان ہے اور نہ اس کے ہم عصر تذکرہ نویسوں نے - ایک مرثیہ میں مہربان خان آیا ہے - ظاہر ہیکہ سودا اپنے آپ کو " خان " نہیں لکھ سکتا تھا

سنا احوال تم نے اے عزیزان
کہے کیا تم سے آگے مہربان خان

ہمارا خیال ہیکہ یہ مرثیے بھی الحاقی ہیں اور یہ بھی اسکے ایک شاگرد اور ممدوح نواب مہربان خان فرخ آبادی کی تصنیف سے ہیں - مہربان خان کا تخلص رند تھا لیکن شوق کے تذکرہ سے معلوم ہوتا ہیکہ وہ مہربان بھی تخلص کرتا تھا چنانچہ شوق نے اسکے جو انتخابی اشعار نقل کئے ہیں ان میں دو جگہ مہربان تخلص موجود ہے - رند کے متعلق یہ توجیہ ہوسکتی ہیکہ مرثیے کے غم انگیز مضامین نیز بے ادبی کے خیال سے " رند " جیسے تخلص کا استعمال کرنا مناسب نہ تھا اس لئے مہربان اسکی جگہ رکھ دیا - سودا کے کسی اور شاگرد یا شمالی ہند کے ہم عصر شاعر کا تخلص مہربان نہ تھا صرف مہربان خان سودا کا شاگرد ہے جس نے مہربان بھی اپنا تخلص استعمال کیا ہے - مصحفی نے لکھا ہیکہ مہربان خان مرثیے بھی کہتا تھا اس بناء پر یہ خلاف قیاس نہیں کہ یہ اسی مہربان خان کے مرثیے ہیں جو سودا سے منسوب ہو گئے ہیں - سودا نے ایک قصیدہ میں جو مہربان خان کی مدح میں ہے لکھا ہیکہ مہربان خان نے اس قسم کی نظمیں شوق اور عقیدت سے لکھی ہیں -

ہو کے مصروف دل و جان سے کہے ہیں اون نے
بسکہ در منقبت حیدر صفدر اشعار

اس شعر سے ظاہر ہےکہ اس نے اس قسم کی نظمیں لکھی
ہیں - ان مرثیوں کے الحاقی ہونے کی بھی وہی صورت ہے
و اوپر بیان ہوئی ہے - الحاقی مرثیے سودا کے قلمی نسخوں
ں موجود نہیں ہیں - یہ تعداد میں اٹھارہ ہیں اور سودا کے
لموعہ دیوان مراثی میں بقید تخلص " مہربان " موجود ہیں
ہربان کے سلسلے میں ایک ضروری بات کی طرف اشارہ کرنا
اسب معلوم ہوتا ہے - مہربان خان کے استاد میر سوز تھے -
ودا سے بھی وہ مشورہ کرتا تھا - کئی غزلیں ایسی ہیں جو
وز اور سودا دونوں کے کلیات میں ملتی ہیں - ان میں سے
ں کے متعلق شوق نے لکھا ہے کہ " اکثر اشعار در دیوان او
ہربان خان) یافتہ شد کہ آن را میر سوز نسبت بطرف خود می
د و بعضے گویند کہ از مرزا رفیع است " سوز اور سودا کے
یات کے متعدد نسخوں کاہم نے مقابلہ کیا ہے بیسیوں غزلیں
شترک ہیں - ان کی نسبت یہ فیصلہ کرنا دشوار ہےکہ دراصل
کی ہیں - آیا سوز کی یا سودا کی یا خود مہربان کی- مہربان خان
دیوان میں بقول شوق پچاس ہزار اشعار ہیں - اس وقت وہ ہمارے
ش نظر نہیں ورنہ ممکن تھا کہ اس کے حل کی صورت نکل آتی
سودا اور سوز کے طرز و انداز اور رنگ طبع سے بھی مصنف کا
چل سکتا ہے لیکن یہ یقینی نہیں - اس لئے یہاں اس
سے کو نظر انداز کیا جاتا ہے ـــ

سودا کا بہت سا کلام ایسا ہے جو اب تک معرض طبع میں
ہیں آیا اور عام دسترس سے باہر ہے - غیر مطبوعہ کلام میں سب
پہلے قصائد پر نظر پڑتی ہے مطبوعہ کلیات میں صرف (۴۴)
صیدے ہیں - ان کے علاوہ گیارہ قصیدے اور ہیں جو ہمیں
می نسخوں میں دستیاب ہوئے ہیں - انکی تفصیل یہ ہے -

(۱) ایک قصیدہ حضرت فاطمہ الزہرا کی مدح میں ہے
جو (۸۶) شعر کا ہے - اسکا مطلع یہ ہے -

مکھڑے سے اپنے زلف کے پردے کو تو اوٹھا
ابر سیہ میں ماہ درخشاں کو مت چھپا

(۲) دوسرا قصیدہ حضرت علی کی منقبت میں ہے (۳۴) اشعار پر مشتمل ہے اسکا مطلع یہ ہے -

لخت دل بکھرے ہیں یوں آہ سے ہنگام قلق
جنبش باد سے جون گل کے پریشان ہوں ورق

(۳) تیسرا قصیدہ " خلاصة الاوراد " ہے - حضرت امام زین العابدین کی مدح میں ہے - اس کے (۶۴) شعر ہیں مطلع یہ ہے -

کہا میں ایک دن اوس سے کہ اے ستم ایجاد
جفا و جور کہاں تک کہاں تیغ بیداد

(۴) چوتھا قصیدہ حضرت امام حسن کی مدح میں ہے - (۲۰) شعر ہیں مطلع یہ ہے -

ہوا ہے دشت برنگ چمن طرب مانوس
نگہ غزال کے جون شاخ سبز ہے محسوس

(۵) پانچواں قصیدہ حضرت امام باقر کی مدح میں ہے اس کے (۸۳) شعر ہیں - مطلع یہ ہے -

ہزار شکر گئے وہ خزاں کے رنج و الم
رسید مژدہ کہ آمد بہار فیض قدم

(۶) چھٹا قصیدہ " صبح صادق " ہے امام جعفرصادق کی مدح میں ہے (۳۵) شعر ہیں - مطلع یہ ہے -

فلک بتا دے مجھے اپنے عیش و غم کی طرح
کرم کی کون طرح کون سی ستم کی طرح

(۷) ساتواں قصیدہ حضرت امام تقی کی مدح میں ہے - (۳۱) شعر ہیں مطلع یہ ہے -

ہووے جو قطرہ ریز یہ چشم تر آب میں
پیدا ہو پھر بجائے گہر اخگر آب میں

(۸) آٹھویں قصیدہ کے ممدوح بھی امام تقی ھیں - (۲۲) شعر ھیں - مطلع یہ ھے -

ھوا کے فیض سے ایسا ھے سبز باغ جہاں
شبیہہ سنبل ترسے ھے موج ریگ رواں

(۹) نواں قصیدہ دربار اودہ کے انگریز رزیڈنٹ رچرد جانسن کی مدح میں ھے اس کے (۲۳) شعر ھیں - مطلع یہ ہے -

دیکھا نہ جائے اس سے رخ گلر خان پہ رنگ
غنچہ کے بھی دھن کی ھے چشم زمانہ تنگ

(۱۰) دسواں قصیدہ شیخ جی کی ھجو میں ھے (۲۰) شعر ھیں - مطلع یہ ھے -

شیخ جی گول ھیں دستار بھی اون کا ھے گول
چھپ رہا ریش مبارک کے تلے پیٹ کا جھول

(۱۱) گیارھواں قصیدہ "مضحکہ دھر" بریلی کے شیخ کی ھجو میں (۳۰) شعر کا ھے - مطلع یہ ھے -

لکھتا ھوں میں اک شیخ بریلی کی حکایت
ھر چند زبان خامہ کی قاصر ھے نہایت

قصاید کے علاوہ دیگر اصناف سخن میں بھی اکثر اشعار بند ایسے ھیں جو مطبوعہ کلیات میں موجود نہیں قلمی نسخوں میں ملتے ھیں - انکی تفصیل یہاں طوالت باعث ھوگی - ھم نے اس کا ایک انڈکس بنایا ھے جو نمن ترقی اردو اورنگ آباد کلیات سودا کے ساتھ شایع نے کا ارادہ رکھتی ھے —

Gujarati Section.

President:

V. P. VAIDYA, B. A., J. P., BAR-AT-LAW.

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GUJARATI IN RELATION TO MARATHI.

By Rao Bahadur C. V. Vaidya, M.A., LL.B.

(Bombay).

We know that the modern Gujarati like modern Marathi is a Sanskrit-born vernacular. The modern Gauḍian languages of India are derived from the ancient Prākṛts which themselves were born from Sanskrit. Sanskrit was a spoken language of the Aryan people till the days of Pāṇini whose wonderful grammar dates about 800 B. C. (See our History of Sanskrit Literature, Vedic period). Even Sanskrit had provincial peculiarities, as Pāṇini notes the peculiar forms used by the Easterners and the Northerners, (प्राचाम् and उदीचाम्). After Pāṇini and before Buddha, as shown by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, the Aryans crossed the Vindhyas and settled in Mahārāshṭra where a new Prākṛt naturally grew. These spoken languages of the people in India in the several provinces are noted by Vararuchi in his grammar as four viz: Māgadhī in the East, Mahārāshṭrī in the South, Paiśāchī in the North-West and Śauraseni in the middle land or Madhyadeśa. How these Prākṛts came into being and why Sanskrit as a spoken language died we need not discuss here. The usual phenomena viz: incursion of foreigners, the inclusion of non-Aryan people in society and their majority lead to the rise of new languages. Witness how Latin gave rise to the Italian, the French, the Spanish, etc., about the 5th century A. D. owing to the incursion of Goths and Vandals. Women, lower class servants and traders (स्त्रियो वैश्यास्तथा शूद्राः cf. भगवद्गीता) usually follow a lower religion and speak a lower phase of language and these eventually become the common religion and language of the people. The date of Vararuchi may be taken to be about 300 B. C. and from

that date Sanskrit was spoken only by learned Brahmins and higher Kṣhattriyas (ब्राह्मणाः पुण्याः and भक्ता राजर्षयः cf. भगवद्गीता). We know that the spoken languages of the general people were Māgadhī in the East, Mahārāṣhṭrī in the South, etc., from about 350 B. C. to 500 A. D., not only from inscriptions but also from the dramas of the period which use these Prākṛts for all women including those of Brahmins and Kṣhattriyas, servants and traders etc., who were unable to pronounce the hard sounds of the Sanskrit language and always softened them.

Among these Prākṛts, Mahārāṣhṭrī was the most prominent as many works were composed in it like Setubandha. New forms of these languages grew about the 7th century A. D. and they are called Apabhraṁśas by Grammarians. These eventually also died and the modern vernaculars in their old form, arose about the 9th century A. D. The birth of a new language is always evidenced by the introduction of new forms of declension and conjugation as well as a different set of sounds. The cause, which led to the birth of modern vernaculars, was not the incursion of new peoples as before, since we have no historical evidence of new peoples coming into India about this time. As explained by us elsewhere, the cause apparently was the downfall of Buddhism about this time and a new spirit of Hinduism under Śaṅkarāchārya by which Sanskrit became again the language of the religion of the people. In Buddhist times Pāli and Māgadhī were the languages of Buddhist literature. The lameness of pronunciation in the Prākṛts was given up and Sanskrit words in their original strong forms began to be used. In the language of the Gītā we may say that the Prākṛts were the mothers of modern languages but everywhere Sanskrit was the father. This appears clear from the fact that in all provinces Sanskrit original words began to be used, called 'Tatsama,' by Grammarians in addition to softened Prākṛt words called "Tadbhava"; and further Sanskrit verbal participles were introduced into every vernacular instead of the old verbal forms. The adjectival form of the genitive case changing with the gender of the noun qualified and also of conjugational forms in all modern vernaculars prove that their birth was due to the

same cause. Thus Marathi had (instead of Sk. genitive स्य) रामाचा-ची-चें, Guj. रामाना-नी-नुं, Hindi रामका-की and as also करता-ती-तें etc. This was a period of Hindu revival, and Sanskrit learning and language modified the spoken languages. The old effeminate Prākṛts with their springs of vowels were given up and new vernaculars were formed in all provinces about 900 A. D. These again underwent a few changes about 1500 A. D. due to the Mahomedan conquest of Northern India and of both Deccan and Gujarat and the consequent incursion of foreigners. (See our History of Mediæval Hindu India Vol. III).

The above history will show how modern Gujarati like Marathi begins about 1500 A. D. after Mahomedan conquest. Before that time under the Chālukyas of Pāṭaṇ, Hemachandra wrote his grammar of the Prākṛta languages and we have thus written evidence of the form of Gujarati in the 12th century A. D. It would be interesting to note here that the name Gujarat for the province and Gujarati for the language had not yet come into existence in the days of Hemachandra. Gujarat North was called Sārasvatamaṇḍala and Gujarat South was called Lāṭa, both by Rājaśekhara and by Al-Beruni. In the records of the Chālukyas of Gujarat about the middle of the 12th century or even about 1220 A.D. the name Gurjarabhūmi first begins to appear. Prof. N. B. Divetia also agrees with this view. Siddharāja Chālukya ruled over the whole of modern Gujarat including Saurāṣhṭra, Cutch and Lāṭa also; hence the language of the whole people became similar and began to be called G. Mahārāṣhṭra on the other hand is an old name, though not mentioned by Varāhamihira of 500 A. D. Al-Beruni mentions Marattha Desh, and the language is called Marathi even by Hemachandra who explains the form as follows :—Mahārāṣhṭri > Marahaṭṭi > Marāṭhī. By mistake Gujarat is pronounced as 'Gujrāth' in Marathi. In Tamil land Mūrti is pronounced 'Mūrthi' and Pati is pronounced 'Pathi' the aspiration of T being a Dravidian tendency.

Having made these necessary preliminary remarks, we will now proceed to note the different aspects of Gujarati which strike us in relation to Marathi. Although we are not intimately acquainted with Gujarati, yet from works such as

that of Vararuchi and of Hemachandra, we can mark out the particular topics which strike one. The outstanding similarities of these two languages have already been noted viz:—the use of Sanskrit words in their pure forms, the adjectival genitive and conjugational forms, etc. But there are other topics which however require special study and verification from ancient records so that we may be able to form opinions historically sound.

The first thing that strikes one is that Gujarati is not directly descended from Śauraseni, the middle-land Prākṛt as Marathi is derived from Mahārāṣhṭrī, the Prākṛt of Mahārāshṭra. Probably, the position of Gujarat away from the central land as also from the Deccan and its nearness to Sind may explain this speciality of Gujarati. Thus, for example, the personal pronoun (हुं) for (I) is derived from Sanskrit (अहं), no doubt, but it is different both from (मैं) of Hindi and (मी) of Marathi. Similarly (छे) for (is) is not allied to (है) of Hindi or (आहे) of Marathi, though all these are derived from Sanskrit (अस्ति). Then again (नास्ति) has become (नथी) in Gujarati but (नहीं) in Hindi and (नाहीं) in Marathi. We shall have therefore to look to the different Prākṛts in explaining forms in Gujarati and we have to remember that Gujarati often develops forms entirely its own. Apabhraṁśa, of which Hemachandra gives the grammar, is said to be the mother of Gujarati but this also is not entirely correct.

The first point which deserves notice as resembling Marathi and as different from Hindi is the partiality of Gujarati for the sound (ण) instead of (न). Vararuchi gives the rule (नोणः) for Mahārāshṭri which is simply called Prākṛta by Hemachandra. Thus (पानीय) in Sanskrit becomes (पाणी) in Marathi but remains (पानी) in Hindi. Now Gujarati, also has (पाणी). Other similar words are (लोणी) for Sanskrit (नवनीत), आपण (for [illegible]), [illegible] (for [illegible]). Shastri Vrajlal in his History of the Gujarati Language says that (न) predominates in Gujarati and not (ण) and instances अने which is derived from Sanskrit [illegible], though [illegible] has changed it into (अणि). He also instances words like [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] &c. but these are from Sanskrit [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] retaining (र) before (न) and (र) having disappeared

[illegible] forms [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], [illegible], naturally are alike in Marathi and Gujarati. This does not go against an original ([illegible]), not ([illegible]), being changed to (ण). Thus, (अनुण) has become (उण्ण) in Gujarati. Marathi has lost this word and the Persian ([illegible]) has taken its place. The word चणो in Gujarati from Sanskrit चण is another instance, Marathi having lost the word. Again त्रण् in Gujarati (often pronounced तण्) which is derived from Sanskrit त्रीणि retains ण owing to र in it; while Marathi has strangely तीन. The word रान in Marathi is derived from Sanskrit अरण्य, अ being dropped (Hema. 1–66), by opposite tendency, while रण remains in Gujarati in the word "Raṇ of Cutch".

In Paiśāchī according to Hemachandra (णोन. -4–306) the contrary holds and ण is changed to न; e. g. गुनगन. Now in Hindi we also have these words. Therefore it is not probable that ण in Gujarati could have come from either Paiśāchī or Śaurasenī. For, Paiśāchī even, according to Vararuchi, changes ण into न, as in Śaurasenī. But ञ्च or ञ cannot be pronounced by North-Westerners who change it to ञ्च. Thus Kanyā becomes Kañcha and Rājanya becomes Rañcha. We recognise here the affinity of Punjabi with German with its Reich or Reichstag.

The word कोण is another instance in which न is changed to ण in both Gujarati and Marathi; while Hindi has कोन. Whence does this न of कोन come, is a puzzle as there is no न in Sanskrit. Perhaps the expletive नु which is often added to कः may explain it, को नु भवेत्) को नु eventually becomes कोन in Hindi and कोण in Marathi and Gujarati.

This influence of Mahārāshṭrī ण may be explained in more than one way. Firstly, Mahārāshṭrī was the language of the sacred literature of the Jains; and Hemachandra, the great Grammarian, was a Jain as also a very large part of the population of Gujarat. Secondly, though the Chālukyas of Pāṭaṇ did not belong to a Maratha family, they married into Maratha families of the Deccan. Indeed, as shown in our History of Mediæval Hindu India Vol. III, Jayasiṁha's mother was a Kadamba princess and the mother of Mūlarāja was also a Kadamba princess. The latter fought with and defeated Mahomed Ghori in 1178 A. D. Thirdly, Southern [illegible]

or Lāṭa was contiguous to Mahārāṣhṭra and was actually under Maratha Chālukyas as also Rāṣhṭrakūṭas (See History of Mediæval Hindu India, Vol. II). Just about the time *when the modern vernaculars began, Lāṭa was a province of* the Rāṣhṭrakūṭa kings and Pāṭaṇ Chālukyas defeated Barap, a viceroy of the Karnāṭaka kings, and conquered that province. The connection of Lāṭa with Mahārāṣhṭra was thus of long standing and hence we find G. influenced by M. For these reasons it is probable that ण of M. entered into G. long before Mahomedan conquest.

The next general remarkable tendency of M. is that noted by Vararuchi in the rule शषोःस, while Māgadhī has a contrary tendency viz. changing स into श (षसोःशः). Thus केश Sk. becomes केस in M. while विलास Sk. becomes विलाश in Bengali. This tendency is not found in Saucasenī. But G. has it. e. g. वीस, त्रीस, instead of विंशत्, त्रिंशत्, Sk.; सो instead of शत Sk.; दस for दश Sk. (M. has further changed स into ह and has दहा); ग्यारस and बारस for एकादश and द्वादश Sk. etc; जइसो तइसो (Sk. यादृश, तादृश as noted by Hema in (4-403). Whether the use of यश or यसं, करशो or करसो is correct is contested; but Surat people usually use the latter. The most troublesome word is शुं which is usually pronounced as सुं and this form is also given in dictionaries. It is also changed into हुं even by many Gujarat lower people, as they are alike to Marathas. We say that the word is troublesome, because शुं belongs to G. only and it has no counterpart in Sk. Hindi has क्या (Kya), M. has काय which are derived from Sk. किम्. Whence comes शुं is a dilemma. A friend of mine suggests that it has come from Persian Chun. Ch being changed to S. This can only be accepted if we find that शुं does not occur in manuscripts previous to the Mahomedan conquest i. e. to 1300 or even 1200 A. D. *

The most interesting thing which I lastly notice, is the prevalence in G. of the sound (ळ). This sound does not belong to the original Sk., Vedic or classical. And it is not given by Pāṇini in his Māheśvara Sūtras, nor is the sound

* There are minor differences of language in Gurjara, Lāṭa, Saurāṣhṭr and Cutch.

noticed by Vararuchi in his Prākṛta Grammar. Works like Saptaśatī of Hāla also do not contain it and we may be sure that this sound was absent from all the Gauḍian languages spoken in the middle ages (300 B. C. to 800 A. D.). When the modern vernaculars began about 900 A. D., we are nearly certain that they did not use this sound. It does not exist in Hindi even now. But it is prominent in both modern G. and M. We are justified in holding that it did not appear in the original Jñāneśvarī, the oldest and greatest poem in M. (1300 A. D.), because the old copy of the work found by the late, Mr. V. K. Rajwade, the veteran Marathi scholar, does not contain any word with the sound (ळ) in it. We, therefore, are driven to the theory that it entered M. in the days of Mahomedan rule and that it came from Āndhra, the Telugu language being full of it. Ekanātha, the next great Marathi saint and writer, who wrote in Mahomedan times uses it and his language has left its impress on the Marathi of the whole country. But the lower classes in Konkan still stick to the old l (ल), as they pronounce तलं, केलं, जवल etc. for तळें, केळें, जवळ etc. and yet we look down upon them as illiterate and incapable of good pronunciation, though they are nearer to the original Sk. and Prākṛt. The Mahānubhāvī literature, which is printed, no doubt has (ळ) in it though it is earlier than Jñāneśvarī; but we must see the original Mss. written before Mahomedan times, in order to satisfy ourselves that (ळ) is earlier in these Mahānubhāva writings.

Now let us see how G. stands in this matter. There is no question that there is plenty of l (ळ) in it. Take for instance ज्वल् of Sk. This has become बळ in Gujarati and जळ in M., while in Hindi it is जल. Many other words may be quoted using (ळ) for l (ल), जल (जळ), काल (काळ), निसाल (शाळा) etc. and termination वाळा (वाला=with). Whence comes this (ळ) in G. is a puzzle. It cannot have come from contact with M. In M. itself, it came from Andhra after 1300 A. D. during Mahomedan rule and Gujarat had nothing to do with Mahārāṣhṭra at this time. As (ळ) does not exist in any of the four ancient Prākṛts, it cannot have been an old sound in G. Mahārāṣhṭrī does not possess it and Jain literature also naturally does not

use it. We must try to find out by research in this connection, how old is this sound (ळ) in G. Copies of works made in later Mahomedan times will not do, as copyists put in (ळ) naturally, as is the case with Jñāneśvarī itself in M. where copyists have used (ळ) after 1500 A. D. We must look into G. Mss of earlier days and ascertain whether (ळ) is found in them.

Assuming, however, that this sound is later in date, we can expound a theory about it similar to that noted above for M. It must have come during Mahomedan rule from the Punjab, the invaders mostly consisting of converted Hindus of Afghanistan and Baluchistan. Hemachandra mentions (ळ) as used in Paiśāchī of his days, in the Sūtra लो ळ: 4-308. Even in Paiśāchī this (ळ) is not old, for Vararuchi does not mention it for Paiśāchī. It must, therefore, have crept into the Punjab about 1000 A.D., under Mahomedan rule, from the armies consisting of many Baluchis. It is known that these people were Dravidian in race and that their language still exhibits the character of Dravidian languages. When the Mahomedans after about 300 years conquered Gujarat, these Panjabi, chiefly Baluchi, soldiers brought (ळ) from the north-west into Gujarat and its language is now full of it.

To conclude we have noticed in this paper three general facts of similarity between G. and M. viz. the substitution of ण for न, of स for श; and of ळ for ल. The former two probably came by contact with Mahārāshṭra; but the third came into G. from the north-west, while the same came from the south-east into M. under Mahomedan rule. This whole theory has, however, to be tested by research in old Mss. in G. earlier than 1300 A. D. and we hope that our Gujarati friends will look into this subject, in this direction.

There are many individual words in Gujarati which are similar to those in M., but we do not think it worth while noticing them here as they are but individual instances and not general tendencies and we close this paper here and place it before the Gujarati section of the Seventh Oriental Conference for what it is worth.

Addendum.

Prof. N. B. Divetia has noted this change of ल into ळ (see his Lectures, pages 363-68, Utsarga 10) "which is of wide extent and historical peculiarity". His view, however, that it is old, as old as Vedic literature, is not correct. He rightly traces it to Paiśāchī as noted by Hemachandra. But he forgets that Vararuchi has not noted it for any Prākṛt, not even for Paiśāchī. We have looked into Vararuchi carefully and have found no mention of it in any Prākṛt. It is, therefore, certain that in the middle ages (300 B. C. to 800 A. D.) there was no ळ even in Paiśāchī. Hemachandra for the first time notes it for Paiśāchi and it must have come before his time into the Punjab, owing to Mahomedan conquest. It belongs no doubt to the Dravidian languages and the Brahui in Baluchistan is a Dravidian tongue. It appears in the Ṛgveda not for ल but for ड and even this is not old, for it is not found in the other Vedas where Purushasūkta is quoted (विराळजायत). It may be taken, therefore, that in the Ṛk-Prātiśākhya it is a subsequent addition (See our History of Sanskrit Literature, Vedic period).

NATURE OF THE UNIVERSE ACCORDING TO ŚUDDHĀDVAITA.

By J. G. Shah, M. A.

(*Ahmedabad*).

Suddhādvaita system is attributed to Śrī Vallabhāchāryajī. It is one of the Advaita systems of India. Śaṅkarāchārya's system is known as केवलाद्वैत, Rāmānuja's as विशिष्टाद्वैत and Vallabhāchārya's as शुद्धाद्वैत. It is अद्वैत but distinguished from the other divisions of अद्वैत by the adjectival word शुद्ध prefixed.

The word शुद्धाद्वैत consists of two words शुद्ध and अद्वैत. It is to be explained as कर्मधारय compound or Genitive Tatpuruṣa i. e. as शुद्धं च तत् अद्वैतम् or as शुद्धयोः अद्वैतं. The book Śuddhādvaita-mārtaṇḍa gives the following Kārikā to explain this compound word. शुद्धाद्वैतपदे ज्ञेयः समासः कर्मधारयः । अद्वैतं शुद्धयोः प्राहुः षष्ठीतत्पुरुषं बुधाः ॥ According to Vallabhācharya, there is not only अद्वैत (monotheism) but that अद्वैत is pure, non-qualified, i. e. completely free from the contact or effect of Māyā (illusion). Śaṅkara's अद्वैत is known as मायावाद, because according to him चित् and अचित्, i. e. जीव and जगत् are the products of illusion. Some think them to be phenomenal appearance (आभास) in ब्रह्म. Some take them to be reflection (प्रतिबिंब) in ब्रह्म. Both as आभास and as प्रतिबिंब, they have no real existence. They are the work of Māyā or Avidyā. Vallabhāchārya does not accept the principle of माया. He thinks that everything is ब्रह्म. Even चित् and अचित् are ब्रह्म. It was the will of ब्रह्म to be 'many'. So It manifested Itself in innumerable forms. All the changes and differences that meet our eye in the forms of नाम and रूप or जीव and जगत्, result from ब्रह्म's will. ब्रह्म is their author. Māyā or Avidyā has nothing to do with the creative activities of ब्रह्म. All the नामरूपs, prior to their creation, were existent in ब्रह्म. Before creation they were latent.

Afterwards they became patent. Latency and patency are the two conditions of one and the same thing. To connote this meaning the word शुद्ध is prefixed by Vallabhāchārya before the word अद्वैत. In short शुद्ध means मायासंबंधरहितम्.

There are several theories devoted to the discussion of the problem of the origin and nature of the universe. Among these are the प्रकृतिकारणवाद of the Sāṅkhyas, Asatkāryavāda of the Naiyāyikas, the Paramāṇuvāda or the Ārambhavāda of the Vaiśeshikas, the Śūnyavāda and Vijñānavāda of the Bauddhas and the Syādvāda of the Jainas. All these have been considered in their due light by the author of the Brahma-sūtras. Vallabhāchārya has considered them at great length in his Aṇu-Bhāshya. Also in his Subodhinī commentary and in his Tattvadīpanibandha, he has spared no pains in making lucid his point of view in this connection.

To summarise his position in this respect, in one paragraph, it is enough for us to quote the following lines from his Tattvadīpanibandha.

अयं प्रपञ्चो न प्राकृतो नापि परमाणुजन्यो नापि विवर्तरूपो नाप्यदृष्टादिद्वारा जातः, नाप्यसतः सत्तारूपः किन्तु भगवत्कार्यपरमकाष्ठापन्नवस्तुकृतिसाध्यः। तदंशो हि भगवद्रूपः। अन्यथा असतः सत्ता स्यात्। माया हि भगवतः शक्तिः सर्वभवनसामर्थ्यरूपा तत्रैव स्थिता यथा पुरुषस्य कर्मकरणादौ सामर्थ्यं तेन स्वसामर्थ्येनान्यानुपजीवनेन स्वात्मरूपं प्रपञ्चीकृतवानिति फलितम्।

In this passage, he says that the universe is neither the work of Prakṛti nor of Paramāṇus (atoms), nor of Adṛshṭa, nor has it come out of non-existence. It is the work of God. God has created it out of Himself, with the assistance of His Māyā. This Māyā, according to Vallabhāchārya is not illusion, but his power or strength which is capable of doing everything.

Vallabhāchārya bases his arguments upon the Śruti passages. He accepts शब्दप्रमाण and rejects other proofs. As God Himself has created this universe, it is real. It is part and parcel of God. It exists in God in all the stages. In the past i. e. before its creation it was non-manifest. In its present condition it is manifest. After disappearance, it will again be merged in God. Thus its real nature is not affected.

The Śrutis describe ब्रह्म as सच्चिदानन्द i. e. it is सत्, चित् and आनन्द. सत् form of ब्रह्म is जगत्, चित् is जीव and आनन्द is अक्षर if it is

limited and पुरुषोत्तम if it is unlimited. In other words सत् or जगत् is the आधिभौतिक form of ब्रह्म, चित् आध्यात्मिक form and आनन्द आधिदैविक form.

जगत् is the परिणाम (change) of God. But it is अविकृतपरिणाम. परिणाम takes place in two ways. Some changes, when they occur, affect the root cause in such a way, that the changed condition cannot be turned back to the original form. The changes of milk into whey, curd, cream, ghee etc. are of this kind. The changed forms cannot be turned back into the original form i. e. milk. This is called विकृतपरिणामवाद. The Sāṅkhyas explain their प्रकृतिकारणता of the universe by resorting to this doctrine. But Vallabhāchārya explains his theory by अविकृतपरिणाम. This can be illustrated by gold and ornaments made out of it. One can make whatever ornaments one likes from gold, but that will not affect it. Again those ornaments can be turned to gold. This change does not affect the root cause. In the same way, जीव and जगत् are the changes, occurring in ब्रह्म But they do not affect ब्रह्म.

Really speaking जगत् is nothing but ब्रह्म. Just as a pot is made out of earth, in the same way जगत् is derived from ब्रह्म i. e. ब्रह्म is the समवायी or material cause of the universe. But this analogy of the मृत्तिका and घट does not go beyond this. Because here the निमित्तकारण, i. e. one that makes the universe does not exist away from ब्रह्म, i. e. ब्रह्म, is the maker of the universe, and the universe itself, the thing made. In short, ब्रह्म is both समवायिकारण as well as निमित्तकारण.

Vallabhāchārya follows Bādarāyaṇa very closely. He does not impose his own meaning upon his sūtras. He has found out from his study of the aphorisms of Bādarāyaṇa that Māyāvāda of Śaṅkara has no support from that great thinker. There is not a single sūtra of Bādarāyaṇa that will help Śaṅkara in his position.

Vallabha is out and out a realist. In his system, there are no idealistic leanings. Some of the Western philosophers seem to be coming near Vallabha in their interpretation of the philosophical problems. In an indirect way, they are favouring Vallabha's Realism.

MEDIÆVAL GUJARATI.

BY KESHAVRAM K. SHASTRI.

(*Mangrol–Kathiawar*).

The study of the available Gujarati MSS. has led our scholars to posit three epochs:—

(1) the epoch of Apabhraṁśa extending from the 11th century of the Vikrama Era to the 14th.

(2) the epoch of Mediæval Gujarati extending from the 15th century of the same era to the 17th.

(3) the epoch of Modern Gujarati extending from the 18th century V. E. onwards to this day.

It need hardly be mentioned that there is nothing hard and fast about these divisions, since works linguistically falling in the first epoch belong historically to the second epoch and *vice versa*; and the same is true of the second and third epochs.

Now Apabhraṁśa and Modern Gujarati are fixed in their form. Apabhraṁśa has received treatment at the able hands of Sūri Hemacandra and is well illustrated in the literature of that epoch. With Modern Gujarati we are in living touch. Mediæval Gujarati alone then needs some investigation. And since there is no direct aid available in the form of Grammar etc., it is to letters, works, and deeds of that age that we have to approach. But this presents a peculiar phenomenon.

Gujarat proper may have its own language; and Kathiawar proper its own. But Gujarati language is neither the one nor the other. It is a comprehensive term for both. And from the time of Premānanda onwards little difference is to

be seen. But when we examine MSS. of the time before that of Premānanda, this difference is observable and that too to a marked degree.

On Kathiawar side such MSS. reveal a language which is very much allied to Modern Gujarati and we can even term it Modern Gujarati for all practical purposes. The earliest MSS. of the works of the devotee-poet Narasimha come from the fifties of the 17th century V. E. Their language is practically modern. Only a very few forms reminiscent of Apabhraṁśa are there. Similarly a deed recently discovered in the house of my friend Mr. Mohanlal Govardhandas Bhatt, worshipper in the temple of Naṭavara-Gopālalāla at Mangrol, a seaport in the south-west of Kathiawar, reveals a language which is strikingly modern. The deed is dated V. S. 1459. Herein we find that ए and ओ of Modern Gujarati have completely superseded अइ and अउ reminiscent of Apabhraṁśa. In old Gujarati the usual instrumental ending is इ, but in this deed we find ए instead. The locative ending इ is herein replaced by लघुप्रयत्न य and even the modern locative ending ए is to be found besides the use of particle मां. This deed is drawn up in order to confirm the right of some ancestor of this said Mohanlal as a priest of their community by the Kamsāras (coppersmiths) on the mount Girnar on the occasion of their gathering there. A stone inscription dated V. S. 1503 reveals a similar language. A Gujarati rendering of Vaidyavallabha, the date of which is however not known since the last pages are missing, is also modern, though herein we do come across here and there with old forms. And many other deeds have their language quite modern; and they belong to the second half of the 17th century V. E.

The only exceptions to this are the works of Maṇḍana and Kavi Bhīma. The language of Maṇḍana's Rāmāyaṇa and Bhīma's Prabodhacandrodaya is more allied to Apabhraṁśa than to Modern Gujarati; and they are dated respectively V. S. 1574 and 1575.

On Gujarat side, on the other hand, right up to the end of the 18th century all MSS., without a single exception, reveal a language which is more allied to Apabhraṁśa.

How are we to account for this difference ? In the following lines I attempt to account for it.

When we study the MSS. of Gujarat, we find that before achieving the present form the language there has passed through four distinct stages. The chief characteristics of Apabhraṁśa are:–(1) उ, incorporated, which is the nominative singular ending in case of words ending in अ (incorporated i. e., in the body of the word as in रासु and not separate as in रासउ); (2) इ, incorporated, which is the locative ending; (3) अइ separate, in which ends present 3rd person singular of verbs; and (4) preponderance of Prākṛta words. In post-Apabhraṁśa a slow change seems to come over all this. अकारान्त Nom. Sing. ending उ is there; but in certain places it is absent. Again we come across certains forms where अ of अइ disappears, and इ gets itself incorporated into the body of the word. Although such changed forms are very rare, yet the presence of even these few forms may indicate that Apabhraṁśa was undergoing a change in its post-Apabhraṁśa stage, which was going to be a marked one in course of time.

Post-Apabhraṁśa is followed by the first stage of Mediæval Gujarati. The chief feature of this first stage is the complete disappearance of the अकारान्त Nom. Sing. ending उ. In other respects it is similar to Post-Apabhraṁśa. अ इ of the present third person sing. is still there: and these separate अ इ are to be found in many words besides, e. g. in अ न इ and न इ (modern अने and ने). Works in prose and verse such as Pṛthvīcandracaritra belong to this stage and date from the first half of the 15th century V. E.

This is followed by the second stage. This retains many characteristics of the first; yet a clean advance over the first stage is quite observable. The present third person sing. ending अ इ is there ; but this is in many places replaced by इ incorporated. In many other words this incorporation is complete. Instead of बइसइ of the first stage we invariably meet with बिसि of masculine and अउं of neuter etc., are उ and ऊं. We find घोडु and कहूं instead of घोडउ and कहउं. The imperative 2nd person and Instrumental sing. ending was इ in the first stage; now it is

optionally. Plurals in ओ begin to appear over and above those in आ. And the use of locative participle मां becomes more frequent. Padmanābha's Kānhaḍade–Prabandha, Maṇḍana's Rāmāyaṇa, Śrīdhara's Rāvaṇa-Mandodarī-Saṁvāda, Nākara's Mahābhārata–all these belong to this stage, which extends from the 15th to the 16th century V. E.

Now comes the third stage. This stage is characterised by the complete incorporation of इ of the अइ. In other respects it is similar to the second.

The fourth is of mixed nature. Forms both old and modern are found in equal proportion. And it is this stage which is related to Modern Gujarati immediately.

This is as regards Gujarat proper. Kathiawar has to narrate a different story. We have seen above that even oldest MSS. in Kathiawar reveal a language allied more to Modern Gujarati. From this it is obvious that the language there had not to pass through various stages. And it is highly possible that, as far as Kathiawar is concerned, Modern Gujarati is a direct descendant or rather an immediate descendant of the first stage of Mediæval Gujarati. Thus the first stage of Mediæval Gujarati being common (since its intermediacy is needed for the evolution of Modern Gujarati), what needs explanation is the phenomenon of an immediate transition in Kathiawar and a gradual one in Gujarat. And this fact has to be historically explained in the following manner.

Both Gujarat and Kathiawar had attained the first stage in the fourteenth century V. E. But just then the Vaghela rule came to an end. This brought about a separation of Kathiawar (which then became independent) and Gujarat. Gujarat then came into closer contact with Marwar; and owing to this contact its language had to pass through various stages. And this contact is not merely hypothetical. Padmanābha, the author of Kānhaḍade–Prabandha lived in Jhalara–Pāṭan in Marwar and wrote in Gujarati. This speaks of a very close contact between the two provinces. Kathiawar had no such contact; and so the evolution there was quite independent and

more direct. But when again the rulers of Ahmedabad conquered Kathiawar, its contact with Gujarat was renewed. And it is this contact which is responsible for the evolution of Modern Gujarati in Gujarat. We have seen that in the fourth stage old forms as well as modern forms were employed in equal proportion and indifferently. This we can see from certain deeds belonging to that period and the Rāmāyaṇa of Viṣṇudāsa, a resident of Cambay. This can better be explained if we assume that owing to the contact of Kathiawar the forms employed there were being abundantly introduced, than if we assume that the language of the third had partly evolved; especially so, because such an evolution is impossible. It was in the third stage: now बेस which we find in the fourth stage cannot evolve from बिसि, it can evolve out of बइसइ alone.

The language of Kathiawar which evolved out of the first stage which had बइसइ had naturally enough बेसे. So the बेसे of the fourth stage is rather an introduction from Kathiawar than an evolution from the बिसि of the third stage. And when however, this बेस grew commoner, the बिसि was ousted. Moreover, when this contact introduced also the works of Narasiṁha and others, their charm led to their language being even adopted as it happened in the case of Premānanda who inaugurated the epoch of Modern Gujarati.

Now a word remains to be said about the old language employed by Maṇḍana and Bhīma, who were the residents of Kathiawar. Their works are copied V. S. 1574-75. It need not, however, lead us to suppose that in the second half of the 15th century theirs was the spoken language; especially when earlier deeds, which are always expected to be drawn up in the spoken language, show for all practical purposes modernity. Their idiosyncrasies alone may be responsible for their adoption of the old language. They were in touch with Gujarat proper and being in contact with poetical compositions there in old Gujarati, they had considered that to be शिष्ट, and had adopted it for their composition. As for Narasiṁha he was a natural singer; cared very little for शिष्टता; had mainly to appeal to people at large; and adopted the popular

language. Charmed by his poetry all the poets of Kathiawar that followed adopted his language. Even Premânanda did the same thing. And it was Premânanda who introduced the Modern Comphrehensive Gujarati.

प्राचीन गुजराती साहित्यमां वृत्तरचना.

BY BHOGILAL JAYACHANDRA SANDESARA.

(Patan.)

संस्कृत साहित्यमां भासनां नाटकोनी, अने अंग्रेजी साहित्यमां शेक्सपीयरनां नाटकोनी थयेली चर्चा साथे सरखावी शकाय एवी चर्चा गुजराती साहित्यमां जेना माटे ऊभी थयेल छे, ते प्रेमानंदनां नाटको संबंधी पोतानुं 'अन्वेषण' श्री नरसिंहरावे राजकोटमां भरायेल त्रीजी गूजराती साहित्य परिषद् समक्ष वांच्युं त्यारे तेमां एमणे एक ए विधान करेलुं के आ नाटकोमां वपरायां छे तेवां शुद्ध संस्कृत वृत्तो गूजराती साहित्यमां दलपतराम अने नर्मदाशंकरना समय पछी ज वपरावां शरू थयां छे; अने एथी पण आ नाटकोना कर्तृत्व संबंधी शंका लेवाने कारण मळे छे.

एमनो निबंध लखाया पछी प्राचीन गुजराती साहित्य मोटा प्रमाणमां जाणवामां आव्युं छे अने छपायुं छे; अने तेना आधारे ठेठ नरसिंहना समयथी ते प्राचीन गूजराती कविओना छेल्ला प्रतिनिधि दयाराम सुधी वृत्तो ओछावत्ता प्रमाणमां रचायेलां छे एम साबित थयुं छे. हा, पण ए विषयमां एटलुं तो कहेवुं जोईए के दूहा, चोपाई के बीजा मात्रामेळ छन्दोमां रचायेल वार्ताओ, देशीबद्ध आख्यानो वगेरे तरफ जोतां वृत्तोमां रचायेलां सळंग काव्यो बहु ज ओछां—मात्र छ के सात ज छे.

'प्रेमानंदनां नाटको' ना कर्तृत्व विषे कोईपण प्रकारनी चर्चा अहीं करवानो उद्देश नथी, तथा श्रीयुत नरसिंहरावभाईए पोताना लेखमां चन्द्रक्रीडा, वाघेश्वरी, मरहट्टा वगेरे छन्दोनी प्राचीनता विषे शंका करेली, तेना जवाब रा. 'इ' ए पोताना लेखोमां आपेला छे—एटले ते विषे अहीं कंई ऊहापोह करतो नथी.

अहीं, हुं मात्र एटलुं ज बताववा मागुं छुं के गुजराती भाषामां पण मराठीनी पेठे ठेठ पंदरमा सैकाथी—कदाच ए करतां पण प्राचीन समयथी—वृत्तरचनाओ थती आवी छे.

वृत्तरचनानुं जूनामां जूनुं उदाहरण मने सं. १४५४ ना आशरे रचायेल श्रीधरव्यासकृत रणमल्लछन्दमांथी मळ्युं छे. ते पछीनी जे वृत्तरचनाओ मळी शकी तेनी हकीकत अहीं समय प्रमाणे आपी छे. में करेलो संग्रह संपूर्ण छे एम तो न ज कही शकाय; कारण प्राचीन गूजरातीनुं साहित्य हजी मोटा प्रमाणमां अप्रसिद्ध छे. छतां अहीं मूकेली हकीकत उपरथी एटलुं तो जरूर नक्की करी शकाशे के मराठीनी पेठे गूजरातीमां पण जूना समयथी वृत्तरचनाओ थती आवी छे.

१. पंदरमो सैको.

श्रीधरव्यासनो रणमल्लछन्द[1] तेमांनी हकीकत उपरथी सं १४५४ लगभग रचायेलो गणाय छे. ए ज कविनुं बीजुं छन्दोबद्ध काव्य सप्तशती[2] छे. ए बन्नेमां पंचचामर, भुजंगप्रयात अने नाराच ए अक्षरमेळ छन्दो वपरायेला छे. अंचलगच्छीय माणिक्यसुन्दरसूरिए शुकराजकथा[3] रचेली छे. एना ज पृथ्वीचन्द्रचरित्रनो रच्या सं. १४७८ नो छे. ए उपरथी शुकराजकथा पण लगभग ए समयनी छे. तेमां एक स्थळे इन्द्रवज्रा छन्दनुं गूजराती सुभाषित आपेलुं छे.

२. सोळमो सैको.

धनदेवगणिए सं. १५०२ मां रचेल सुरंगाभिधान नेमिनाथ फागमां[4] आदि अने अन्तमां एक एक शार्दूलविक्रीडित छे. रा. रा. जगजीवन नरभेराम बधेकाए सं. १५१९ नुं वंशावली काव्य[5] छपाव्युं छे. एना कर्तृत्व माटे शंका लई जवाने मजबूत कारण मळे छे.[6] तेम छतां ए काव्यमां शिखरिणी, मालिनी अने शार्दूलविक्रीडित छे ते बाबतनो अहीं निर्देश करवो उचित लाग्यो छे.

सं. १५२९ मां प्रभासपाटणना वतनी कायस्थ केशवदासे दशमस्कन्ध[7] रच्यो छे. तेमां रासक्रीडाना वर्णनमां घणे स्थळे शार्दूलविक्रीडित छे. विष्णुदास भीमनी सं. १५४१ मां रचायेल 'हरिलीला षोडशकला'[8] तथा सं. १५४६ मां रचायेल प्रबोधप्रकाशमां[9] स्थळे स्थळे भुजंगप्रयात जोवामां आवे छे.

रच्यासंवत्‌नी छाप वगरनुं सं. १५६० मां नकल करायेल वीरसिंह कृत उषाहरण[10] मने मळ्युं छे. नकल बहु ज अशुद्ध छे. ते उपरथी रच्यासंवत् आशरे अडधी सदी पहेलां लई जवामां आवे तो सोळमी सदीना आरंभनी ते रचना गणाय. ए काव्यमां स्थळे स्थळे भुजंगप्रयात वपरायेलो छे.

सांडेरगच्छीय ईश्वरसूरिए सं. १५६१ मां ललितांगचरित्र[11] छन्दोबद्ध रच्युं छे. उत्तम प्रतिनां संस्कृत-प्राकृत काव्योनी याद आपे एवी तेनी रचना छे. तेमां

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१. प्रकट: दि. बा. के. ह. ध्रुव संपादित प्राचीन गूर्जर काव्यमां.
२. अप्रकट: हाथप्रत गुजरात वर्नाक्युलर सोसायटीना संग्रहमां.
३. प्रकट: हंसविजयजी जैन लायब्रेरी अमदावाद.
४. अप्रकट: हाथप्रत जैन ज्ञानमन्दिर, वडोदरा.
५. प्रकट: 'गुजराती' नो सं. १९८९ नो दीपोत्सवी अंक.
६. जुओ, 'गुजराती' ता. २३ नवेम्बर १९३१ ना अंकमां मारो लेख 'वंशावली काव्य अने सोळमा शतकनी गुजराती भाषा'.
७. प्रकट: फॉर्बस गुजराती सभा.
८. प्रकट: अंबालाल जानी सम्पादित गु. व. सो. तरफथी.
९. अप्रकट: हाथप्रत गु. व. सो. ना संग्रहमां.
१०. ,, हाथप्रत प्र. कान्तिविजयजी महाराजना संग्रहमां.
११. ,, हाथप्रत हालाभाईनो भंडार पाटण.

इन्द्रवज्रा तथा उपेन्द्रवज्रा ए अक्षरमेळ छंदो वापरेला छे. ए उपरांत, इसर शिक्षा[12] नामे बीजुं एक काव्य मने मळेलुं छे. "घणी किसी इसर सीख दीजइ" ए प्रमाणे अंत उपरथी, भाषा तथा लिपि उपरथी, तेम अक्षरमेळ छंदोमां रचायुं छे ते उपरथी, आ काव्य उक्त संडेरगच्छीय ईश्वरसूरिनी रचना हशे एम लागे छे. ओगणत्रीस कडीनुं ए काव्य आखुं ये उपजातिमां रचायु छे. आ ज ईश्वरसूरिना शिष्य शान्तिसूरिए अपभ्रंश अने जूनी गुजरातीमां 'सागरदत्तरास'[13] रच्यो छे. छन्दोनी विविधतामां ए काव्य ललितांगचरित्र करतां पण चडी जाय एवुं छे. तेमां मालिनी छन्द वपरायेल छे.

ज्ञानाचार्यकृत बिल्हणपंचाशिका[14] आशरे सोळमा शतकनी रचना गणाय छे. एमां एक स्थळे "अतिशय करमाणी साम्प्रतं काई बाळा" ए प्रमाणे शरु थती संस्कृतमिश्रित गुजराती मालिनीनी कडी छे.

प्रख्यात विमलप्रबन्धना कर्ता मुनि लावण्यसमये चतुर्विंशतिजिनस्तुति[15] रची छे. ते आखी ये मालिनी छंदमां छे.

३. सत्तरमो सैको.

वैष्णव कवि महावदासे 'रससिन्धु'[16] नामे ग्रन्थ गद्यपद्यमां रच्यो छे. ए ज कवीए रचेल 'गोकुळनाथजीनो विवाह' मळी आव्यो छे. हवे, गोकुळनाथजीनो जन्म सं. १६०८ मां, अने विवाह सं. १६२४ मां थयो हतो;[17] एटले 'गोकुलेश विवाहवर्णन'नी जेम रससिन्धु पण सं. १६२४ ना अरसामां रचायेलो हशे एम अनुमान थाय छे. रससिन्धुमां स्थळे स्थळे वृत्तरचनाओ मळी आवे छे.

गोपालभट्टकृत भाषावैचित्र्यान्तर्गत फूलांचरित्र[18] सत्तरमा शतकना अंत-भागनी रचना होय एम अनुमान थाय छे. ए आखुं ये काव्य द्रुतविलम्बित, भुजंग-प्रयात, मालिनी, शालिनी इत्यादि विविध वृत्तोमां रचायेलुं छे.

४. अढारमो सैको.

अढारमा सैकानी वृत्तरचनाओमां सं. १७०६ मां रचायेल माधवकृत रूपसुन्दर कथा[19] अग्रस्थान ले छे. घणुं करीने बिल्हणकाव्यनी प्रेरणा उपरथी

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१२. ,, हाथप्रत प्र. कान्तिविजयजी महाराजना संग्रहमां.

१३. ,, हाथप्रत संघनो भंडार पाटण

१४. प्रकटः मारा वडे संपादित, 'साहित्य' जुलाई सन १९३२.

१५. अप्रकटः डहेलानो जैन भंडार, अमदावाद.

१६. ,, फॉर्बस गुजराती सभाना संग्रहमां.

१७. जुओ, रा. मगनलाल गांधीकृत "गोकुलेशजीनुं जीवनचरित्र" पृ. २१६.

१८. 'रूपसुन्दर कथा' ना परिशिष्टरूपे प्रसिद्ध.

१९. प्रसिद्धः मारा वडे संपादित फॉ. गु. सभा तरफथी.

लखायेल, तेम अलंकारथी भरोभार भरेल आशरे बसो कडीनुं ए काव्य आखुं ये द्रुतविलम्बित, शार्दूल, स्नग्धरा, स्वागता, स्रग्विणी. शालिनी, मालिनी, मन्दाक्रान्ता, शिखरिणी इत्यादि विविध वृत्तोमां रचायेलुं छे. रत्नेश्वर करतां ये माधवनां वृत्तो वधु परिपक्व लागे छे.

महाकवि प्रेमानंदनां पुस्तको पैकी मार्कण्डेयपुराण, अष्टावक्राख्यान, द्रौपदी-हरण इत्यादिने केटलाक विद्वानो शंकित गणे छे: एटले ते जवा दईये, तो पण दशमस्कन्ध जे अर्धाथी वधु प्रेमानंदकृत छे, तेमां नगस्वरूपिणी अने भुजंगप्रयात वपरायेल छे. रणयज्ञमां तो आखुं एक कडवुं भुजंगीमां छे.

प्रेमानंदशिष्य रत्नेश्वरनुं आत्मविचारचन्द्रोदय आखु वृत्तबंध छे ए तो प्रसिद्ध छे. उपरांत, ए ज कविना पदबंध भागवतमां दरेक अध्यायना आदि-अंतमां एक एक वृत्त जोवामां आवे छे. एक माधवने बाद करीए तो जूनी गुजरातीना कोई कवि करतां रत्नेश्वरने वृत्तो रचवामां वधारे सफळता मळी गणाय.

प्रेमानन्दपुत्र वल्लभनां[२०] दुःशासनरुधिरपानमां शिखरिणी अने भुजंगी ए बे अक्षरमेळ छंदो छुटथी वपरायेला छे. शब्दोने यथेच्छ तोडी-फोडी बनावेलो तेनो शिखरिणी सामान्य माणस टीकानी मदद सिवाय भाग्ये ज समजी शके.

तपागच्छीय जैन साधु केशरविमले सं. १७७४ मां सूक्तमाला[२१] नामे स्वरचित सूक्तिसंग्रह रच्यो छे. लगभग बसो कडीना ग्रन्थने धर्म, अर्थ, काम अने मोक्ष एम चार वर्गोमां विभक्त करी आशरे पचास विषयो परत्वे सुभाषितो आपेलां छे. विशेषता ए छे के आखुं ये काव्य विविध वृत्तोमां छे.

५. ओगणीसमो सैको.

ओगणीसमा सैकामां, सौथी पहेलुं सं. १८०० रचायेल जीवरामभट्टकृत 'जीवराज शेठनी मुसाफरी'[२२] नजरे पडे छे. संसारजीवननी विटंबणानुं ए रूपक छे; अने रूपक तरीके छेक निष्फळ होवा छतां आखुं ये "शिवराज शेठ पुत्र जीवराजने, मोकले विदेशमां कहीं मुकाजने" ए प्रमाणे नंदराग वृत्तमां रचायेलुं होई अत्रे बहु उपयोगी थई पडे छे.

वसावडनिवासी कालिदासकृत सीतास्वयंवरनुं मंगलाचरण तोटक छंदमां छे. तेम ए ज कविना प्रल्हादाख्यानमांनुं "भणे इन्द्र मुनीन्द्र उपेन्द्र नमो" ए प्रमाणे शरु थतुं आखुं एक कडवुं तोटकमां छे.

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२०. प्रो. ठाकोर, प्रो. जोषी वगेरे केटलाक विद्वानोए खुद वल्लभनुं अस्तित्व होवा संबंधमां शंका जाहेर करेल छे; परंतु ए प्रश्नो विचार अहीं प्रस्तुत नथी वळी अलग छे.

२१. प्रकट: मारावंड संपादित, साहित्य ऑगस्ट-सप्टेम्बर १९११.

२२. प्रकट: बृहत्काव्यदोहन भाग १.

कविश्री दयारामना "षड्ऋतु विरहवर्णन" मां संख्याबंध वृत्तो छे. 'यमुनास्तुति' भुजंगप्रयातमां रचाई छे; तेम "कृष्णअष्टोत्तरशतनाममाला" पण वृत्तोमां लखायेल छे.

गूजराती वृत्तरचना ए मात्र नवा जमानानी पेदाश नथी; पण प्राचीन गूजराती साहित्यमां जमाना थयां वपरातो आवेलो (कदाच ए समयमां नवीनतावाळो गणातो) पद्यबंध छे, एटलुं ज मात्र मूळ लांबा निबंधनो अहीं आपेलो आ सार-भाग बतावी शकशे तो हुं मारा श्रमने कृतार्थ थयो मानीश.

परिशिष्ट अ.

प्राचीन गूजराती साहित्यनां मळेल वृत्तबंध काव्यो.

काव्यनुं नाम.	रच्या संवत.	कर्ता.	प्रकट के अप्रकट.	वपरायेलां वृत्तो.
वंशवेली.	१५१५	हरिदास.	प्रकट–'गुजराती'नो दीपोत्सवी अंक, संवत् १९८९.	शार्दूल, मालिनी, शिखरिणी.
ईश्वर शिक्षा.	आशरे सोळमा शतकनुं त्रीजुं चरण.	ईश्वरसूरि.	अप्रकट-हाथप्रत प्र. कान्तिविजयजीना संग्रहमां-पाटण.	उपजाति.
चतुर्विंशति जिन स्तुति.	,,	लावण्यसमय.	अप्रकट-हाथप्रत, डहेलाना जैन भंडार–अमदावाद.	मालिनी.
भाषावैचित्र्यान्तर्गत कृष्णचरित्र.	आशरे सत्तरमा शतकनो अंत भाग.	गोपालभट्ट.	प्रकट–'रूपसुन्दर कथा'ना परिशिष्टमां.	भुजंगी, मालिनी, शालिनी, द्रुतविलम्बित, उपजाति, वंशस्थ इत्यादि.
रूपसुन्दर कथा.	१७०६	माधव.	प्रकट–फॉर्बस गूजराती सभा तरफथी.	भुजंगी, रथोद्धता, मन्दाक्रान्ता, शालिनी, मालिनी, स्वागता, स्रग्विणी, स्रग्धरा, शिखरिणी, शार्दूल, वंशस्थ, उपजाति इत्यादि.
आत्मविचार चन्द्रोदय.	१७४०	रत्नेश्वर.	प्रकट–प्राचीन काव्यमाला.	रूपसुन्दर कथामां वपरायेलां घणां खरां वृत्तो.
सुक्तमाला.	१७७४	केशरविमल.	प्रकट–'साहित्य' ऑगस्ट, सप्टेम्बर १९३१.	,,
जीवराज शेठनी मुसाफरी.	१८००	जीवरामभट्ट.	प्रकट–बृहत्काव्यदोहन भाग १.	नंद राग.

(शिखरिणी)

अहो बंबं भोळा सुरअसुर सोळा बरतणां,
अहो बंबं भोळा त्रिपुरहर तोळाधर चणां,
अहो बंबं भोळा जटिल शिर मोळा सरपणां,
अहो बंबं भोळा त्रिशूलधर धोळा सरजणां.

—वल्लभकृत दुःशासनरुधिरपानाख्यान.

(नंदराग)

शिवराज शेठ पुत्र जीवराजने मोकले विदेशमां कही सुकाजने,
जाव मृत्युलोकमां गुमास्ता लेईने, माल वो'रजोजि पुत्र शुद्ध जोईने.
साथ राखजो दलाल संत कोईने, लेवरावशे सुमाल सारा जोईने,
आगवो सुसंग लेई राखजो कने, धीरशो मा कामक्रोध लोभ चोरने.

—जीवरामभट्टकृत जीवराजशेठनी मुसाफरी, सं. १८००

(तोटक)

भजे इन्द्र मुनीन्द्र उपेन्द्र नमो, करुणाकर श्री हरिचंद नमो,
सच्चिदानंद श्री अविनाशी नमो, कमळावर वैकुंठवासी नमो.
पुरुषोत्तम पंकजनेत्र नमो, परिपूर्ण ब्रह्म पवित्र नमो,
रविकोटिकळावर रूप नमो, भगवान सुरासुर भूप नमो.

—कालिदासकृत प्रल्हादाख्यान, सं १८१६.

(भुजंगी)

नमो श्री गुरुदेव श्री कृष्णस्वामी, नमो नंदकुमार सुपर्णगामी,
नमो श्री यशोदा अमुमौनचारी, नमो श्री बळानुज आनंदकारी,
नमो राधिकानाथ गोपीशवृंदा, नमो श्री यमुनापति मोहकंदा,
नमो गोकुलाधीश श्री शैलधारी, नमो रासविहारी श्रीजी मुरारि.

—दयारामकृत कृष्णअष्टोत्तरशतनामचिंतामणि.

हिंदमां सूर्यपूजा अने मोढेरानुं सूर्यमंदिर.

BY MANILAL MULCHAND MISTRI.

(Baroda.)

तत्सवितुर्वरेण्यं भर्गो देवस्य धीमहि ।
धियो यो नः प्रचोदयात् ॥ (ऋग्वेद ३, ६२, १०)

घणा प्राचीन काळथी दुनियाना सर्व देशोमां सूर्यपूजा चालती हती. इजीप्तवासीओ सूर्यने 'होरस' (Horus) अने 'रा' (Ra) ना नामथी पूजता. बे हजार वर्षो पूर्वनी बेबिलोननी 'मर्डुक' अने 'मित्तानी' अने ईराननी 'मेसेगेना' अने 'टयुटन' नामनी आर्यजातिओनो इष्टदेव सूर्य हतो. हेलियोस, एपोलो वगेरे सूर्यदेवनां ग्रीक नामो तो आपणने जरा जाणीतां छे. ठेठ बीजी दुनियामां मेक्षिकोमांना रहेवासीओनां हृदयो पण सूर्यदेवने दररोज आदरथी पूजतां.

आम आखी दुनियामांनो प्राचीन प्रजाओना धार्मिक इतिहासो उखेळवामां आवे तो सूर्यनी एक अथवा बीजा स्वरूपे लांबा वखत सुधी पूजा चालु रही हती तेवुं जणाई आवशे. एनुं कारण शोधवा दूर जवुं पडे तेम नथी. पोताना तेज अने उष्माथी जगत आखाने भरी देतो सूर्य कोनुं ध्यान खेंच्या विना रहे ? पूर्वनां सोनेरी बारणामांथी नीकळी, जगतनी वनस्पति अने प्राणीओने पोषण अर्पतो, अने छेवटे पश्चिममां अदृश्य थई जतो मनुष्यजातिनो आ महान मित्र, तारणहार गणाया विना केम रहे !

अने हिंदना आर्यो जगत उपरनी बधी आर्यजातिओ करतां जुदा नहोता. तेमना देवोमां सूर्यने घणुंज महत्त्वनुं स्थान मळ्युं. हिंदुधर्मना मूळमां ज सूर्यनी पूजा छे. हिंदु धर्मना मूल्य ग्रंथ ऋग्वेदनी दस आखी ऋचाओ सूर्यदेवनी स्तुतिमां रचाई छे. हिंदु धर्मना श्वासरूप गायत्रीमंत्र पण सूर्यपूजानुं ज प्राबल्य बतावे छे.

यादवराज कृष्णना पुत्र सांबे हिंदमां सूर्यपूजा शरु करी एम मनाय छे. ईरानना अग्नि खूणामां आवेल शकद्वीपना मग ब्राह्मणोए पूजारी बनी हिंदमां सूर्यपूजानो खूब प्रचार कर्यो. ए बधां ब्रह्म, अग्नि, मार्कण्डेय, पद्म, गरुड अने खास करीने भविष्य-पुराणमां सूर्य विषे खूब आख्यायिकाओ रचाई छे.

[illegible] रामचंद्र सूर्यवंशी हता. महाभारतमां सूर्यनां १०८ नाम गणाव्यां छे. [illegible] स्तुतिमां घणां सूर्यशतको रचायां छे. तेमां महाकवि बाणभट्टना समकालीन [illegible] मयूरनुं सूर्यशतक तो संस्कृतप्रिय जनतामां जाणीतुं छे.

वैदिक ऋषिओए सूर्यने मित्र, अर्यमन, भग, वरुण, दक्ष, अंश, सूर्य, मार्तण्ड, धाता, इन्द्र, विवस्वत्, सवितर्, पूषन् ने विष्णु एवां जुदां जुदां नामथी अने जुदा जुदा स्वरूपे पूज्यो छे.

सूर्यनी मूर्ति ईरानथी हिंदमां आवी छे. ई. स. पूर्वे बीजा सैकानो भाजनी गुफामां मळी आवती सूर्यमूर्ति अत्यारे जूनामांजूनी गणाय छे. त्यार पछीना काळनी सूर्यमूर्तिओ खंडगिरि अने ईलोरानी गुफाओमां, गयामां अने बीजां घणां स्थळे मळी आवी छे. आठमी नवमी सदीना काळनी मूर्तिओ तो लगभग आखा हिंदुस्तानमां मळे छे.

भिन्नमालमां ई. स. १६६ मां सूर्यमंदिर बंधायुं. माळवामां मंदसोरनुं सूर्यमंदिर ई. स. ४३७ मां बंधायेलुं. द्वारकानुं जगत मंदिर तथा पुरीनुं जगन्नाथनुं मंदिर पण मूळ सूर्यमंदिर हशे तेम अनुमानाय छे.

कनोजना हर्षवर्धन राजाना पूर्वजो प्रभाकरवर्धन, राज्यवर्धन, ने आदित्यवर्धन परम सूर्यभक्त हता. कनोज अने मुल्तानमां जबरजस्त सूर्यमंदिरो हतां. तेम चीनी यात्रालु ह्युएनसंग नोंधे छे. काश्मीरना राजा ललितादित्ये ई. स. ७४० नी आसपासमां, अत्यारे पण जेनुं भव्य खंडेर ऊभुं रह्युं छे ते, प्रख्यात मार्तण्ड मंदिर बंधाव्युं.

पूर्वहिंदमां बंगमां, सेन ने पाल राजाओना काळमां सूर्यमूर्तिओ खूब कोतराई हती. ब्रह्मदेशमां दसमी सदीनी सूर्यमूर्तिओ मळे छे. ए ज अरसामां गुजरातीओ जावामां गया, त्यारे ते वखते तेमणे बंधावेलां सूर्यमंदिरनां असंख्य खंडेरो त्यां जडी आवे छे.

पश्चिम हिंदमां अने खास करीने गुजरातमां सूर्यपूजानो खूब प्रचार हतो. सिरोही राज्यना वरमाण गाममां अने द्वारका पासे ब्राह्मणवाडमां प्राचीन सूर्यमंदिरो छे. काठियावाडमां सोमनाथपाटण, थान, पोरबंदर ताबेना श्रीनगर, कंथकोट, सोमनाथ-पाटणथी थोडेक दूर आवेला खोरासा तथा सुत्रापाडामां सूर्यमंदिरनां खंडेरो ऊभां छे. महेसाणा प्रांतमां ठेकठेकाणे सूर्यमूर्तिओ जडे छे.

मोढेरानुं प्रख्यात सूर्यमंदिर ई. स. १०२६–२७ मां बंधायुं. पूर्वहिंदमां तो ते वखते पण सूर्यमंदिरो बंधायां हतां. ओरिसामां कोनार्कनुं मंदिर ई. स. १२०० ना अरसानुं छे.

आ समय पछी धीमेधीमे सूर्यपूजा विष्णुपूजामां मळी गई. झालरा पाटण, [illegible] वगेरे, विष्णु तथा सूर्यनी संयुक्त त्रिमूर्तिओ ते ज सूचवे छे.

अत्यारे सूर्यपूजा [illegible] जुदा रूप तरीके तो अदृश्य थई छे. [illegible] धार्मिक हिंदु सवारमां सूर्यनारायणने हाथ जोडे छे, दरेक ब्राह्मण गायत्री [illegible] वगेरे सूर्यपूजाना अवशेष रह्या छे ज. वडोदरामां अढारमां सैकामां बंधायेल [illegible] सूर्यनारायणनी पूजा हजी थाय छे.

ओरिसा, बंगाळा, थाणा अने मध्यहिंदमांनी केटलीक अनार्य जातोमां [illegible] पूजा वधारे चोक्खा स्वरूपमां छे. काठीआवाडनी काठी जात सूर्यपूजक छे.

आखा हिंदुस्थानमां मळी आवतां सूर्यमंदिरोमां सौथी वधारे उपयोगी अने सुंदर सूर्यमंदिर महेसाणा प्रांतमां मोढेरामां छे. आ मंदिर ई. स. १०२६-२७मां बंधाव्युं छे तेवुं त्यां मळी आवता एक पत्थरपरना लेखथी जणाय छे. ए वखतमां गुजरातमांनी केटलीक सूर्यपूजक धनिक ज्ञातिओ हती, तेमांना एकना महाजने आ मंदिर बंधाव्युं होय एम लागे छे.

आ मंदिरना गर्भगृह अने सभामंडप एवा बे भाग छे. तेनी आगळ १२०×१७६ ना मापनो लंबचोरस सूर्यकुंड छे. आखुं ए मकान हिंदु स्थापत्यकळानो उत्कृष्ट नमूनो छे.

हिंदना कोईपण भागना शिल्पीओ करतां गुजरातना शिल्पीओ मनुष्याकृतिओ घडवामां बहु निपुण हता. ग्रीक मूर्तिओ जेवां प्रमाणबद्ध अने सौष्ठवभर्यां मानव शरीरो हिंदमां नथीज एम माननाराओए मोढेरा जोवुं. गुजरातनी शिल्पकळा ज्यारे चढतीनी टोचे हतो त्यारे बंधायेलुं आ मंदिर अत्यारे य अनुपम छे.

इतिहास कहे छे के, अल्लाउद्दीन खूनी ई. स. १२९६ मां गुजरातपर चढी आव्यो त्यारे तेना झपाटामां केटलांय हिंदुमंदिरोनो कच्चरघाण वळी गयो. मोढेरा पण तेना सपाटामां आवी गयुं. आखुं शहेर उज्जड थई गयुं. ए विधर्मिओए सुरंग फोडी सूर्यमंदिरनां शिखर उडाडी मूक्यां. बहारनी लगभग बधी मूर्तिओ तोडी फोडी नाखी, अने मुख्य मूर्ति—जे सहेजे १९ फीट उंची हशे तेनो तो नाश ज करी नाख्यो.

आम आटलुं लुंटाया कुटाया छतां ये मोढेरानुं आ सूर्यमंदिर अत्यारे ये एटली समृद्धि तो जरुर धरावे छे के जेथी दरेक हिंदी तेनी जात्रा करवा प्रेराय.

THE GUJARATI COMEDY OF ART.

By Dr. R. K. Yajnik, M. A., Ph. D. (London).

(*Bhavnagar.*)

The Gujarati Comedy of Art is one of the most fascinating forms of the theatrical arts of the middle Ages. In order to understand this development of the theatre of the people in Gujarat in its proper perspective, it is best to start with a short survey of the Italian *Commedia dell' arte* and then to proceed to the examination of certain mediæval dramatic practices in the several parts of India. Such a comparative study will go to elucidate certain striking points of affinity between the various developments of the village drama, and, at the same time, will serve to emphasise the peculiar features of the Gujarati theatre of the people.

I. The European Commedia dell' arte.

The mediæval *Commedia dell' arte* continued side by side with the drama of the European Renaissance. This was really "a Comedy improvised by the actor-guild (arte) or profession."[1] These popular entertainments were most in vogue in Europe during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It is also suggested that because this type of improvised comedy requires special histrionic gifts and training, it was styled the *Comedy of Art.* Possibly, this is a later development. Originally, it would appear, several persons belonging to a common profession and living in the same locality developed this art for their own evening recreation and rural enjoyment.

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1. Encyclopædia Britannica, 1931, Vol. VI, p. 106. Also, cf. Winifred Smith's 'The Commedia Dell' Arte,' and such standard works as 'History of Theatrical Art,' by Karl Mantzius and the 'Development of the Theatre,' London, 1927, by Professor Allardyce Nicoll.

What was this Comedy of Art really like? This is not drama for it is not a written play. "It is fundamentally a thing of the actor, the mechanist, and the costumier;.......... it is, in essence, unashamedly a creation of the theatre, owing no definite allegiance to a poet". The plot or scenario was written out, but the dialogue was improvised by the actors. Connecting links were often supplied by a character, Arlecchino. In a sense, this was a sort of masked comedy, the action of which was chiefly carried on by certain typical figures in masks, speaking in local dialects.

This popular comedy was mostly concerned with disgraceful love-intrigues. Clever tricks were practised to extort money from credulous fools. Plotting maids, bragging captains, aged fathers and wily widows constantly figured on the stage to reveal their adventures. Poor simpletons were constantly outwitted. Many romantic incidents were narrated or enacted. Long lost children were reunited to the parents; long separated lovers embraced. Many sentimental tears must have been shed. A gentleman could open his heart to a parasite and a woman to her confidante.

Among the fascinating theatrical devices adopted by this comedy of art, the following may be mentioned :—(1) The love of music, dance and spectacle preserved the interest in this popular show through the centuries of political and religious wars. (2) Constant use of witty puns and smart intellectual repartees provoked laughter. (3) Most varied comic relief was provided by means of humorous interruptions (called *lazzi*) which were often irrelevant, by clever pantomimic acting, by acrobatic feats (such as tricks with a glass full of wine without spilling a drop, rope-dancing, boxing the ear with foot etc.), by tricks of juggling, by wrestling and by elaborate imitations of women undressing. (4) Martha Bellinger[2] especially draws attention to the considerable diversity of interest furnished by interesting night scenes, by cases of father and son falling in love with the same girl and by risque situations, wherein under the pretext of fire and shipwrecks actresses appeared naked on the stage.

2. A short History of the Drama, New York, 1927, p. 153 f.

To sum up, in this Comedy of Art a group of people was led to dramatize impromptu, on account of the sheer love of the drama and of the art of acting. Given a suitable theme, actors expressed themselves spontaneously in the form of a rude play. The general outline of plot provided ample opportunities for actors to heighten, vary and embellish their parts. Intellectual brilliance and constant surprise were demanded of them. The actors had to study their parts and had to accept the discipline of acting. Of course, they took a great pride in their achievement. Even when the Comedy of Art declined during a period of political and military strife in Europe, the stock types of comic situations continued to hold the stage.

II. The Indian Theatre of the people.

In a recent publication,[3] the present writer has dwelt at length on certain Indian mediæval theatrical practices, such as the *yātrās*, performances of *Rāsadhāīs*, the *Rāma–Līlā*, the *Lalita* and the *Bhavāi*. These have been partly compared to the European "Mysteries and Moralities". Viewing the same subject from another angle of vision, Indian mediæval performances may, perhaps, profitably be compared to the Italian *Commedia dell' arte*. As the latter may be said to derive their origins from the old Roman mime, the former might possibly be related to a few inferior varieties of ancient Sanskrit drama, such as *bhāṇa* and *prahasana*. Both the Italian and Indian Comedy of Art were fundamentally things of the actors. More than the play, the improvised comedy, fanciful costume, contemporary satire and sheer histrionic gifts or stage tricks pleased the populace in both the cases.

The Comedy of Art in India and Europe was usually performed on the outdoor platform stage backed by a piece of undecorated cloth. No doubt, on certain occasions of religious or national festivities more elaborate outdoor theatres were devised. The use of masks is also a common feature, although in India they do not seem to be freely used. More-

3. The Indian Theatre, George Allen & Unwin, London, Nov. 1933, pp. 52–68.

ever, the local dialects seem to be exploited to the fullest in order to add zest to the enjoyment of these popular entertainments.

Of course, the Indian setting is predominantly religious, whereas the Italian Comedy of Art is secular in character. The fact, however, remains that in most of the Indian performances, the comic intermezzi have most of the secular traits in common with European performances. The love of a spectacle is ingrained in humanity from times immemorial. The love of song, dance and pageant is witnessed in all mediæval performances. Farcical players, jugglers and acrobats are always welcomed with great enthusiasm on the mediæval stage. Romantic stories of love adventure, with ample scope for sentimental tears, farcical satires on foolish astrologers, greedy priests and ignorant story-tellers have profoundly appealed to varied audiences. The stock characters of Indian Arlecchino, Punch and confidantes have figured in varied mediæval performances.

III. The Gujarati Comedy of Art.

At this stage, it would be in the fitness of things to turn one's attention to a particular development of the Indian Comedy of Art. Thus, in Gujarat, the mediæval performances are essentially secular in character, although the pretence of playing in the days sacred to the Goddess Durgā or Ambā and before her image is still preserved. Most of the time is usually occupied in grossly realistic farces and satires. Possibly, Gujarat leads all other provinces in this respect of vile representation of the seamy side of life. The *Bhavāi* is only surpassed by a even more vulgar acting in the *Tamāśā*.

The latest development of the Gujarati popular entertainment is worth noting. To-day, with the progress of modern education and the rise of professional Gujarati Companies, due to the influence of Western models, even the Gujarati theatre of the people is passing through a period of transition. In towns in direct communication with such cosmopolitan centres as Bombay, crude plays on the basis of professional productions are now freely substituted for the older Comedy of Art.

Thus, for instance, in Bhavnagar, during the annual festivals of the Goddess, one could easily find that at most of the places of public entertainment, several favourite Gujarati professional plays were enacted. In about 15 streets out of 20, there was an attempt, however imperfect, to follow closely the rival professional stage.

On one side of a spacious courtyard, one could notice a small image or picture of the Goddess to be propitiated. Just adjoining the house of an actor or of a sympathizer a small open stage is erected with a few crude painted curtains. A room in the actor's house might serve as a temporary green-room. A few typical dresses are usually acquired for that particular troupe of actors. Copies of certain professional favourites are secured either from old-fashioned book-sellers or from retired actors who might be able to supply pirated versions.

All these actors of a troupe may belong to various professions, but are generally neighbours or members of the same Hindu caste. Under the guidance of a bold experienced leader, these voluntary actors of a fortnight rehearse for nearly a month and are able to develop a repertory of three or four plays. These are repeated every year with as few changes in the cast, as possible. Of course, the same plays have to be repeated at intervals during those ten or fifteen days i. e. upto the *Daśerāh* or full-moon night.

Awkwardly enough, the play commences after midnight and ends almost at dawn. The principal actors, of course, sleep during day time and absent themselves from duty under one pretext or another. Young boys who also act all the female rôles and who have to figure only for a short time, are allowed to sleep during the night till they are required in the small hours of the morning. Then, of course, they are permitted to retire immediately their labour of love is done.

On account of the religious setting of these popular performances, no fees are charged from the audience. Even the poorest person can witness the play for a few hours. Thus, this crude imitation of the organized professional stage

serves as a street theatre for all the people of the locality. Women and children, who seldom leave their homes, get the annual privilege of enjoying these farcical, melodramatic productions, while squatting near their homes or even from the windows or terraces of neighbouring houses. If they cannot go to a regular theatre, due to social or economic considerations, an improvised theatre presents itself to their view, without any obligation to pay a pie.

No doubt, however, a collection is made before or after the production; and even the poorest widow would contribute her mite for the sake of earning a certain religious merit. If a rich person happens to visit the show for a few minutes, he is requested to donate a handsome sum. Now the expenses have certainly gone up on account of a laborious imitation of the professional companies. Nevertheless, the principal actors move from door to door in the locality and often share small profits after the expenses are defrayed. If they are religiously minded they either feed the Brahmins out of the surplus or reserve a little money for the next annual show.

These crude imitations of professional plays in actual practice prove to be a cross-breed between the mediaeval relic of *Bhavāi* and a regular play *Nāṭaka*. Here the actor has not undergone any severe discipline. He is not really responsible to anybody for his voluntary job. He is seldom educated. As he is under no definite obligation to be exact or careful, he generally takes extraordinary liberties with the portion he has somehow crammed. His presence of mind is often applauded when he misses his cue or something goes wrong. Again, the unsteady audience-people being free to visit many street-plays in the course of the night-and the festive surroundings give him a peculiar licence to imitate the several tricks of the *Commedia dell' arte*.

When such crude imitations of the professional Gujarati stage dominate all round in towns, to-day, it is no wonder that the *Bhavāi*[4] proper is driven to certain out-of-the-way

4. Mahipatram Nilkanth; Bhavāi Saṁgraha, Ahmedabad, 1879. Also, Mr. Purushottam Gigabhai Shah: Des'i Bhavāi, Bhavnagar, 1932.

places or to remote villages. In order to understand the form of popular entertainment, it is necessary to study several aspects of this mediæval theatrical institution. It is supposed to have started in or about Vadnagar in North Gujarat. The original idea seems to be the propitiation of the Goddess *Ambâ* by playing devotional performances wherein the best boy of the troupe thought it a privilege to play the heroine before the sacred image.

This pure amateur experiment easily developed into a business proposition. The *Bhavâyâ* community formed itself into suitable troupes with a view to tour Gujarat and Kathiawad and to make handsome collections, at the end of their performances in village-streets or at cross-roads. Religiously-minded merchants and farmers thought it an act of merit to feed, to clothe and to reward these actors. This tradition of acting, which passed on from father to son for centuries, was thus preserved by people who really enjoyed the indigenous Comedy of Art. Thus in the manner of the Italian comedy, the amateur experiment led to the professional stage.

On the other hand, people of the same guild or locality continued these annual shows, independent of the touring *Bhavāyās* or the *Bahurūpīs*, for generations together. Now, however, in the age of competition, they are compelled to imitate the professional theatre in most respects, as has been discussed above. Of course, our indigenous amateur companies deserve the highest tribute for maintaining the theatre of the people through many periods of political, religious and social turmoil. The *bhavāyās* toured various places and local companies started in their wake. Thus, they were the pioneers who inspired the local talent in histrionics.

They left behind them a sort of scenerio or an outline of plot of varied playlets, or impersonations of certain farcical types after presenting a bill of three or four playlets daily with variations, for several nights. Thus, a local company would fall in love with the story of the fashionable dandy (*Chelabatāu*) carrying on an intrigue with the lascivious Queen (*Mohanā*). A few words may be supplied by the local *Kavi*. Then, of course, each actor is at liberty to improvise in the manner he pleases, exactly in the style of the *Commedia dell' arte.*

The real aim is to excite unbounded merriment by all possible means. Farcical, vulgar satires or lampoons may be freely utilized. Grossly realistic pictures might also lead to the sense of the incongruous and the ludicrous. Stories of child-marriages and of ill-matched couples are frequent. Just a very young bride-groom is carried in the arms of an elderly bride; the former asks very silly questions to which the latter very pertly replies and people indulge in roars of laughter. Then the bride laments her lot in a song; but nobody takes her seriously and few sentimental tears are shed. The motley clown, of course, intervenes at every stage in their awkward relations and his jokes are merciless.

The religious satire is also very pointed. A friar (cf: *Bāvā no Veśa*) is represented as a perfect hypocrite, greedy of wealth. He indulges in narcotics and seduces a young married girl, disgusted with an old husband, and also a rich young widow. Again, the degenerated policemen, after the decline of the Muslim power, are specially selected in many scenes as objects of ridiculous satire : (cf: *Lālaji Maṇiyāra*). Caricatures of such professional thieves as goldsmiths, merchants and tailors also abound : (cf: *Pāñca Cora no Veśa*).

A few comedies distinctly aim at propaganda in favour of a sect (cf: *Becarājī no Veśa*). One particular goddess is represented as being capable of transforming one sex into another as desired. Mediæval legends, with a profuse element of the supernatural, are utilized. Illiterate, credulous people, while laughing whole-heartedly at many ironical and foolish situations, are awe-inspired on account of the miracles wrought by a particular goddess and are sometimes converted to the new creed.

Apart from exciting laughter by these devices, two important stock-characters constantly make the spectators roar with joy. The leader of the company (*nāyaka*) asks all sorts of questions with a view to get very funny replies; and the clown (*raṅgalo*) is at liberty to act and talk in the manner he likes.*

Next to many laughter-provoking-devices of disguises, mistaken identity and crude and licentious jokes, the love of

the spectacle proves to be fascinating. Certain comedies are especially spectacular in character. Rādhā and the milkmaids (*Gopīs*) dance in gorgeous costume an enchanting dance in company of Krishna. Of course, in Gujarat, these dances have not the superb quality of Southern India. Other comedies aim at the display of sword-play (cf: *Kābā no Vesa*) between freebooters, mediæval kings (cf: *Siddharāja and Rā 'Khengāra*) and so on. Almost all the stage-tricks of the Italian *Commedia dell' arte* are known to have been practised on the Indian rural stage.

Love-intrigue, often of a very vulgar type, is at the bottom of almost all such comedies. One of the most favourite comedies (*Jhaṇḍā-Jhulaṇa*) draws its fascination from dance and amorous songs sung in a duet by a Moslem traveller and an orthodox Hindu merchant's wife.

Nevertheless, we must not forget that in the midst of all the vulgarity and obscenity associated with the Comedy of Art, there was a mine of mythological knowledge to be gathered from several comedies. Pauranic legends and stories of Rajput chivalry were often represented or narrated by several actors. Certain stories had a poignant pathos when a Brahmin girl disappointed with a hideous marriage, is seen on the point of committing suicide. Profuse sentimental tears of sympathy were bound to be shed on such pathetic occasions, though it is true that no production reached a high tragic level. In the end a supernatural agency (*deus ex machina*) would revive any dead person and a sermon would be inflicted on the credulous masses. Intellectual repartees, ingenious puns, riddles, puzzles and clinched couplets always stimulated the minds of the masses, even when they roared with laughter and danced to the tune of a song. So many expressions of these comedies have become current coins of everyday parlance.

Thus, the Comedy of Art has done a certain service to the cause of the Indian theatre by preserving the indigenous histrionic talent for centuries, by providing unbounded merriment to the masses for generations and by keeping the spectators informed from age to age of so many mythological

stories and romantic historical episodes. Again, this comedy also held the mirror before the public eye by representing realistically contemporary evils and vices.

In a word, the Gujarati Comedy of Art resembles in many respects the European *Commedia dell' arte*, with this special distinction that actresses did not figure on the former stage. No doubt, risque situations developed all the same for, male garments were sought to be removed instead of the female. Of the many types of the Indian Comedy of art, the Gujarati is the most secular in character and therefore comes nearer the *Commedia dell' arte*.

The tragedy of the Comedy of Art (especially Gujarati) is that, inspite of the wonderful sense of the theatre, many sparkling melodramatic situations and spectacular devices, it has remained divorced from literature. The learned Brahmins, in the manner of the Roman Catholic Priests, kept always aloof from these loose entertainments, and hence these performances never got the benefit of free or informed criticism. Thus, the breach between pure literature and the popular theatre widened, although nature, intuition and instinctive histrionic gifts and the love of music, spectacle and sport still preserve this Comedy of Art in remote villages.

सरस्वती स्थलनिर्णय.

BY SWAMI TRIVIKRAMA TIRTHA.

(Limbdi.)

वैदिक साहित्यमां सरस्वती नदीनुं माहात्म्य घणुं ज गवाएलुं छे, अने ए सरस्वतीनदीने पांच नदीओ मळती हती एवुं पण वर्णन मंत्रभागमां स्पष्ट शब्दोमां आवेलुं छे: 'पंचनद्यः सरस्वतीम्.' महाभारतमां एवुं पण वर्णन छे के वसिष्ठना पाश तोडी नाखवाने लीधे एनुं नाम 'विपाशा' पडयुं. तथा ते अनेक मुखोथी वही नीकळी तेथी तेनुं नाम 'शतद्रु' पडयुं. ए सरस्वती नदी क्यां वहेती हती ते स्थळ दर्शाववानो हेतु आ लेखमां छे.

महाभारतना गदापर्वमां एक जगाए सरस्वती नामनी सात नदीओ भारतमां जुदे जुदे स्थळे प्रसिद्ध हती एवुं वर्णन मळी आवे छे.

हवे ए सात सरस्वतीमांथी वैदिक साहित्यमां जेनुं माहात्म्य वर्णवेलुं छे ते सरस्वतीने ओळखवाने माटे कांईपण साहित्य प्राचीन ग्रंथोमांथी मळी आवे छे के नहिं ए संबंधी संशोधननो प्रयत्न करतां महाभारत अने रामायण ए बे ग्रंथोमांथी आ विषय उपर अजवाळुं पडी शके छे. तेमांथी महाभारतमां संपूर्ण वर्णन सरस्वतीना संबंधमां एक प्रसंगे सरस्वतीना मुखथी मूळ सुधीनां स्थळोनुं अनुक्रमे वर्णन करेलुं छे त्यां मळी आवे छे; अने एथी ए सरस्वतीने खोळी कहाडवानुं शक्य बने छे.

महाभारतमां शल्यपर्वना पेटामां गदापर्व नामे एक प्रकरण छे; अने तेमां 'बलदेव तीर्थयात्रा' ए नामनुं अवान्तर प्रकरण आवेलुं छे. ए प्रकरणमां आवेला वर्णननो सार नीचे प्रमाणे छे:—

उपप्लव्यमां धर्मराजाना पडावमां सहायक राजाओ तथा यादवो आवेला हता. दुर्योधन पासे भगवान श्रीकृष्ण सलाह करवाने माटे छेल्लो प्रयत्न करी जोवा तैयार थया अने गया. आखरे भगवान श्रीकृष्ण 'हस्तिनापुरथी दूतकार्य निष्फळ थयुं अने युद्ध आवश्यक ठर्युं' ए संदेशो लाव्या. बळभद्र त्यां हता. तेमणे श्रीकृष्णने कह्युं के तमे बंने पक्षने मदद आपो. परंतु ए वात श्रीकृष्णे स्वीकारी नहि. एथी बळभद्रे कोईपण पक्षने मदद नहिं करवी ए निश्चय करीने तीर्थयात्राए जवानुं ठराव्युं. तेमणे

पोताना आपसोने आज्ञा करी के तमे द्वारका जई दाम करवानी सामग्री अने अग्नि-होत्रना अग्नि लई प्रभास आवो. आपणे सरस्वतीनी यात्रा करवानी छे. ए यात्रा एमणे प्रतिस्रोत यात्रा करी. प्रतिस्रोत यात्रा एने कहे छे के नदीना मुखथी मूळ तरफ जवुं. ए प्रतिस्रोत यात्रा प्रभासथी शरू थई; अने सरस्वतीना मूळस्थळ सुधी जई पाछा कुरुक्षेत्रमां आव्या त्यां सुधीनुं वर्णन ए तीर्थयात्रा पर्वमां छे. ए यात्रामां एमने बेतालीस दिवसो लागेला. ते वखते दिवसनो गणना नक्षत्रो उपरथी थती हशे एम पण तेमां आवेला वाक्यसंदर्भ उपरथी जणाय छे.

बळदेव कहे छे के हुं पुष्य नक्षत्रमां नीकळ्यो अने श्रवणमां पाछो आव्यो तेने ४२ दिवस थया. ए यात्रावर्णनमां मुख्य मुख्य स्थळोए एओ रातवासो पण रहेला. अने कोई कोई स्थळोए नजदीकनां तीर्थोमां एक दिवसमां बे स्थळोए पण गएला. ए स्थळोनां नाम नीचे प्रमाणे:—

१. प्रभासक्षेत्र. पश्चिम समुद्रने कांठे सरस्वती अने सागरना संगम उपर ए स्थळे सरस्वतीनुं वहेण हतुं.

२. चमसोद्भेद. ए स्थळे पण सरस्वतीनो प्रवाह होवानुं समजाय छे.

३. उदपान. ए स्थळे एक मोटो कुवो हतो. ए कुवाने ' त्रितमुनिनो कुवो ' एम कहेता हता. त्यांथी सरस्वतीनो प्रवाह बंध थया एम समजाय छे.

४. विनशन आ जगाए सरस्वतीनो प्रवाह बिल्कुल बंध पडीने तेनां [illegible]ळाओ थई गएला प्रवाहनुं स्थळ बधुं पुराई गएलुं.

५. सुभूमिक ए स्थळे प्रवाह न्होतो; परंतु जमीन ओली अने वृक्षोथी भरपुर [illegible]मे हरिभरी हता. प्रवाह न्होतो पण जमीनमां पाणी पुष्कळ एवां चिह्नो घणां.

६. गंधर्वतीर्थ. त्यां आगळ प्रवाह हशे. चोक्कस कही न शकाय.

७. गर्गस्रोत. त्यां सरस्वतीनुं व्हेण चालु हशे.

८. शंखतीर्थ. ए स्थळे पण व्हेण चालु हशे अथवा कोई कोई ऋतुओमां [illegible]ालु रहेतुं हशे.

९. नैगमिकतीर्थ. ए स्थळे सरस्वतीनो प्रवाह अखंड बारे मास रहेतो हतो.

१०. [illegible]तीर्थ. अहिंथी सरस्वती पूर्वमां वळेली.

११. नैमिषेय कुंज.

१२. [illegible] सारस्वत तीर्थ.

१३. [illegible] आश्रम.

१४. [illegible]तीर्थ.

१५. [illegible] आश्रम.

१६. पृथूदक. ए स्थळ आजना समयमां पिहोवा नामथी प्रसिद्ध छे. आ कुरुक्षेत्रथी जवाय छे. प्राचीन समयमां ए सरस्वतीना उत्तर तीर उपर हतुं.

१७. आर्ष्टिषेणाश्रम.

१८. दाल्भ्यबकाश्रम. ए हस्तिनापुरना सिमाडामां हतुं.

१९. वसिष्ठा प्रवाह. अहियी सरस्वतीए पोताना प्रवाहनी दिशा बदलेली.

२०. सरस्वती अने अरुणानो संगम. सरस्वतीने मळनारी एक नानी नदी एनुं नाम अरुणा.

२१. कुमाराश्रम. ए शरना वनमां आवेलुं.

२२. समंत पंचक कुरुक्षेत्र जेवा विशाळ क्षेत्रनुं ए पश्चिम दक्षिणे आवेलुं स्थान. जो के कुरुक्षेत्रनुं बीजुं नाम समंत पंचक छे; तो पण आ स्थळवर्णन होवाथी ए कुरुक्षेत्रनुं सीमाद्वार होय एम समजाय छे.

२३. उशना तीर्थ.

२४. अग्नितीर्थ.

२५. कौबेरतीर्थ. आ तीर्थ सरस्वती तीरे जंगलमां आवेलुं.

२६. बदर पाचन तीर्थ. ए ज बदर पाचननी नजदिकमां इन्द्रतीर्थ पण आवेलुं.

२७. रामतीर्थ.

२८. आदित्य तीर्थ.

२९. सोम तीर्थ.

३०. सारस्वत तीर्थ.

३१. वृद्धकन्याश्रम. आ वृद्धकन्यानुं आख्यान महाभाष्यमां पतंजलीए पण लखेलुं छे.

३२. समंत पंचकद्वार एटले कुरुक्षेत्रनुं पूर्वोत्तर दिशाए आवेलुं सरस्वतीने तीर स्थपायेलुं द्वार.

ए उपरथी समजाय छे के २२ मा अंक उपर आवेलुं समंतपंचक अने ३२ मा अंक उपरनुं समंतपंचकद्वार ए बन्नेनी वच्चे आवेलां नव तीर्थो उशना तीर्थ, अग्नितीर्थ, कौबेरतीर्थ, बदरपाचनतीर्थ, रामतीर्थ, आदित्यतीर्थ, सोमतीर्थ, सारस्वत-तीर्थ अने वृद्धकन्याश्रम ए समंत पंचकनी हदमां सरस्वतीने तीरे आवेलां हतां.

३३ कुरुक्षेत्र, महाभारतनी लडाईनुं युद्ध स्थळ.

३४ ए पछी सरस्वतीनुं मूळ प्लक्ष प्रस्रवण नामना पर्वत उपर हतुं. त्यां बल-
व गया. त्यांथी पाछा वळी

१५ कारपवनतीर्थ

१६ सिद्धवन्ताश्रम

ए बधे तीर्थो विधि प्रमाणे करीने

१७ कुरुक्षेत्रमां पाछा आव्या.

ए प्रमाणे बळदेव युधिष्ठिर पासेथी नीकळेला कुरुक्षेत्रमां ४२ मे दिवसे आव्या; अने तीर्थयात्रामां एमने कुल ४२ दिवस लाग्या. ए ४२ दिवसमां तेओ प्रभासथी एटले सरस्वतीसागरसंगमथी सरस्वतीना मूळ सुधी जईने पाछा वळी कुरुक्षेत्रमां आव्या.

आ वर्णन नीचेना शब्दोमांथी तारवेलुं छे:

गदापर्व:-

अ. ३४ चत्वारिंशदहानद्य द्वे च मे निःसृतस्य वै ।
पुष्येण संप्रयातोऽस्मि श्रवणे पुनरागतः ॥ ६ ॥

अ. ३५ तीर्थयात्रां हलधरः सरस्वत्यां महायशाः ।
मैत्रनक्षत्रयोगे स्म सहितः सर्वयादवैः ॥ १४ ॥
गच्छन्नेव पथिस्थस्तु रामः प्रेष्यानुवाच ह ।
संभारांस्तीर्थयात्रायां सर्वोपकरणानि च ॥ १७ ॥
आनयध्वं द्वारकाया × × × ॥ १८ ॥
क्षिप्रमानीयतां सर्वं तीर्थहेतोः परिच्छदम् ॥ १९ ॥
प्रतिस्रोतः सरस्वत्या गच्छध्वं शीघ्रगामिनः ॥ २० ॥
एवं संदिश्य तु प्रेष्यान् बलदेवो महाबलः ।
तीर्थयात्रां ययौ × × × ॥ २१ ॥
सरस्वत्याः प्रतिस्रोतः समुद्रादभिजग्मिवान् ।
रामो यदूत्तमः श्रीमांस्तीर्थयात्रामनुस्मरन् ॥ २२ ॥
व्रती महात्मा नियतं मनस्विना
पुण्येषु तीर्थेषु वसूनि राजन् ॥ ३५ ॥
एवं स वित्तं प्रददौ महात्मा
सरस्वतीतीर्थगतेषु भूरि ।
ययौ क्रमेणाप्रतिमप्रभावः
ततः कुरुक्षेत्रमुदारवृत्तः ॥ ३८ ॥
सारस्वतानां तीर्थानां ॥ ३९ ॥
कथयामास मत्स्यतीर्थानामनुपूर्वशः ॥ ४० ॥

पूर्वं महाराज यदुप्रवीरः
पुण्यं प्रभासं समुपाजगाम ।
यत्रोडुराड् यक्ष्मणा क्लिश्यमानः ॥ ४२ ॥
विमुक्तशापः पुनराप्य तेजः
एतत्तु तीर्थप्रवरं पृथिव्यां
प्रभासनात्तस्य ततः प्रभासः ॥ ४३ ॥

अ. ३६ सरस्वत्या वरे तीर्थे निमज्जञ्छशलक्षणः ॥ ३१ ॥
समुद्रं पश्चिमं गत्वा सरस्वत्यब्धिसंगमं ॥ ३३ ॥
सरस्वतीं ततः सोमः स जगामर्षिशासनात् ।
प्रभासं प्रथमं तीर्थं सरस्वत्या जगाम ह ॥ ३४ ॥
प्रभासं च यथा तीर्थं तीर्थानां प्रवरं महत् ॥ ४० ॥
ततस्तु चमसोद्भेदं अमितस्त्वगमद्बली ॥ ४४ ॥
उषित्वा रजनीमेकां × × × ॥ ४५ ॥
स्निग्धत्वादोषधीनां च भूमेश्च जनमेजय ।
जानंति सिद्धा राजेंद्र निगूढां तां सरस्वतीम् ॥ ४६ ॥

अ. ३७ तस्मान्नदीगतं चापि ह्युदपानं यशस्विनः ।
त्रितस्यत्वमहाराज जगामाथ हलायुधः ॥ १ ॥
तत्र धर्मपरो ह्यासीत् त्रितः स सुमहातपाः ।
कूपे च वसता तेन सोमः पीतो महात्मना ॥ ३ ॥
तत्र कूपो विदूरेऽभूत् सरस्वत्यास्तटे महान् ॥ २३ ॥
अथ त्रितो वृकं दृष्ट्वा पथि तिष्ठं तमग्रतः ।
तद्भयादपसर्पन्वै तस्मिन् कूपे पपात ह ।
अगाधे सुमहाघोरे सर्वभूतभयंकरे ॥ २४ ॥
त्रितस्ततो महाराज कूपस्थो मुनिसत्तमः ।
आर्त्तनादं ततश्चक्रे तौ तु शुश्रुवतुर्मुनी ॥ २५ ॥
तत्र चोर्मिमती राजन्नुत्पपात सरस्वती ।
तयोत्क्षिप्तस्त्रितः ॥ ४६ ॥
उदपानं च तं वीक्ष्य
नदीगतमदीनात्मा प्राप्तो विनशनं तदा ॥ ५३ ॥

अ. ३८ ततो विनशनं राजन् नाजगाम हलायुधः ।
शूद्राभिराम्प्रतिद्वेषाद्यत्र नष्टा सरस्वती ॥ १ ॥
तस्मात्तामृषयो नित्यं प्राहुर्विनशनेति च ।
तत्राप्युपस्पृश्य बलः सरस्वत्यां महाबलः ॥ २ ॥

अ. ३८ सुभूमिकं ततो गच्छत्सरस्वत्यास्तटे वरे ॥ ३ ॥
अभिगच्छन्ति तत्तीर्थं पुण्यं ब्राह्मणसेवितम् ॥ ४ ॥
सुभूमिकेति विख्याता सरस्वत्यास्तटे वरे ॥ ७ ॥
गंधर्वाणां ततस्तीर्थमागच्छद्रोहिणीसुतः ॥ ९ ॥
तस्माद्गन्धर्वतीर्थाच्च
गर्गस्रोतो महातीर्थमाजगामैककुंडली ॥ ११ ॥
सरस्वत्याः शुभे तीर्थे ॥ १९ ॥
तस्य नाम्ना च तत्तीर्थं गर्गस्रोत इति स्मृतं ॥ १६ ॥
नीलवासास्तदागच्छच्छंखतीर्थं महायशाः ॥ १९ ॥
तत्रापश्यन्महाशंखं × × × ॥ २० ॥
सरस्वत्यास्तटे जातं नदं तालध्वजो बली ॥ २१ ॥
ते सर्वे ह्यशनं त्यक्त्वा फलं तस्य वनस्पतेः ।
कलिकाले स्म भुंजते ॥ २२ ॥
एवं ख्यातो नरव्याघ्र लोकेऽस्मिन्स वनस्पतिः ।
तत्र तीर्थं सरस्वत्याः पावनं लोकविश्रुतम् ॥ २४ ॥
पुण्यं नैसर्गिकं राजन्नाजगाम हलायुधः ॥ २६ ॥
ततः प्रायाद्बलो राजन्दक्षिणेन सरस्वतीं ॥ २८ ॥
गत्वा चैवं महाबाहुर्नातिदूरे
नागधन्वानं तीर्थमागमत् ॥ २९ ॥
यत्र वासुकेः संनिवेशनं ॥ ३० ॥
प्रायात्प्राचीं दिशं राजंस्तत्रतीर्थान्यनेकशः ॥ ३३ ॥
ततो रामोऽगमत्तं च ॥ ३६ ॥
यत्र भूयो निववृते प्राङ्मुखा वै सरस्वती ॥ ३६ ॥
ऋषीणां नैमिषेयाणामवेक्षार्थं ॥ ३७ ॥
सरस्वत्या
कूले वै दक्षिणोत्तरे ॥ ४१ ॥
समंतपंचकं यावत्
तीर्थलोभान्नरव्याघ्र नद्यास्तीरं समाश्रिताः ॥ ४४ ॥
ततः कुंजान्बहून्कृत्वा संनिवृत्ता सरस्वती ॥ ५३ ॥
भूयः प्रतीच्याभिमुखी प्रसुस्राव सरिद्वरा ॥ ५४ ॥
एवं स कुंजो राजन्वै नैमिषीय इति स्मृतः ॥ ५६ ॥
ततः प्रायाद्बलो ॥ ५९ ॥
सरस्वती तीर्थवरं ॥ ६० ॥
सप्तसारस्वतं तीर्थमाजगाम हलायुधः ।
१ यत्र मंकणकः सिद्धः ॥ ६१ ॥

अ. ४० ततस्त्वौशनसं तीर्थमाजगाम हलायुधः ।

कपालमोचनं नाम ॥ ४ ॥

जगाम तत्र राजेंद्र उशंगोराश्रमं तदा ॥ २४ ॥

पृथूदकम ॥ २९ ॥

तं च तीर्थमुपानिस्य: सरस्वत्या: ॥ ३० ॥

सरस्वत्युत्तर तीरे

पृथूदके ॥ ३३ ॥

यत्रार्ष्टिषेणब्राह्मण्यं प्राप

तमाजगाम बलवान्

अ. ४१ ययौ राजँस्ततो रामो बकस्याश्रममंतिकात् ॥ ३२ ॥

,, ४२ ततस्तालकेतु

वसिष्ठापवाहं

समभ्याजगाम ॥ २९ ॥

,, ४३ एवं वसिष्ठापवाहो

आ गच्छ च पुनर्मार्गं स्वमेव सरितां वरा ॥ ४१ ॥

,, ४४ सरस्वत्यारुणायाश्च पुण्योऽयं संगमो महान् ॥ ४१ ॥

जगाम सोमस्य महत् सुतीर्थं ॥ ४६ ॥

सदा कुमारो यत्र स प्लक्षराज: ॥

,, ४५ पुण्यां हैमवतीं देवीं सरिच्छ्रेष्ठां सरस्वतीं ॥

समंतपंचके या वै त्रिषु लोकेषु विश्रुता ॥ ५२ ॥

तत्तीरे सरस्वत्या: ॥ ५३ ॥

,, ४६ सारस्वताभि: पुण्याभिरद्भि: ॥ २० ॥

,, ४७ औशनं नाम तत्तीर्थं ॥ १०९ ॥

,, ४८ अग्नितीर्थं महाप्राज्ञो जगामाथ प्रलंबहा ॥

,, ,, नष्टो न दृश्यते यत्र शमीगर्भे हुताशन: ॥ १३ ॥

कौबेरं प्रययौ तीर्थं ॥ २४ ॥

ददृशे तत्र तत्स्थानं कौबेरं काननोत्तमे ॥ २७ ॥

जगाम त्वरितो राजंस्तीर्थं ॥ ३२ ॥

नाम्ना बदरपाचनम् ॥ ३३ ॥

,, ४९ अविदूर ततस्तस्मादाश्रमात्तीर्थमुत्तमम् ॥ १७ ॥

इंद्रतीर्थेतिविख्यातम् ॥ १८ ॥

जगाम तीर्थं

शक्रस्य ॥ ६६ ॥

समुद्रथी एटले प्रभासक्षेत्रथी चमसोद्भेद सुधीमां प्रवाह [illegible] पछी प्रवाह गुप्त थयो. ए प्रवाह प्लक्षप्रस्रवणथी शरु थईने नैसर्गिकरीते [illegible] सुधी [illegible] वहेतो आव्यो. समंतपंचकद्वारथी समंतपंचक सुधीनां स्थळोमां कुरुक्षेत्र ए [illegible] तीर्थ फेलायलुं हतुं. जो के आ तीर्थयात्राप्रकरणमां समंतपंचकना द्वारथी [illegible] दिशामां कुरुक्षेत्र नामनुं तीर्थ हतुं एम जणाय छे. परंतु कुरुक्षेत्रनी प्राचीन [illegible] जे ८४ मा अध्यायमां वर्णवी छे ते उपरथी कुरुक्षेत्र ए ज समंतपंचक होय एम स्पष्ट थाय छे. कुरुक्षेत्र ए नाम समंतपंचकना एक भागनुं खास नाम पडयुं. तेनुं मुख्य कारण ते जगाए युधिष्ठिरना पूर्वज कुरु राजाए तप कर्युं ते छे. ए कुरुक्षेत्र पछी लगभग बे दिवसने आंतरे प्लक्षप्रस्रवण पर्वत हतो. ए पर्वत उपर प्लक्षनां झाडो घणां हतां तेथी तेने प्लक्षप्रस्रवण कहेता–एम प्लक्षप्रस्रवणथी पाछा वळी बळदेवे रस्तामां कारपचन अने मित्रावरुणाश्रम ए बे तीर्थो कर्यां हतां ते उपरथी समजाय छे.

कुरुक्षेत्रनुं एक नाम ' समंतपंचक ' एवुं प्राचीन काळमां हतुं; अने ए क्षेत्रनो महिमा प्रजापतिना यज्ञनी उत्तरवेदि तरीके गाएलो छे. यज्ञमां, अत्यंत आवश्यक अने केटलाक मुख्य भाग उत्तरवेदि उपर करवामां आवे छे; अने तेथी उत्तरवेदि यज्ञमां मुख्य अंग गणाय छे. ए उत्तरवेदिनी आकृति पूर्व दिशामां सांकडी अने पश्चिममां पहोळी होय छे अने बंने दिशामां–उत्तर अने दक्षिण दिशामां आस्ते आस्ते पहोळी थती जाय छे. ए ज आकृति कुरुक्षेत्रनी पण हती; अने ए ब्रह्माजीए उत्पन्न करेली तेथी तेने ' प्रजापतिनी उत्तरवेदि ' एम ऋषीओ कहेता.

हवे आपणे सरस्वतीनुं स्थळ निर्णय करवुं होय तो कुरुक्षेत्रने स्थिर मानीने त्यांथी शरु करवुं जोईए; कारण के अत्यारे ए सरस्वती बिलकुल अदृश्य थई गई छे. परंतु आ प्राचीन वर्णनपरथी तथा जनश्रुति उपरथी एम समजाय छे के सतलजनी दक्षिण-पूर्व दिशामां कंई अंशे समांतर लीटीमां ए नदी वहेती हती; अने तेने बीआस अने सतलज नदी मळतां हतां; तथा ते नदी मारवाडना रणमां के कच्छना रणमां त्यां जे काळे समुद्र हतो त्यारे ए समुद्रमां पडती हती.

सौराष्ट्र एटले हालनो काठीआवाड ए काळे द्वीप हतो; अने खंभातना अखातनां पाणीनो संबंध कच्छना रणमां जई मळतो हतो. पांडवो ज्यारे तीर्थयात्राए नीकळ्या हता त्यारे तेओ शूर्पारक बंदरथी जळमार्गे प्रभास गयेला अने यादवो पण त्यां जळमार्गे तेओने आवी मळेला–एवां वर्णनो पुराणोमां छे.

शूर्पारक बंदर ए हालनुं सोपारा. अने त्यांथी समुद्रमार्गे खंभातनो अखात, नळकांठो, विरमगाम पासेनो प्रदेश अने कच्छनुं मोटुं रण ए बधुं समुद्रने लगीने हतुं माटे उपरनुं वर्णन संभवित छे.

कनींगहाम साहेबनी प्राचीन भूगोळमां पण सरस्वतीनुं वर्णन उपर कहे-वेला प्रकारनुं छे–एम मने मारा केटलाएक अंग्रेजी भाषाना विद्वान मित्रोए कहेलुं छे.

जो कदी सरस्वतीनुं स्थळ शोधी शकाय अने त्यां खोदकाम करवामां आवे तो प्राचीन काळनी एवी केटलीएक वस्तुओ उपलब्ध थाय के जे ते काळना जीवन उपर घणो सारो प्रकाश पाडी शके; कारण के रेतीना ढगलाओ नीचे दटाएलां यज्ञ-पात्रो, भोजपत्रो अने ताडपत्रो घणो काळ सुधी सुरक्षित रही शके छे.

मारुं धारवुं एवुं छे के कुरुक्षेत्रना मेदाननी पश्चिमे वहेती वहेती ए नदी बीकानेरना राज्यप्रदेशमां थईने, मारवाडनुं रण पसार करती पुष्करनी पश्चिम दिशाएथी वही जईने, आखर रोकरण पासे थई मारवाडनी दक्षिण दिशाए मळती हती. ए स्थळो विषे जो संशोधन काई शरु थाय तो जरुर घणुं ज जाणवानुं मळे.

महाभारतना बीजा भागोमांथी अने पुराणोमांथी तथा रामायणमांथी आ संबंधे जे जे उल्लेखो छे ते समय अने अनुकूळतानो योग थएथी कसी शकाशे. इति शिवम् ।

ગુજરાતના મધ્યકાલીન લેખકો.

[ઇ. સ. ૧૦૩૦-૧૫૭૩ સુધી.]

By SHANTILAL SARABHAI OZA, M. A.
(Baroda.)

ઇ. સ. ની સાતમી સદીના હિંદુસ્તાનનું વર્ણન ચીનાઈ મુસાફર હ્યુએનત્સાંગના પ્રવાસવર્ણનમાંથી મળે છે. તેના મત પ્રમાણે ભિન્નમાળ ગુજરાતનું જૂનું રાજ્ય ગણાય છે. તે સમયે ભરુચના રાજાઓ ' સામન્ત ' કહેવાતા; એટલે તેઓ ભિન્નમાળના રાજાને તાબે રહેતા હતા એવું અનુમાન થાય છે.

કુદરતી રીતે જ ગુજરાતની સીમા તાપી, નર્મદા, મહી અને સરસ્વતી-એ ચાર મોટી નદીઓથી પરિમિત થાય છે અને તે બધા પ્રદેશોને આપણે ત્રણ ભાગ પાડી સ્હેલાઈથી સમજાવી શકીએ: (૧) ઉત્તર ગુજરાત, મહી નદીની પેલી તરફ આવેલો ઉત્તરનો પ્રદેશ. (૨) મધ્ય ગુજરાત, મહી અને નર્મદા વચ્ચેનો પ્રદેશ. (૩) દક્ષિણ ગુજરાત, નર્મદા પાસે આવેલો આસપાસનો પ્રદેશ.

" સ્કંદ પુરાણ " વિક્રમની આઠમી સદીમાં રચાયલું છે. તેમાં પાંચ મોટાં તીર્થો વર્ણવ્યાં છે અને એમાં જ ગુજરાતની સરહદનો વિસ્તાર આવી જાય છે તે નીચે પ્રમાણે: (૧) ભૃગુતીર્થમ્. (૨) મહીસાગરસંગમ: (૩) કુમારીતીર્થમ્ (સ્તંભપુર પાસે), (૪) આનન્દપુરમ્. (૫) પ્રભાસતીર્થમ.

કેટલાંક જૂનાં સંસ્કૃત પુસ્તકોમાં ગુજરાતના પ્રદેશને " સારસ્વતમંડલમ્ " કહેલ છે. પણ તે હજી મ્હારા વાંચવામાં આવ્યું નથી. પરન્તુ, ઉપર કહેલા ગુજરાતના ત્રણ વિભાગને મહાભારતમાં ગુજરાતના ઉત્તર વિભાગને આનન્દપુરમ્, મધ્ય વિભાગને આનર્ત, અને દક્ષિણ વિભાગને લાટ એવું નામ આપ્યું છે.

ઇ. સ. ૭૨૦-૯૫૬ સુધી ગુજરાત ચાવડા વંશજોના હાથમાં હતું અને વનરાજ ચાવડાએ ઇ. સ. ૭૪૬ માં વસાવેલું " અણહિલપુર " ગુજરાતની સંસ્કૃતિનું કેન્દ્ર બન્યું હતું. ઇ. સ. ૯૫૩ માં ભિન્નમાળ છોડી ગુર્જરો અણહિલપુરમાં રહેવા આવ્યા હતા.

ઇ. સ. ના ૧૧ મા સૈકામાં જ્યારે આરબ મુસાફર અલ્બેરુની હિંદુસ્તાનમાં આવ્યો ત્યારે (૧૦૩૦ માં) અણહિલવાડ ઘણું સમૃદ્ધ શહેર બન્યું હતું. આ વખતે ભિન્નમાળની ગાદીના ત્રણ ભાગ પડી ગયા હતા: (૧) સામ્ભરના ચાલુક્ય રાજાઓએ

प्रदेश. (२) [illegible] सोलंकीओनो प्रदेश. अने (३) माळवाना परमार राजाओनो प्रदेश. रा. ब. चिन्तामणि वैद्यना " मिडीवल हिन्दु इन्डिया " नामना अंग्रेजीमां लखायला ऐतिहासिक ग्रन्थने आधारे आ विगतो लखी छे.

आरब मुसाफर अल्बेरुनीए " [illegible] " नामनुं राज्य वर्णव्युं छे अने ए शब्द " [illegible] " माटे वपरायो छे एवुं रा. ब. वैद्यनुं मत छे. ११ मी सदामां गुजरातमां " भोळो भीमदेव " राज्य करतो हतो; अने माळवामां भोज राजा राज्य करतो हतो. ए बाबतनां ऐतिहासिक प्रमाणो मळी आवे छे.

इ. स. बारमा सैकामां सिद्धराज जयसिंहे गुजरातनो विजयडंको उत्तरे माळवा सुधी, मध्य गुजरातमां खेडा, पंचमहाल अने छेक दाहोद सुधी; तथा मेवाड, [illegible] अने काठियावाडना थोडा मुलकमां फेलाव्यो हतो.

तेरमा सैकाथी (इ. स. १२९७–१७६० सुधी) मुसलमान बादशाहो गुजरात उपर राज्य करता हता. इ. स. १२९७–१४०१ सुधी दील्हीना मुसलमान बादशाहो गुजरात पर अमल करता हता; अने इ. स. १५७३–१७६० सुधी मोगल बादशाहोए गुजरातनी गादी भोगवी.

महान् मोगल सम्राट् अकबरे इ. स. १५७३ मां गुजरात जीत्युं, अने अमदावादमां पोतानो विजयी ध्वज फरकाव्यो ते समय सुधी मध्यकालीन गुजरातनी परिस्थिति केवी हती, तथा गुजरातना प्रदेशमां केटला मुख्य कविओ अने लेखको थई गया तेनो टूंको अहेवाल आ निबंधमां मूकवामां आव्यो छे.

इ. स. १०००–१०५० जूना बृहद् गुजरातनुं प्राकृत साहित्य तपासतां जणाय छे के आ विशाळ प्रदेशमां घणा कविओ, पंडितो तथा तेमना विद्याविलासी आश्रयदाताओ थई गया छे. अने तेमांना केटलाकनी कीर्ति दिगन्तमां व्यापी रही छे अने अमर थई गई छे. सारा ये हिंदुस्तानना नभोमंडळमां जेनी कीर्ति फेलायली छे ते भोज राजाने कोण नथी ओळखतुं ! तेणे तो संस्कृत अने प्राकृत पंडितोने [illegible] आपीने आखा साहित्याकाशमां अक्षय प्रकाशवाळो तेजोराशि वेर्यो छे. हाल आपणे ए तेजोराशिना मात्र थोडा रजकणो के स्फुलिंगो जोई शकीए छीए.

भोज राजानो काको मुंज घणो रसिक अने विद्याविलासी हतो. तेना मोत पछी लोको कहेता हता के " गते मुञ्जे यशःपुञ्जे निरालम्बा सरस्वती " (मुंज गया पछी सरस्वती [अने तेना उपासको] आधार विनाना थई पडशे. !) पण सारा भाग्ये एवुं थयुं नहिं. भोजराजाए कविओनी उंची मानमर्यादा जाळवी हती. भोजराजानी पेठळी [illegible] कविओए लखी छे तेवी भवींव बीजा कोई राजानी लखाई नथी. " सरस्वती [illegible] भोजेन इत्यभिधेयो " (आ सरस्वतीना कंठना आभूषणरूप भोजकृत [illegible]) आवां घणां संस्कृत पुस्तकोना कर्ता छे.

विक्रम, शालिवाहन, भोज, सिद्धराज अने कुमारपाल ए पांच महान् राजाओ जो विद्यानो शोख राख्यो न होत तो आपणा हिंदुस्तानने अने गुजरातने कमनसीबे कोई जुदोज अने असंस्कृत रह्यो होत एम हुं मानुं छुं.

भोजराजा विषे आपणने जे दन्तकथाओ मळी छे ते बधी विश्वसनीय नथी. तो पण भोज अने भीमदेवनी लडाईना प्रसंगनो वृत्तान्त " प्रबन्ध चिन्तामणि " नामना ग्रन्थमां आवे छे. ते प्रसंग ऐतिहासिक छे. ते तरफ वाचकोनुं ध्यान खेंचुं छुं. संस्कृतमां लखायेलो ' प्रबन्ध चिन्तामणि ' मेरुतुंगाचार्य नामना जैन कविए वर्धमानपुरमां ई. स. १३०२ मां रच्यो छे. तेमांथी भोजराजा अने भीमदेवनो प्रसंग टुंकमां रजू करुं छुं:—

हेलानिद्दलिय गइंदकुम्भपयडिय पयावपसरस्स ।
सिंहस्स मएण समं न विग्गहो नेव सन्धाणम् ॥

भोजराजाए भीमदेवने आ प्रमाणे संदेशो लखी मोकल्यो, " जे सिंहे सहेलाईथी मोटा गजेन्द्रोनां कुंभस्थळ भेदीने प्रताप फेलाव्यो छे ते सिंह (भोज) मृग (भीमदेव) साथे संधि के विग्रह करे ए सम्भवित नथी. " आवो संदेशो वांचीने तेमां पोतानी तरफ सूचवेलो व्यंग तिरस्कार भीमदेव तुर्त ज समजी गयो. ते पोते कवि नहोतो तेथी तेणे पोताना दरबारमां रहेता कविओने अने पंडितोने विनती करीने भोजराजाना संदेशानो बराबर जवाब तैयार कराव्यो. ते नीचे प्रमाणे:—

अन्धयसुयाण कालो पुहवी भीमो य निम्मिओ विहिणा ।
जेण सयमपि न गणियं का गणना तुज्झ इक्कस्स ॥

गोविन्दाचार्य नामना पंडिते आ गाथा भीमदेवने आपी. भीमदेवे ते भोजराजा तरफ पाठवी. तेनो अर्थ:—भाग्यदेवीए आंधळा धृतराष्ट्रना सो पुत्रोनो काळरूप भीम निपजाव्यो छे. तो पछी तारा जेवा एकनी शी गणना ?" आ गाथामां पांडुपुत्र भीमनी प्रशंसा करीने कविए भीमदेवनी प्रशंसा सूचवी छे. भोजराजा तरफ आ संदेशो गयो, एटले तुर्त ज तेणे लडाई जाहेर करी. तेनुं परिणाम ए थयुं के एक वार भोजे भीमने हराव्यो अने एकवार भीमदेवे भोजराजाने हराव्यो.

ए बेउ ऐतिहासिक पुरावा सत्य लागे छे. आ प्रसंग ई. स. १०३०—१०५० सुधीमां बनेलो संभवे छे. अगर जो के ' प्रबन्ध चिन्तामणि ' मां ए लडाईनी हारजीत विषे कांई उल्लेख मळतो नथी. ' प्रबन्ध चिन्तामणि ' मां घणुं करीने मात्र मानसिक विनोद उपजाववा माटे कर्युं होय एवुं लागे छे. अने तेमां मात्र तुटक तुटक प्रसंगो ज लीधा छे अने एके प्रसंगनुं आदथी अंत सुधी करेलुं सविस्तर वर्णन जोवामां आवतुं नथी.

जूनी गुजराती कहेवत " क्यां राजा भोज ! अने क्यां गांगो तेली ? " ए शुं सूचवे छे ? भोज राजा अने " सिद्धराज "ना समय राजाना वखतमां आवनार ...

केटलुं अंतर छे. ए बे राजाओ वच्चे सरखामणी नथी. भोज राजाए तिलंगणना गांगेय राजाने अनेकवार हराव्या तेथी आ कहेवत प्रचारमां आवी हशे. 'त्रिकलिंग' शब्द प्राकृतमां तिलिंग नामथी ओळखाय छे; अने 'तिलिंग' नो राजा एटले 'तैली' एवो प्रयोग लौकिक छे. वळी गांगेयने तिरस्कारमां लौकिक भाषामां 'गांगो' कहेवामां आवे छे; ते तद्दन कुदरती प्रयोग छे. माटे उपर कहेल कहेवतनो अर्थ हुं सूचवुं छुं तेवो होई शके. बीजा लोको साधारण रीते आवो अर्थ करे छे. " राजा भोज क्यां, अने तेल वेचनार घांची क्यां ! " ए अर्थ कांईक रमूज उपजाववा माटे करेलो हशे. श्रीमंत भोज राजानी उदारता अने निर्धन बिचारा तेल वेचनार घांचीनी कंजुसाई ए बे बाबतमां घणो मोटो तफावत छे. आ रमूजी अर्थ ठीक छे; पण उपर कहेल ऐतिहासिक सूचना असत्य नथी.

मूळ कहेवत प्रचारमां आवे त्यारे प्रथम एनो व्यंग्य अर्थ कांईक होय अने सैकाओ पछी ए कहेवतनो प्रयोग बीजा अर्थमां थाय एवुं केटलीक वार जोवामां आवे छे. "लंकानी लाडी अने घोघानो वर—आ कहेवत लोकोए हमणांनां काढी नाखी छे; परंतु चौदमा अने पंदरमा सैकामां घोघा बंदर समृद्ध हतुं. त्यांना वेपारीओ लंका सुधी वेपार करता हता; पोताना आडतिया वेपारीओने त्यां राखता अने वेपारीओमां परस्पर लग्न थतां होय ते स्वाभाविक छे. कहेवानो मतलब एवो छे के कहेवतमां ऐतिहासिक सत्य रहेलुं छे.

मध्यकालीन गुजरातना जूना प्राकृत कविओ साथे जूनी गुजराती भाषाना कविओने जोडी देवा आ निबंधमां में यत्न कर्यो छे. जूनी गुजराती (अपभ्रंश) भाषामां पोतानां काव्यो लखनार नरसिंह, भालण, भीम, पद्मनाभ वगेरे कविओनी पहेलां थई गयेला धनपाळ, हेमचंद्र, मेरुतुंगसूरि, श्रीधर व्यास वगेरे सहु एक ज तख्ता (Common platform) उपर शोभे छे एम हुं मानुं छुं. साहित्यकोमां जैनो अने ब्राह्मणो ए भेद अवास्तविक छे, माटे त्यजी देवा जोईए; अने जूनी अपभ्रंश भाषामां लखायेलुं साहित्य केटलाक प्राकृत अने जैन ग्रंथो करतां वधारे जुदुं पडतुं नथी. तेओ सहु मध्यकालीन गुजरातमां थई गया छे, एम मानीने हुं एमनी केटलीक मुख्य कृतिओ विषे, बने त्यां सुधी कालक्रम साचवीने, केटलीक नोंध करुं छुं. म्हारा मूळ अंग्रेजी लेखमां में अवतरणो आप्यां छे अने विवेचन वधारे लख्युं छे.

इ. स. ११ मा सैकामां धनपाल कविए " भविसयत्त कहा " लखी छे. प्रो. गुणे नामना विद्वान भाषाशास्त्रीए ए ग्रंथ विवेचन अने टिप्पण सहित प्रसिद्ध कर्यो छे. ते ग्रंथनी भाषामां महाराष्ट्रीय प्राकृतनां तथा अपभ्रंशनां केटलांक तत्त्वो छे. भविष्यदत्त नामना राजानी वात तेमां आवे छे.

इ. स. ना बारमा सैकामां श्रीहेमचंद्रे घणां सूत्रो अने गाथाओ एकत्र कर्यां. [illegible] पोतानुं प्राकृत व्याकरण रचनार आ समर्थ जैन विद्वाने जूनी अपभ्रंश

भाषा उपर घणो प्रकाश नाख्यो छे. दरेक साचा अभ्यासीए तेमना "[illegible] [illegible]"नो अभ्यास करवो जोईए. हेमचंद्रे 'देशीनाममाळा' नामनो एक देशी [illegible] शब्दकोश सूत्ररूपे लख्यो छे. अपभ्रंशमां वपराता छंदो विषे छंदोनुशासनम् नामे एक ग्रन्थ आ समये ज तैयार थयो हतो.

केटलाक गुजराती लेखको एम माने छे के स्वदेशभक्तिनां गीतो मात्र वीसमी सदीनो ज निपज छे अने ते पहेलां एवुं काई न होतुं. आ विचार भूलभरेलो छे. केटलीक जूनी अपभ्रंश गाथाओमां देशाभिमान भारोभार भरेलुं छे अने ते लेखकोना जीवनमां ए भावनाओनुं प्रतिबिम्ब अवश्य पडयुं ज हशे. म्हारा विस्तृत अंग्रेजी निबंधमां म्हें गाथाओनो उल्लेख कर्यो छे; अने ते उपरांत चरित्र, रास, मातृका, प्रबन्ध, पवाडु वगेरे अनेक आकृतिओमां अपभ्रंश भाषा केवी शोभे छे ते दर्शाव्युं छे. बारमा सैकामां शिवनां अने विष्णुनां मंदिरो गुजरातमां घणे स्थळे बंधायां हतां. जैनोनां मंदिरो पण घणां थयां हतां. धार्मिक संस्थाओ खोली हतो. देवस्थान, उपाश्रय, धर्मादा मंडळो अने दानपत्रो बारमा सैकामां थयलां जोवामां आवे छे.

इ. स. १२९८ मां थयला मेरुतुंगसूरिए "राणकदेवी शोकवयण" नामे करुण गाथाओ रची छे. अपभ्रंश साहित्यमां करुण रसनो सचोट ख्याल आपवा माटे राणकदेवीनो वृत्तान्त बस थाय छे.

तइं गरुआ गिरनार काहूं मणि मत्सरु धारिऊ,
मारितां खङ्गार एक सिहरु न ढालिऊ?

× × × ×

वाढितो वढवाण विसरतां न वीसरइ,
सोना समां पराण, भोगावह पइं भोगवइ.

शेकसपीअर अने मार्लो जेवा अंग्रेज कविओए करुणरसप्रधान नाटको लख्यां छे. तेमां ऊंचां, महानुभावी अने कुलीन पात्रोनो दुर्दवथी थतो विनिपात मुख्य रसने पोषे छे. राणकदेवी अने सिद्धराजना वृत्तान्त उपरथी जगतभरमां कदापि नहि रचायली एवी ऊंची करुणरसनी नाटिका लखी शकाय तेवुं ए शोकचित्र छे. नाटकनी वात एक बाजु पर राखिये; पण भाट, चारणो ए वृत्तान्तनो दूहा अने गाथामां ऊंचो ख्याल आपी शके छे. ते जोई आपणने सानंदाश्चर्य थाय छे.

हवे वीररसपर आविये तो इ. स. १३९८ मां थयला श्रीधर व्यास नामना कविए रचेला "रणमल्ल छंद" नुं अवलोकन करवुं जोईए. स्वदेशभक्तिनो ज्वलन्त भावनाथी लखायलुं आ अनुपम काव्य वांचतां रोमरोममां वीररस स्फुरे छे, अने देशदाझ वाचकना जीवननो प्रधान सूर बनी जाय छे. दिल्हीना मुसलमान बादशाहे ईडरना किल्लाने घेरो नांख्यो, ते वात तेमां आवे छे, ते आखुं य काव्य "पंदरमा शतकनां प्राचीन गुर्जर काव्यो" नामनुं दी. बा. केशवलाल ह. ध्रुवकृत पुस्तक जोवाथी समजाशे.

थई: आ कोई कुंवरी वधारे विराग थई विलाप करवा लागी. [illegible] वातो सत्य होय के न होय, तो पण तेमां अंको काव्यगुण रहेलो छे [illegible] विवाद चालतुं नथी.

इ. स. १४७९ मां नरसई म्हेताए रचेली " हारमाळा " मां पदोमांथी [illegible] अवतरणो आप्यां छे. नरसई म्हेताना जीवननी अने कवननी विलक्षणता "हारमाळा" ना प्रसंग उपरथी जोई शकाय छे. जगतभरना साहित्यमां जुओ: भक्तो अने साधुसन्तोने ईश्वरे साक्षात् दर्शन आप्यां होय तेनां दृष्टान्तो जुवो. कांई पण देवना सन्त उपर प्रसन्न थई भगवाने भक्तना कंठमां मोगरानी माळा पहेरावीने परचो देखाडयो होय एवुं हजी सुधी म्हारा वांचवामां आव्युं नथी. नरसई म्हेता उपर ज ए अनुपम ईशकृपा सिद्ध थई छे, माटे ए प्रसंगनो उल्लेख मारा अंग्रेजी निबंधमां में नरसई म्हेताना शब्दोमां ज कर्यो छे.

इ. स. १४८४ मां भालणे कादम्बरीनो पद्य अनुवाद रच्यो छे. तेमां मूळ पुस्तकना अलंकारो अने मर्मवचनो बहु सरस उतरी आव्यां छे. भालण, कवि करतां पंडित वधारे लागे छे. उत्तम संस्कृत पुस्तकोनो अनुवाद अपभ्रंशमां रचवानी पद्धति प्रथम भालणे शरु करी जणाय छे.

इ. स. १४८९ मां भीम कविए पंडित बोपदेव नामना बंगाळी कविए संस्कृतमां रचेल " हरिलीला षोडशकळा " नामना ग्रन्थनुं गुजराती भाषान्तर कर्युं.

इ. स. १५०० मां " आसायत् " नामना जैन कविए " हंसवत्स कथा " नामे एक सरस कथा अपभ्रंशमां लखी छे.

इ. स. १५०० मां मीरांबाईए 'गिरधर नागरना गुण' गावा माटे पोताना सासरानो त्याग कर्यो, विधवावेषनो अंगीकार कर्यो अने वृन्दावनमां विहार करवा नीकळी गयां. क्रोधथी उश्केरायला राणाए एमने मारी नांखवा झेरनो प्यालो मोकल्यो; अने कहाव्युं के 'ए प्रभुनो प्रसाद छे.' मीरांबाई प्रभु उपर श्रद्धा राखीने हर्षथी ते पी गयां; अने ए झेर अमृत समान थई रह्युं. मीरांबाईनो हरिरस शुक्लपक्षनी चंद्रकला समो दिन प्रतिदिन चढतो ज रह्यो.

इ. स १५१२ मां लावण्यसमयगणिए रचेलो " विमळ प्रबन्ध " एक अगत्यनुं पुस्तक छे. तेमां भीमदेवना मंत्री विमळशाहनो वृत्तान्त आवे छे. ते वखतनी सामाजिक स्थितिनुं वर्णन तथा श्रीमाळ अने चंद्रावती नगरीनुं वर्णन वांचवाथी मध्यकाळना गुजरातनो सारो ख्याल आवे छे. आ पुस्तक कांईक अंशे ऐतिहासिक कही शकाय; पण तेमां अतिशयोक्ति घणी छे.

इ. स. १५१९ मां सुमतिकीर्तिसूरि नामना जैन पंडिते 'धर्म परीक्षा' नामनो ग्रन्थ लख्यो छे. तेनी भाषा पंदरमा सैकामां लखायला ग्रन्थो जेवी ज जूनी छे.

हुं आ विवेचन आशरे १५७२ सुधी आणी वाम छे; माटे मध्यकालीन लेखकोना विषयनी सीमा इ. स. १५७२ सुधी राखी छे तेनां कारणो नीचे प्रमाणे:–(१) १५७२ पछीनां वर्षोमां गुजराती जनसमाजमां मोगल संस्कृतिनुं अनुकरण देखाय छे. (२) भाषामां फारसी उर्दु शब्दो प्रवेशे छे. (३) गुजरातनी राज्यव्यवस्थामां घणा मोटा फेरफार थाय छे. (४) मारवाडी अने गुजराती भाषा–एवा बे फांटामां अपभ्रंश भाषा विभक्त थाय छे. (५) गुजरातनो सीमाविस्तार संकुचित थाय छे. (६) गुजरात मोगलोनी छाया नीचे सुरक्षित रहे छे; पण महत्त्वाकांक्षी गुर्जरो अने रजपुतोना मनोरथो जमीनदोस्त थाय छे. तेथी १५७२ पछीना अनुकरणरूप साहित्यनुं अवलोकन हवे बीजा लेखमां करवा इच्छुं छुं.

अपभ्रंश भाषाने भाषाशास्त्रीओए " जुनी पश्चिम राजस्थानी भाषा " एवुं नाम आप्युं छे. पाश्चात्य देशना विद्वान् भाषाशास्त्री डॉक्टर टेसीटोरी अने गुजरातना विद्वान् व्युत्पत्तिशास्त्री नरसिंहराव भो. दिवेटीआए आ दिशामां घणो प्रकाश नाख्यो छे. जुनी पश्चिम राजस्थानी भाषाना मुख्य लक्षणो अहीं टूंकमां कहुं छुं:–

(१) अ ने स्थाने इ लखातो हतो. कमाड=किमाड; सण=सिण.

(२) त्रीजीने बदले छठ्ठी विभक्ति वपराती.

(३) रहइं, हइं, रइं, रउ, तॅाइं वगेरे " ने माटे " ना अर्थमां वपराता.

(४) नरजातिना नामने अन्ते अउ एवा बे स्वर वपराता; घोडउ, सुनउ, (घोडो; श्वान). पाछळथी आ अउ नो ओ थयो; अने अइ नो ए थयां छे.

(५) " भूपे सखीने पूछ्युं " एवो अर्थ सूचववा ' भूपइ सखी पूछइ ' एवो प्रयोग थतो हतो.

(६) ' न ' ने बदले ' ण ', ' स ' ने बदले ' श '; अने कोई वार ' श ' ने बदले ' स ' वपरातो हतो. जोडाक्षरो थोडा ज वपराता.

(७) मुज्झ, तुज्झ, तुम्ह, अम्ह वगेरे रूपो वपराता हता.

मध्यकालीन गुजरातना लोको संयुक्त कुटुम्बमां रहेता हता. वर्णव्यवस्था बहु चीवटाईथी साचवता हता. संस्कृत अने प्राकृत भाषाओ भणता. पुराणो अने महाभारत वांची धर्मपालन करता हता. अनीति करनारने दंड आपनार धर्माधिकारी तथा महाजनमंडळ सजीवन हतां. लोको उद्यमी हता. भरुच अने खंभात बंदर उपरथी आफ्रिका, अरेबीआ, ईजीप्ट अने पर्शिया सुधी वहाण मारफत वेपार चलावता. गुर्जरो वेपारमां अने लडाईमां साहसिक हता. गुजरातना वेपारी अने नाविको पासे सो सो वहाणो जेटली मालिकीनां हतां, ते तेओ बीजा वेपारीओने भाडे आपता हता. परदेशमां वसवाट करी संस्थानो बांधवा इग्लांड अने अमेरिका जेवां समृद्ध राज्योए घणा

सफळ प्रयत्नो कर्या छे. मध्यकाळमां गुजराते पण संस्थाओ (colonies) [illegible] थोडां उपलब्ध साधनोथी प्रयत्न कर्या हता. दुर्भाग्ये एमानुं कांई ज हालमां [illegible] आवतुं नथी, तेनुं कारण परतन्त्रता छे.

आपणे उपर तपास्युं के मध्यकाळमां अपभ्रंश साहित्य सारी रीते [illegible] हतुं. गुर्जरो वेपार करता हता. प्रधानपद भोगवता; राज्यपद शोभावता हता. अने सामाजिक अने राजकीय धोरणो नक्की करता हता. तेमनो मुख्य सिद्धान्त पोतानो धर्म अने संस्कृति टकाववा माटे ज हतो. पण आपणा देशमां स्वतंत्र आचारविचार विकसावनारा नररत्नो थयां नथी. ज्ञातिबंधन अने वर्णाश्रमरूपी कोटकिल्ला तोडवा कोईए प्रयत्न कर्यो नथी. विधवा लग्न, वर्णान्तर लग्न के एवा कोई ज्ञातिसुधारा तरफ लोकोनुं ध्यान गयुं नथी. पण तेथी उलटुं ' सती ' थवानो रिवाज टकावी राखवा प्रयत्न थता हता. अगर जो के मोगलोना समय पहेलां गुजरातनी संस्कृति तद्दन निर्मळ अने निर्मेळ रही हशे एम कही शकातुं नथी; केमके मुसलमान बादशाहोनो अमल तेरमा सैकाथी चालतो हतो अने पाटण पण घणां वर्षो सुधी मुसलमान बादशाहना हाथमां रह्युं हतुं; तो पण ए वखते पोतानी संस्कृति गमे ते भोगे साचवी राखवामां ज पुरुषार्थ मनातो हतो. संस्कृतिनी छाप नक्की करवामां तर्कबुद्धिनो उपयोग थतो नहिं; पण शास्त्रवचन ज प्रमाण गणातुं हतुं.

अन्तमां, मध्यकालीन गुजरातनुं साहित्य प्रान्तिक साहित्य तरीके सारा विस्तारवाळुं, बहुरंगी अने धार्मिक गौरववाळुं छे; तेथी गुजरातनी जनताने ए आकर्षक अने प्रिय थई रह्युं छे.

नीतिशास्त्रना गुजराती ग्रंथो.

By M. R. Majmudar, M.A., LL.B.

(*Baroda*).

गुजराती कविओए लोकोने भक्ति, ज्ञान अने वैराग्यना प्रदेशोमां विहार करवा माटे आख्यानो, पदो, गीतो वगेरेनुं विशाळ साहित्य जन्माव्युं छे; अने गुर्जर साहित्य-वाडीनो ए विभाग शणगार्यो छे.

तेम ज केटलाक कविओए संस्कृत, प्राकृत अने अपभ्रंश साहित्यना कथाभंडारो-मांथी वार्ताओने गुजरातीमां उतारी छे; अने गुजराती समाजनुं मनोरंजन थाय, तथा साथे साथे लोकोनी बुद्धि खीले, तेमनी चतुराई वधे अने ए रीते व्यवहारु ज्ञान मेळवीने संसारव्यवहारमां तेओ कुशळ बने एवी रीते तेनो प्रचार कर्यो छे.

परंतु ऐतिहासिक तथा सामाजिक स्वरूपना साहित्यना प्रदेशोमां गुजराती साहित्य जेटलुं कमनसीब रह्युं छे तेटलुं ज शास्त्रीय विषयोने लगता साहित्यनी बाबतमां पण रह्युं छे. तेथी ज रस, अलंकार, वैद्यक, ज्योतीष, कामशास्त्र वगेरेने लगतुं साहित्य प्रमाणमां ओछुं अने बेसायलुं पडयुं छे.

एटले खास करीने नीतिशास्त्रने लगतुं साहित्य अल्प होय एमां नवाई नथी: आ नीतिशास्त्र एटले राजनीतिशास्त्र नहीं, पण लोकोने हितनो उपदेश आपनारुं, तेमने संसारमां रहेवा माटे लायक बनावनारुं, अने लोकव्यवहार माटे तेमनामां " चातुर्य " लावनारुं साहित्य एम अर्थ लेवानो छे.

सुभाषितो अने सुभाषितोने लगता टूचका अथवा कथानको–द्वारा उपदेश आप-वानुं काम घणी पद्यवार्ताओद्वारा थयुं छे; परंतु सुभाषितोना अने हितवचनोना स्वतंत्र संग्रह होय एवां पुस्तको गुजरातीमां विरल छे.

वार्ताओद्वारा उपदेश आपनारा साहित्यविभागमां 'पंचतंत्र' नी वार्ताओनुं 'पंचोपाख्यान' नामे गुजराती काव्य एक जैन कविए सत्तरमा सैकामां रच्युं छे; एवुं ज एक पंचाख्यान वार्तिक (संस्कृत–गुजराती) गुजरात वर्नाक्युलर सोसायटीना संग्रहमां नोंधेलुं छे.

जूनां हितवचनोना साहित्यनी विगत—जेनो परिचय आ लेखद्वारा आपवानो छे– तेमां संस्कृत 'लघु चाणक्य' अने 'वृद्ध चाणक्य' नामथी ओळखाता 'राज-नीतिसमुच्चय' अथवा 'नीतिसारसमुच्चय'—एना जूना गूजराती गद्यना अनुवादोने लीधे नीतिशास्त्रनो विगत छेक बाकी रहेवा पाम्यो नथी.

गुजरात वर्नाक्युलर सोसायटीना संग्रहनी सूचिमां ६२२ थ 'वृद्ध चाणक्य नीति': ए नामनी पोथीमां १८ थी ९८ पानां होवानी नोंध छे. मूळ साथेनी गुजराती टीकावाळुं आ पुस्तक खंडित छे.

फार्बस गुजराती सभानी सविस्तर नामावलि भाग बीजामां अंक १२० अने १२१ मां वृद्ध अने लघु—एम बे जुदा ग्रंथोनी नोंध करेली छे. ते बधानो विषय, अने वडोदरा प्राच्यविद्यामंदिरना संग्रहमांनी 'राजनीति समुच्चय' अथवा 'चाणक्यनीति' नामनी पोथीमांनो विषय एकसरखो होय एम मानवा कारण छे.

असल संस्कृत ग्रंथनी प्रसिद्धि हिंदभरमां होवानुं जणाय छे. बंगाळनी रोयल एशियाटिक सोसायटीना संग्रह (जुओ Descriptive Catalogue Vol. VII Kavya Mss. 1934.) मां 'चाणक्य श्लोक' (अंक ९४७८) अने 'चाणक्यम्' (लघु वृद्ध) तथा 'वृद्ध चाणक्यम्' जेवी अनेक प्रतोनी नोंध लीधेली छे.

हिंदीमां एक 'काशीनीतिप्रकाश' (चाणक्य भाषा छंदोक्त) एवा नामथी कोई पंडित काशीनाथे चाणक्य नीतिना संस्कृत श्लोकोने हिंदी दोहामां समजावी, सं. १९३१ (ई.स. १८७४) मां ग्रंथ रच्यो छे. ते पुस्तक मिरझापुरमां ई.स. १८७७ मां प्रकट थएलुं छे. प्रस्तावनारूपे प्रवेशक दोहा आपीने पछी "राजनीति समुच्चय" ना श्लोको ज यथाक्रमे लीधा छे. अने तेनी छाया हिंदी दोहामां आपी छे.

'चाणक्य राजनीतिशास्त्रम्' नामथी कलकत्ता ओरिएन्टल सिरिझ, अंक २ (१९१७) मां प्रस्तुत 'राजनीति समुच्चय' नां मूळ आठ अध्याय छपाया छे. श्लोकनी संख्या तथा समूह बधामां भिन्न भिन्न छे. आवा हिंदभरमां जाणीता थएला नीतिग्रंथनो प्रचार गुजरातमां पण सारा प्रमाणमां हतो. एम विविध हाथ-प्रतोना अस्तित्व उपरथी कही शकाय छे; परंतु गुजरातनो व्यवहारपूरतुं भणेलो लोकवर्ग असल संस्कृत श्लोको समजी शके तेवी परिस्थिति न होवाथी, कोईक अज्ञात पंडितोए ए श्लोकोने लोकगम्य करवाना हेतुथी तेनी गुजराती गद्य-छाया आपी छे. आ गद्यछायानी तेना गद्यना प्राचीनपणाने लीधे वधी ओर महत्ता छे. मूळ राजनीतिशास्त्रना आठ अध्यायोना बदली संक्षेप बनावीने जैन यतिओए तेनी प्राचीन गूजराती गद्य टीका आपी छे. तेवी अनेक प्रतो पाटणमां प्राप्त छे.*

* '[illegible]' १९१२ ना एक अंकमां आई [illegible] एवी एक जैन-[illegible] "[illegible]" नी पोथीमांथी [illegible] गुजराती [illegible] आपी छे.

असल तथा तेनी जूनी गुजराती गद्यछाया सारी रीते संपादित थई प्रकट थवानी घणी जरुर छे. अने ते तरफ विद्वानोनुं ध्यान खेंचवा हुं आ तक लउं छुं.

प्राच्यविद्यामंदिरमांनी पोथीमांथी नीचे अवतरण आप्यां छे. ते उपरथी पंदरमा शतकना गुजराती टीका-गद्यनो ठीक ठीक ख्याल आवी शकशे: अने ते द्वारा वाचकोनुं कुतूहल जाग्रत थशे एम मने आशा रहे छे; नीचेनी वानगी थशे:—

ॐ नमः । श्री गणेशाय नमः ।
प्रणम्य शिरसा देवं ब्रह्माणं च जगद्गुरुम् ।
नानाशास्त्रोद्धृतं वक्ष्ये राजनीतिसमुच्चयम् ॥ १ ॥

त्रिलोक्यनुं स्वामी ब्रह्मा, नमस्करीनिं अनेक्य शास्त्रनू सार उधरी राजनीतिशास्त्र बोलीसि ।

मूलसूत्रं प्रवक्ष्यामि चाणाक्षेन तु भाषितम् ।
यस्य विज्ञानमात्रेण सर्वज्ञत्वं प्रजायते ॥ २ ॥

चाणाक्षनूं कीधू शास्त्र मूळ सूत्र बोलीसि । योणि भणि सर्व्व जांणीई ।

अधीत्येदं नथा शास्त्रं नरो जानाति तत्त्वतः ।
धर्मोपदेशविनयं कार्याकार्यं शुभाशुभम् ॥ ३ ॥

जीणई शास्त्र भणई नर पुरुष तत्त्व जांणि । धर्माधर्म जांणि । विनय............
[पृष्ठांक २ त्रूटे छे]

× × × ×

त्यजेदकं कुलस्यार्थे ग्रामस्यार्थे कुलं त्यजेत् ।
ग्रामं जनपदस्यार्थे आत्मार्थे पृथिवीं त्यजेत् ॥ ८ ॥

जे कुलमाहि ए ज भूडु हुई ते कुल त्यजीई । जे गाममाहि ये कुल भूडु हुई ते कुल छांडीई । ये गामना लोक भूडा हुई ते गाम छांडीई ।

त्यजेत् स्वामिनमत्युग्रं अत्युग्रात् कृपणं त्यजेत् ।
कृपणादविशेषज्ञं तस्मादकृतनाशनम् ॥ ९ ॥

अति आदरि डाहा ठाकर [नी ऊलग न कीजई] नि नतुं लगीई । अति डाहापि कृपण नि नतुं लगीई । कृपण पि नतुं कर्यू न जाणि तेहनि नतुं लगीई । कृतघ्नीनि नतुं लगीई ।

चलत्येकेन पादेन तिष्ठत्यन्येन पंडितः ।
नासमीक्ष्य परस्थानं पूर्वमायतनं त्यजेत् ॥ १० ॥

शालिकंदो यथा दृष्ट उत्पाद्य पुनरुप्यते ।
फलितं पुष्पितं चैव स्थानभ्रंशेन तत्फलम् ॥ १७ ॥

जे स्थानक चंठू हुई ते ठाम छांडीइ । जिम शालि० अनेथि वावी हुई । वली उपाडी अनेरि ठामि रोपइ । तिहां फलीइ फुलीइ । त्यम चंठु ठाम छांडीइ तु रुड़ु हुइ ।

स्थानत्यागं करिष्यंति सिंहाः सत्पुरुषा गजाः ।
तत्रैव निधनं यान्ति काकः कापुरुषाः मृगाः ॥ २८ ॥

आपणु ठाम छोड्यां पूठिइं । सिंह नि सत्पुरुष जिहां जाइं तिहां मानीइं । अनि कापुरुष मृग ९ निधनपणु मृत्यु पामीइं ।

पूगीफलानि पत्राणि राजहंसतुरंगमाः ।
स्थानभ्रष्टा न शोभन्ते सिंहाः सत्पुरुषा गजाः ॥ १९ ॥

फोफल पान, राजहंस पंखो, तोरंगम घोडा । सिंह, सत्पुरुष, हस्ती—एतलां विदेश ग्यां पूजीइं मानीइं ।

राजा कुलवधू विप्राः नियोगमंत्रिणस्तथा ।
स्थानभ्रष्टा न शोभन्ते दंताः केशा नखा नराः ॥ २० ॥

ठाकुर, कुलवधू, ब्राह्मण, प्रधान ने गीयस्थन (?) । दांत, नख, केश, पुरुष—एतलां आपणि ठामि ज शोभि । अनेथां ग्यां न शोभि ।

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प्राचीन शिक्षणपद्धति.

BY M. P. VAIDYA, M. A., B. T.
(*Suklatirtha.*)

भारतवर्ष माटे आ संक्रान्तिकाळ छे–राजकीय, सामाजिक, धार्मिक, केळवणी विषयक-दरेक क्षेत्रमां विचार-आंदोलनो उछळी रह्यां छे. स्वराज्यनी खरी कुंची केळवणी छे. आपणे त्यां प्राचीन-काळमां शिक्षणपद्धति शी हती ते जाणवुं जोईए. भूतकाळथी वर्तमानने तद्दन वियुक्त कराय तेम नथी. भूतकाळ आपणी भूमिका छे, वर्तमान ते साधन छे, अने भावि ते आपणां आशा अने ध्येय छे.

प्राचीन समय एटले वेद-काळथी बौद्ध-काळ सुधीनो समय:अफसोसनी वात छे के घणोखरो प्राचीन इतिहास आपणने उपलब्ध थतो नथी. ऋषिओ आडंबरप्रिय नहोता; वळी विधर्मी मुसलमानोना आक्रमण समये, मुसलमानोए केटलीये पुस्तक-शाळाओ बाळी नांखी. प्राचीन आर्यो इतिहास जाणता हता. वेद-काळ एटले संस्कृति-युग; गौरव-युग. ते समयनां साहित्यमां पण इतिहासनो उल्लेख आवे छे. गृह्यसूत्रमां लख्युं छे के:–" ब्राह्मणानीतिहासान् पुराणानि कल्पान् गाथा नाराशंसीरिति । " काश्मीरनो इतिहास राजतरंगिणी मळे छे. कवि कालिदासे रघुवंश–ऐतिहासिक महाकाव्य–रच्युं छे. कादम्बरी, हर्षचरित्र वगेरेमां इतिहासनो उल्लेख थाय छे. विन्सेंट स्मिथ कहे छे:–" This institution of official reporters (Prativedakas) existed in the time of Chandragupta. "

सिंधमां मोहन-जो-डारोमां अने पंजाबमां हरप्पामां करेलां खोदाणथी जे वस्तुओ मळी छे तेनाथी इ. स. पूर्व ५००० वर्ष उपरनी संस्कृतिनो इतिहास प्रकाशमां आव्यो छे. आर्य लोको पहेलवहेलां हिंदमां क्यारे आव्या ते कहेवुं मुश्केल छे. मूळ रहेठाण गमे त्यां होय, पण एटलुं तो निश्चित छे के ऋग्वेदमां सप्तसिन्धुना कांठापर तेओ वस्या होय तेम मालुम पडे छे. आ विषयमां स्व. तिळकनां बे पुस्तको 'Orion' अने 'Arctic Home in the Vedas'–ठीक उपयोगी थई पडशे.

कोई शंका करे छे के, शाळा के विश्व-विद्यालय जेवुं कशुं प्राचीन समयमां हतुं नहि. स्मृति-ग्रंथो, ब्राह्मण-ग्रंथो, महाभारत अने अन्य साहित्य वांचशो तो प्रतीति थशे के प्राचीन समयमां गुरुकुल (शाळा), परिषद् (Teaching University) कुलपति

गुरु-शिष्यनो प्रेम एवो निःस्वार्थ तथा अद्भुत हतो के discipline [illegible] कोईपण आधुनिक प्रश्न उठतो नहि. वातावरण ' [illegible] ' [illegible]; [illegible] वरणमां प्रेम अने सेवानुं साम्राज्य हतुं. ' आचार्य ' शब्दनी व्युत्पत्ति यास्क निरुक्तमां नीचे प्रमाणे आपे छे:—आचार्य=" आचारं ग्राहयति, आचिनोति अर्थान्, आचिनोति बुद्धिमिति वा। " प्राचीन केळवणीकारो (Teacher's Personality) शिक्षकना व्यक्तित्वने सारी अगत्य आपे छे. यास्क कहे छे के ते ज आचार्य कहवाय जे पोताना जीवनथी ब्रह्मचारीओमां चारित्र्य तथा शक्तिनुं स्फुरण करे.

ब्राह्मणग्रंथोनी अंदर अनेक प्रकारनी विद्याओ वर्णवी छे. छान्दोग्योपनिषद् प्रपाठक ७, खंड १ नी अंदरनो महर्षि सनत्कुमार तथा नारदनो संवाद मननीय छे. नारद कहे छे: " में ऋग्वेद, यजुर्वेद, सामवेद, अथर्ववेद, इतिहास, पुराण, पितृविद्या, राशिविद्या, देवविद्या, ब्रह्मविद्या, क्षत्रविद्या, नक्षत्रविद्या, वाकोवाक्यविद्या, पदार्थविद्या—आटली विद्याओ गुरु पासेथी मेळवी. " वेद चार छे, तेनां अंग एटले शिक्षा, कल्प, व्याकरण, निरुक्त, छन्द अने ज्योतिषः उपांग एटले पूर्वमीमांसा, वैशेषिक, न्याय, योग अने सांख्य तथा वेदान्त. तो पछी ज्यारे वेदनो सांगोपांग अभ्यास थतो त्यारे एम केम कही शकाय के ज्ञान एकदेशीय हतुं ! ऐतरेय ब्राह्मणमां सूर्यनी आसपास पृथ्वीनी गतिनो निर्देश करेल छे.

प्राचीन ब्रह्मचारीओ समज्या वगर शुं गोखणपट्टी ज करता ! नहिं, जुओ:— "स्थाणुरयं भारहारः किलाभूदधीत्य वेदं न विजानाति योऽर्थम्। योऽर्थज्ञ इत्सकलं भद्रमश्नुते नाकमेति ज्ञानविधूतपाप्मा। "—निरुक्त १, १८. वळी. अघरा विषयने रसमय केम बनाववा ते प्राचीन आर्यो जाणता. सुन्दर आख्यायिका (नचिकेता, सत्यकामजाबाल, नारद-सनत्कुमार, उद्दालक-श्वेतकेतु वगेरे) तेम ज उपकथाओ (महाभारत) छे. छांदोग्योपनिषद् प्रथम प्रपाठक ३, ९ मां शिक्षण-पद्धति चर्ची छे. घणोखरो सुविख्यात अभ्यास मौखिक हतो.

गुरुकुलोमां यम-नियमो पळाता हता. गौतम, अध्याय २, सूत्र ४२ मां लख्युं छे के नियम तो एवो होवो जोईए के विद्यार्थीने शारीरिक दंड न थवो जोईए. पण अन्य प्रकारथी विद्यार्थी न सुधरे तो पातळी दोरीथी गुरु सजा करे. जे समये ग्रीस-स्पार्टामां बाळकोने पोतानुं जीवन जेवुं कशुं नहोतुं, त्यारे शारीरिक सजा माटेनो प्राचीन आर्योनो आ ख्याल बहु प्रशंसनीय छे. गुरुकुलोमां रजाओ (अनध्याय) पळाती. अनध्याय माटे बुद्धियुक्त नियमो हता. मनुस्मृतिना चोथा अध्यायना १०१ थी ११० श्लोकमां अनध्याय-दिनो आपेल छे. प्राचीन केळवणीकारो केळवणी मेळववा माटे योग्य अधिकार जोईए तेम मानता हता. आर्यो (Heredity) वंश-वारसाना गुणमां मानता होय. ते माटे वसिष्ठ-सूत्र तेम ज मनु-स्मृति (२, १०९) अने याज्ञवल्क्य-स्मृति (२, २८) जुओ.

मिथ्याज्ञानखण्डनम् ।

(सत्तरमा सैकानुं एक संस्कृत नाटक.)

BY JAGAJIVANDAS DAYALJI MODI.
(Baroda).

गुजरातना पंडितोए संस्कृत काव्यसाहित्यमां घणो सारो फाळो आपेलो छे ए वात सिद्ध करवानी रहेती नथी. घणा जूना काळथी तेमने हाथे साहित्यसेवा थती आवी छे. गुजरातना सोलंकी राजाओना वखतमां तो तेमनी कळा पूर बहारमां खीली रहेली हती. एकला ब्राह्मण पंडितो ज नहि, परंतु अन्य वर्णीय विद्वानो पण ते काळमां सारी प्रख्यातिमां आव्या हता. सोमदेव अने हेमचंद्रना विद्याविजयो अजाण्या नथी. ए वखतना विद्वानोनुं प्रखरपांडित्य, शिघ्रकाव्यशक्ति, अद्भुतशब्दचमत्कृति, अवधानना प्रयोगो अने पादपूर्तिओनुं चातुर्य वांचनाराओने छक करी नाखे छे.

गुजरातना संस्कृत साहित्यनो भंडार उघाडीए तो ग्रंथोनो एक मोटो ढगलो थाय. अने परप्रान्तीय साहित्यने मुकाबले ते कोईपण रीते ओछो गणाय एम नथी.

काव्यसाहित्य उपरांत ज्योतिष, वैद्यक, अलंकार आदिना शास्त्रीय ग्रंथो पण तेटला ज प्रमाणमां लखायला छे. अने ते पाटण, वडोदरा, तथा छाणीना ग्रंथभंडारोमां दटायला पडेला मोजूद छे.

गुजराती संस्कृतसाहित्य संबंधी घणी माहिती आचार्य श्री आनंदशंकरभाईए " गुजरातनुं संस्कृत साहित्य; एनुं रेखादर्शन " ए नामना पोताना लेखमां " वसंत " मासिकना संवत १९६५ ना आश्विन मासना अंकमां बहु विस्तारथी आपेली छे.

गुजराती कविओने हाथे नाटकनी रचना पण थयेली छे. तेना दृष्टान्तरूप आ " मिथ्याज्ञानखंडनम् " नाटकने पण गणावी शकाय. खरी रीते जोईए तो ए नाटक नथी; केमके ए एक ज अंकमां अने एक ज प्रवेशमां समाप्त थाय छे; अने नाटकनां बीजां अंगो एमां दृष्टिगोचर थतां नथी; तो पण कवि पोते एने 'नाटक' कहे छे, एटले आपणे पण एने नाटक नाम ज आपीशुं.

नाट्यशास्त्रना नियम प्रमाणे एकांकी रूपकने भाण, प्रहसन, व्यायोग, वीथी वगेरे कहेवामां आवे छे; अने जेमां विट चेट आदि पात्रो आवे तथा हास्यजनक

संवाद ज करे छे. जूना वखतमां कोई अन्य व्यक्तिओना वेष कहीने जुदा जुदा पात्रो रंगभूमि उपर आवीने ते ते व्यक्तिओना अभिनय करी जाय के वार्तालाप करी जाय तेने नाटक मानवामां आवतुं. साधारण नृत्यसंगीत थाय तेने पण "थई रही छे नाटारंभ" एम कविओए गायुं छे. प्रेमानंद तथा शामळ वगेरेनां काव्योमांथी आवां दृष्टांतो मळी आवशे. खरा स्वरूपमां गुजरातीमां नाटको लखवानो समय तो हमणां हमणां ज आवेलो छे. हालना समयनो गुजराती नाटकसाहित्यनो इतिहास आपणा माननीय प्रसिद्ध विद्वान सद्गत सर रमणभाई महिपतरामे "वसंत" मासिकना संवत १९६९ ना वैशाख मासना अंकमां बहु सारो अने माहितीपूर्ण आपेलो छे एटले ते संबंधी अत्रे कंई कहेवानी हुं जरूर जोतो नथी.

सत्तरमा सैकामां लखायला मिथ्याज्ञानखंडन नाटकनो लेखक कवि रविदास संत छे. ए रविदास कोण तथा क्यांनो रहिश ते संबंधी कशी माहिती मळी शकती नथी. ए वात विद्वानो पासे वधारे शोधखोळ मागे छे. नाम उपरथी तो एम माळूम पडे छे के ए कोई साधु थयेलो वैश्य होवो जोईए, केमके ब्राह्मणनुं नाम दासान्त न होय, अने साधुओ पण केटलाक सारा विद्वान होय छे एटले ए संस्कृत नाटक लखी पण शके एमां शंका लाववाने कशुं कारण नथी. गुजरातीनुं नाम तो चोक्खुं ज जणाय छे. प्रस्तावनामां ज पोते श्री द्वारावतीपतिनी प्रसन्नताने अर्थे आ नाटकना अभिनयने माटे प्रवृत्त थयो छे एम जणावे छे—ए पण ते गुजराती होवानो पुरावो आपे छे.

"सर्वा नद्योऽपि सद्यो नरहरिभजनादेव मुक्तिप्रदाः स्युः" एम एक ठेकाणे ए कहे छे, अने नरहरिनुं माहात्म्य वडोदरामां वधारे छे तेथी ते कदाच वडोदरानो रहिश होय. घरडा लोकोनी वातो उपरथी जणाय छे के घणां वर्षो उपर रविदास नामे एक साधु चांडोदमां नर्मदाकिनारे रहेतो हतो अने ते सारो विद्वान होवाथी कथावार्ता सारी करतो. दासान्त नाम उपरथी ए वैश्य होवानुं अनुमान थाय छे; पण कदाच ए ब्राह्मण पण होय अने साधु थया पछी पोतानुं मूळनुं नाम बदलीने साधु जेवुं दासान्त नाम राख्युं होय. तुळसीकृत रामायण जेवो श्रीकृष्णचरित्रनो "प्रेमसागर" नामे हिंदी प्रासादिक ग्रंथ बनावनार साधु थई गयेलो ब्राह्मण लल्लुरामजी सिद्धपुरनो ब्राह्मण हतो. साधु तरिके तेनुं नाम प्रेमदासजी हतुं. साधु-मंडळमां ते नामथी ज ते प्रसिद्ध हतो. ए प्रमाणे रविदासनुं पण होई शके.

रविदास नामे एक संत भाणदासजीना शिष्य गया सैकामां थई गया छे. तेमणे 'रविभाण संप्रदाय' चलाव्यो हतो. तेमनी गादी शेरखीमां महीनदीने कांठे छे. ए जाते लुहाणा हता. तेथी आखी लुहाणाज्ञाति शेरखीनी गादीने गुरुद्वार माने छे. पण ए रविदास तो सो वर्ष उपर ज थई गया छे, अने आ रविदास तो सत्तरमा सैकामां थया छे, एटले ए बे एक तो ना ज होई शके. आ नाटकनो लखनार नृसिंहउपासक हशे केम के विष्णुभक्तिनुं माहात्म्य वर्णवतां ए नृसिंहउपासनाने प्राधान्य आपे छे.

निवास छे, तो पछी ज्यां सुधी जगतमां ब्राह्मणो छे त्यां सुधी तमारी दुर्दशा थवानुं कारण शुं छे ? एम भारी पीडेलेपी ज वेदो, हालना ब्राह्मणो केवा थई गयेला छे तेनुं ब्यान नीचे प्रमाणे आपे छे:–

' विप्राः क्षिप्राक्षमलक्षुद्रमपमतरमहापापगेहे वसन्ति
व्यासाः कासारवापीगृहकृतसदना दाम्भ्यमेवाभ्यसन्ति ।
गोपीमृत्पुंड्रमाला विलसत्तुलसीकाष्ठमालाः सताळाः
गायन्ति ध्यानमार्गस्थितयुवतिमुखाः शुद्धवेषाः पिशाचाः ॥ '

आम ब्राह्मणो वेदनुं पठन मूकी अवळे मार्गे चढेला छे. वळी केटलाक–

' क्षोणीसुराः पुरुषसूक्तकृतश्रमाश्च
केचित्तु रुद्रजपपाठकगर्ववन्तः ।
ये प्रेतसूक्तचतुराश्चतुराननोऽपि
तेषां पुरः किमपि नार्हति गर्वितानाम् ॥ '

आवी ब्राह्मणोनी दशा छे. एमांना कोई कोई अशुद्ध पाठ करे छे, अने ते पण शूद्रोने माटेज, परमार्थ बुद्धिथी नहि. माथाना वाळ छूटा मूकीने, हसता हसता, लांबा लांबा हाथ करीने ब्राह्मणो मोटा घांटा काढीने शूद्रोने घेर वेद भणे छे एटलुं ज नहि पण–

' दीक्षाशिक्षान्विताः शूद्रा मुद्रामुद्रितविग्रहाः ।
ब्राह्मणमवजानन्ति किमतः परमुच्यते ॥ '

शूद्रो ज दीक्षा अने शिक्षा धारण करीने ब्राह्मणोनुं अपमान करे छे; तो हवे अमारे क्यां जईने रहेवुं ! " सरस्वती तेमने आश्वासन आपे छे के: " ब्रह्मा, विष्णु अने महेश जगतनी उत्पत्ति स्थिति अने लय करे छे ते तमारो ज महिमा छे; तमारा मंत्रोथी ज देवो अने पितृओ आवे छे अने विसर्जन पामे छे; तमारा वडे ज यज्ञो थाय छे, यज्ञोथी वृष्टि थाय छे ने तेनाथी धान्यादि पाकी प्रजा जीवे छे; एटलुं बधुं तमारुं सामर्थ्य छे; तो पछी आम केम बोलो छो ! "

वेदो जवाब आपे छे के–" ए बधुं खरुं. पण–कलितिमिरान्धीभूता नराधमा एवं न पश्यन्ति । कलियुगना अंधकारथी आंधळा थयेला लोको ए क्यां जुए एवा छे !" सरस्वती कहे छे: ' त्यारे तो विष्णुभक्तिनो आश्रय करीने रहो, तमारा बंनेनो योग–

' विद्युता वै यथाभ्राणामब्जानामलिमालया ।
विष्णुभक्त्या तथा योगो भवतां भवतापहृत् ॥ '

विष्णुभक्तिनी आवी दशा छे ! आवे वखत एवी ए वं बात सांभळी [illegible] डीए. हजारो–लाखो–करोडोमां कोईक ज [illegible] पदार्थ समजतो होय छे. जेमके भगवद्गीतामां 'मनुष्याणां सहस्रेषु कश्चिद्यतति सिद्धये । यततामपि सिद्धानां कश्चिन्मां वेत्ति तत्त्वतः' कह्युं छे तेम.

विष्णुभक्ति तरफथी आ प्रमाणे निराशाजनक उत्तर मळवाथी सरस्वती, वदोने कहे छे केः–" त्यारे न्यायशास्त्रनी साहाय्य लईने रहो. " परंतु न्यायशास्त्र पण आवीने कह्युं केः–"अनीश्वरवादी अने कर्मवादीओए तो मारी दुर्दशा करी नाखी छे." एटले पछी मीमांसानो आश्रय लेवानुं वेदोने जणावे छे. त्यारे मीमांसा आवीने कहे छे केः–" आजकाल जगतमां ज्ञानीओ घणा थई गया छे, केमके–

"यत्र प्रचंडा रंडाः स्युर्यत्र यत्र च कारवः ।
तत्र तत्र ब्रह्मगोष्ठी कलौ कलुषजातिषु ॥"

एटले ब्रह्मज्ञान आगळ कर्ममार्गनो लोप थई गयो छे तो पछी मीमांसानो भाव कोण पूछे ! "

आ उपरथी सरस्वती आश्चर्य पामीने बोले छे के, " वाह ! आ कलियुग तो बहु ज उत्तम ! एमां तो शूद्रो पण ब्रह्मवेत्ता थता मालम पडे छे ! तो वेदान्त-शास्त्रनो आश्रय करीने वदोए रहेवुं ए ज उत्तम वात छे. " परंतु वेदान्त जाते ते वखते उपस्थित थईने कहेवा लाग्यो के,–" भगवति न ते वेदान्तिनः सर्वे ज्ञाननिष्ठाः किन्तु मिथ्याज्ञानास्ते पापाचाराः अस्मान् विडम्बयन्ति " ए वेदान्तीओ तो–

"किं तीर्थं किं व्रतं वा किमिव वद सखे दानमत्रातिथेः का
पूजा कः श्राद्धमार्गो मखविधिरपि कः कोऽस्ति विप्रः श्वपाकः ।
कस्तातः का च माता विलसति विधिना निर्मितेऽयं ह्यविद्या
सर्वे मिथ्यैव धर्माः कतिपयकविभिर्निर्मिताः कर्मविद्भिः ॥"

एवुं एवुं बोलता, पोताना पारकानो भेद न गणनारा रस्तामां धूळ पडी होय ते पण लावीने घरमां मूके एवा छे. "

आ प्रमाणे दरेकनी दुर्दशा थयेली जोईने सरस्वती, ए पाखंडीओ साथे वाद-विवाद करवाने 'प्रशस्त पौराणिक' नामना पात्रने प्रगट करी तेमनी सामे गोठवे छे. पाखंडीओमां 'अधौतगुदा' नामनी निरंजन मार्गनो आचार्य जातनो कुंभार आवे छे. एनुं वर्णन कवि आ प्रमाणे करे छेः–

"मक्षिकाशतसमाकुलवक्त्रा
स्थूलोदरगतस्तनभग्ना ।
[illegible]
किं कथैः स्वयमधौतगुदेयम् ॥"

वानो अने दुराचारो अटकाववानो होय छे. ए मुद्दा उपर ज कविए आ [illegible] रचना करेली छे; अने अंतमां समाजनुं कल्याण इच्छ्युं छे. संस्कृत नाटक [illegible] लेखके ते समयनो समाजनो सडो पण देखाडी आप्यो छे.

गुजराती कविओए पण पोताना काव्योमां समाजना सडा वर्णवी [illegible] छे. कृष्णरामे ' कलिकाळनुं वर्णन ' घणुं ज सारुं करेलुं छे; अने बहुचराजीना [illegible] वल्लभ मेवाडाए 'कलिकाळना गरबा'मां संवत १७८७ मां सत्यासीयाना नामे पडेला दुकाळथी लोकमां जे संकट पथरायलुं तेनुं तथा लोकनो चारित्रहीन दशानुं वर्णन कर्युं छे. श्रीमद् भागवतमां पण कलियुगनुं वर्णन एवी ज जातनुं जोवामां आवे छे अने तेना आ बधा पडछाया ज होय एम जणाय छे. आजे पण आपणे कोण जाणे एवा ज अनाचार जोईए छीए. ए उपरथी सहज एवो विचार आवे छे के धर्म अने समाजना सडा कोण जाणे केटलाए काळथी एवा ने एवा ज चाल्या आवता हता के शुं ! अथवा शुं परापूर्वथी समाज आवो ज चाल्यो आवतो हशे ?

नाटकनी भाषा मधुर, प्रासादिक अने सुंदर छे. शैली पण रोचक अने हृदयंगम छे. कवि ज्यां ज्यां कोई वस्तुनुं वर्णन करे छे त्यां त्यां वाणीनी मीठाश अने शब्द-अर्थनी चमत्कृति झळकी उठे छे. पाछळ नाटकमांथी जे उतारा आप्या छे ते जोवाथी आ वातनी खात्री थशे. छंदोरचनामां कोईक ठेकाणे स्खलन मालम पडे छे; परंतु एकंदरे संस्कृत भाषा उपर कविनो काबु सारो मालम पडे छे; अने तेथी काव्य-कृतिओ सुंदर बनेली छे. कविए श्लोकरचना विविध वृत्तोमां करी छे खरी; पण स्रग्धरा उपर कविने वधारे प्रीति जणाय छे. मालिनी, शालिनी, शार्दूल, शिखरिणी, वसंततिलका, उपजाति अने अनुष्टुप पण नजरे पडे छे. अने ते बधा सुमधुर छे. उपमा, उत्प्रेक्षा आदि अलंकारो पण सुघटित गोठवायला छे, अने ते वर्णननी शोभामां वृद्धि करे छे. नाटक धार्मिक हेतुथी लखायेलुं होवाथी उपदेशात्मक छे, एटले एमां कयो रस प्रधानपद भोगवे छे ते कहेवुं मुश्केल छे, तो पण अमुक अमुक धर्ममार्गमां पेसी गयेली विकृतिओ रमूजी भाषाशैलीमां दर्शावेली होवाथी तेमां हास्यरसनुं प्राधान्य छे एम म्हारुं मानवुं छे, ने तेथी ज म्हें एनी 'प्रहसन' मां गणना करेली छे.

आ नाटकनी बीजी प्रतो मळी आवशे तो कविने वधारे न्याय आपी शकाशे. शोधखोळ करतां अने ग्रंथभंडारो तपासतां आवां बीजां पण नाटको जडी आवशे एम म्हारुं मानवुं छे. विद्वानोनी वृत्ति ए तरफ दोराय अने जूनुं साहित्य वधारे प्रसिद्ध थई जनताने काव्यास्वाद लेवानुं सुख मळे ए ज आ लेख लखवामां म्हारो उद्देश छे ते सफळ थाओ एटली आशा साथे विरमुं छुं. अस्तु.

ગુજરાતનો પ્રાચીન મંત્રિ-વંશ.

BY PANDIT LALACHANDRA B. GANDHI.

(Baroda.)

ગુજરાતની પ્રાચીન રાજધાની અણહિલ્લવાડ પાટણની સાચી પ્રભુતાના સમયમાં, સુપ્રસિદ્ધ ચાવડા અને પ્રતાપી ચૌલુક્ય રાજ-વંશની કીર્તિ-વૃદ્ધિમાં સહાયભૂત થયેલા, પોતાની કિંમતી સેવાથી વંશ-પરંપરા સાત પેઢી સુધી એકનિષ્ઠપણે વફાદારીથી ગુજરાતનાં ગૌરવ, પ્રતાપ, સમૃદ્ધિ, ધર્મ અને યશ વિસ્તારનાર એક ઉત્તમ મંત્રિ-વંશ સદ્ભાગ્યે ગુજરાતને પ્રાપ્ત થયો હતો. સુપ્રતિભાથી અને બહુ કુશળતાથી સેંકડો પર્યન્ત ગુજરાતના વિસ્તૃત રાજ્યતંત્રને સુવ્યવસ્થિત રાખી રાજ-કારભાર ચલાવનાર મહામાત્ય, દંડનાયક વગેરે અધિકારો પૂરા પાડનાર, જૈનધર્મ દીપાવનાર એ પોરવાડ વીર વણિક્વંશની પ્રાચીન પ્રાકૃત પ્રશસ્તિ, એ જ પાટણના પ્રાચીન જૈન પુસ્તકોના ભંડારોની શોધ-ખોળમાંથી મળી આવી છે, જેનો સુયશ આપણા ને. ના. શ્રીમંત સરકાર મહારાજા સાહેબ સયાજીરાવ ગાયકવાડને ઘટે છે.

મહારાજા કુમારપાળના મંત્રીશ્વર પૃથ્વીપાલની પ્રાર્થનાથી ૨૪ તીર્થંકરોનાં પ્રા. અપભ્રંશાદિભાષામાં ચરિત્રો રચનાર, વડગચ્છના હરિભદ્રસૂરિએ એ ચરિત્રોના અંતમાં ઉપર્યુક્ત મંત્રી પૃથ્વીપાલનો તથા તેના પૂર્વજોનો પરિચય કરાવ્યો છે. કુમારપાળના રાજ્ય-કાળમાં રચાએલાં એ ચરિત્રોમાંથી ૮૦૩૨ પદ્યપ્રમાણ પ્રા. ચંદ્રપ્રભચરિત્રની વિ. સં. ૧૨૨૩ માં તાડપત્રપર લખાયેલી પુસ્તિકા સંઘવીના પાડાના ભંડારમાં વિદ્યમાન છે, જેનો આદ્યંત ભાગ ગા. ઓ. સિ. ના પાટણ ભંડારના ડિ. કૅટૅ. [વૉ.[1] પૃ. ૨૬૨ થી ૨૬૬] માં અમ્હે દર્શાવ્યો છે, જે હરિભદ્રસૂરિના વિ. સં. ૧૨૧૬ માં રચાયેલા અપભ્રંશ નેમિનાથ-ચરિત્રનો ઉલ્લેખ, અમ્હે જેસલમેર ભાં. સૂચીમાં કર્યો છે અને જર્મનીના સુપ્રસિદ્ધ ડૉ. હર્મન યાકોબીએ જેનો એક ભાગ સનત્કુમાર-ચરિત્ર જર્મનીમાં રોમન-લિપિમાં પ્રકાશિત કરેલ છે. એ જ હરિભદ્રસૂરિએ રચેલ મલ્લિનાથ-ચરિત પણ પ્રાપ્ત થાય છે. ઉપર્યુક્ત ચરિત્રોની પ્રાંત પ્રશસ્તિ પરથી જણાય છે કેઃ—

વનરાજના રાજ્યમાં ઠ. નિન્ન અને દંડનાયક લહર.

" શ્રીમાલપુરમાં ઉત્પન્ન થયેલ પોરવાડ વંશમાં સગુણ મુક્તામણિ જેવો નિન્નય નામનો વણિક્ ઠક્કુર થયો હતો. શ્રીદેવીએ પ્રકટ થઈને ભાવી અભ્યુદય કહેવાથી તે,

भीमदेवना राज्यमां महामात्य वढ अने दंडनायक विमल.

तेमां प्रथम, दोषोने नष्ट करनार, कमळा(लक्ष्मी)ना उदयने प्रकट करनार सूर्य जेवो वढ, भीमदेवना राज्यमां महामति(महामात्य) थयो.

अने बीजो, शरद् (ऋतु)ना चंद्र जेवा निर्मळ गुण-रत्नोना उदार मंदिर जेवो अने पोतानी प्रभा वडे सूर्यने पण झांखो पाडनार विमल नामनो दंडपति थयो. भीमदेव राजाना वचन वडे सकळ शत्रुओना वैभवने ग्रहण करनार ते, प्रभु(राजा-स्वामी)थी उपलब्ध थयेला चड्डावल्ली(चंद्रावती) विषय(देश)ने भोगवतो हतो. देव-भवनमां चडता प्रशस्त प्राणीओने नीसरणी जेवा नंदिवर्धन एवा बीजा नामवाळा, आ आबू गिरीन्द्रने जोईने तेणे विचार कर्यो के-"खरेखर, विविध संविधानो(घटनाओ)ना घररूप, उत्तम तीर्थ एवो आ पर्वत छे; एथी जो आ(पर्वत)ना उपर ऋषभ जिननुं भवन(मंदिर) करावाय; तो हुं पोताना जीवितव्यने, बलने अने लक्ष्मीने कृतकृत्य मानुं." एवी रीते चिंता(विचार) करता ते(विमल)ने अंबादेवीए स्वप्नमां कह्युं के-' भद्र ! आ सुंदर विचार कर्यो छे, ए प्रमाणे हृदयनुं इच्छित तुं कर. हुं पण तने बीजी(सहायक) थईने साहाय्य करीश. देवीए भीमदेव राजाने अने वढने पण तत्क्षण प्रस्तुत अर्थनो उपदेश आप्यो, एथी ते बंनेए पण विमलने अनुज्ञा आपी. त्यार पछी आबू गिरि उपर, अंबादेवीए प्रकट थईने उपदिष्ट करेला प्रदेशमां तेणे आ जिनभवनने कराव्युं[1], जेनो मध्य भाग श्रीऋषभ[देव]ना बिंबरूपी सूर्ये उद्योतित कर्यो हतो, जेना पर पताका फरकती हती. जिन-शासनमां कथन करेली नीति प्रमाणे जेमां चित्रशाला सुविभक्त करवामां आवी हती.

कर्णदेवना राज्यमां सचिव धवल.

कर्णदेवना राज्यमां, वढ महामति(महामात्य)नो पुत्र धवल नामनो सचिवेन्द्र थयो, जेणे पोताना जशवडे भुवनने धवलित (उज्ज्वल) कर्युं हतुं.

जयसिंहना राज्यमां सचिव आनंद.

त्यार पछी जयसिंहदेवना राज्यमां भुवनने आनंद आपनार आनंद नामनो सचिवेंद्र थयो, रेवंते[2] करेला प्रसादथी जेणे उत्तम समृद्धि प्राप्त करी हती अने वणुहावी देवताए करेला संनिधानथी जेना उपसर्गो नष्ट थया हता. गुरु(मोटा) गुणोना वशथी जेनुं माहात्म्य उल्लसित थतुं हतुं.

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१. आ जिन-मंदिरनी प्रतिष्ठा वि. सं. १०८८ मां थई हती-एम अन्य साधनोथी जणाय छे.

२. डॉ. हर्मन याकोबिए रेवा + अन्त नर्मदाना अंत प्रदेशमां आवो आशय दर्शाव्यो छे, ते योग्य नथी. रेवंतदेव सूर्यपुत्र एवा नामथी पुराणोमां प्रसिद्ध छे, ते अहिं समजवो जोईए. वडोदराना म्यूझियममां हालमां थोडा वखतपर राखेलो, हुमाड(वडोदरा राज्य)मांथी मळेली पाषाण पर वि. सं. ११२४ नी अश्वारूढ मूर्तिने डॉ. विनयतोष भट्टाचार्य महाशये तेना लखाण परथी रेवंतनी मूर्ति तरीके ओळखावी छे.

तेणे आबु गिरिना शिखर पर रहेला कई अने विमलना जिनमंदिरनी आगळ उद्योत करनार मंडप करावीने, पोताना वंशना उत्तम पुरुषोनी मूर्तिओने विराजित करती हाथणीओ(हाथी) पर करावी हती[1]. तेणे बहु पुस्तकोना अने बहु वस्त्रोना दानवडे नित्य संघ-भक्ति करी पोताना आत्माने खरेखर कृतार्थ कर्यो हतो.

पोताना मात-पिताना आत्मा माटे विशेष सुकृत करवाना रुचिवाळा, सरस्वती-ना निरुपम वर(प्रसाद)ना प्रभावबडे वांछित अर्थने प्राप्त करनार[2] सा... नामवाळा पृथ्वीपाल सचिवनी अभ्यर्थना वडे, अल्पमति होवा छतां पण, श्रीचंद्रसूरि-गुरुना नाम-मंत्रना माहात्म्यथी, संमानपूर्वक शास्त्र वशेष प्राप्त करनार हरिभद्रसूरिए, सर्वदेवगणिए करेल संनिधानवडे पूर्व कवीन्द्रोनी परंपराए रचेला ग्रंथोनुं अवलोकन करीने अणहिलवाडपुरमां श्रीकुमार[पाल] नरेन्द्रनो राज्यवृद्धिना समयमां श्रीचंद्र-प्रभ प्रभुनुं आ चरित समर्थित कर्युं छे."

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१. वि. सं. १२०४ ना फा शु. १० शनिवारना उल्लेख साथे महामात्य [1]नीनक, [2]लहर, [3]वीर, [4]नेढ, [[5]विमल], [6]धवल, [7]आनंद अने [8]पृथ्वीपालना नामवाळा हाथीओ अने ते पर थती मूर्तिओ, विषम परचक्राक्रमण पछी अद्यापि सद्भाग्ये दृष्टिगोचर थाय छे. वि. सं. १२३७ मां आषाढ शु. ८ बुधे तेमना वंशजोए-अनुयायीओए तेमां ३ सत्त्वानी वृद्धि करी हती. वि. सं. १२१२ मां त्यां समवसरण करावनार ओसवाल मंत्री धांधूके विमलमंत्रीनी ए हस्ति-शालानो उल्लेख कर्यो छे. पोरवाड मंत्रीश्वर तेजपाले एना अनुकरणरूपे वि. सं. १२८७ मां प्रतिष्ठित करावेल लूणसीह-वसही साथे एवी हस्तिशाला रचावी हती. उपर्युक्त महामात्य पृथ्वीपाले वि. सं. १२०६ मां विमलना तीर्थनो अद्भुत उद्धार कराव्यानो उल्लेख आबू पर छे. आ चन्द्रप्रभ-चरित्रनी रचना पण वि. सं. १२०४ पछी थोडा समयमां थई जणाय छे.

२. मल्लिनाथचरित्रनी प्रशस्तिमां अहिं एक गाथा अधिक छे. तेमां पृथ्वीपालने, दुर्नय रूपी अंधकार दूर करवामां सूर्य जेवो नय नीति)मार्गे चलावनार सारथिओमां शिरोमणि, तथा नर-परीक्षा, नारी-परीक्षा, हस्ति-परीक्षा, अश्व-परीक्षा अने रत्न-परीक्षा करवामां दक्ष सूचित कर्यो छे. ए चरित्रना प्रारंभमां पण तेने नर, नारी, तुरंग अने वारण(हाथी)ना लक्षणशास्त्रोमां कुशल सूचित कर्यो छे डॅा. हर्मन याकोबी, कंई जुदुं समजता जणाय छे, तेथी नेमिनाथ-चरित्रनी प्रशस्तिमां आवेला आवा आशयना पद्यना अर्थमां तेओए पृथ्वीपालने तेवा लक्षणवाळो जणाव्यो छे.

परिशिष्ट [१

मंत्रिवंशनी प्राकृत प्रशस्तिमां जणाव्या प्रमाणे—

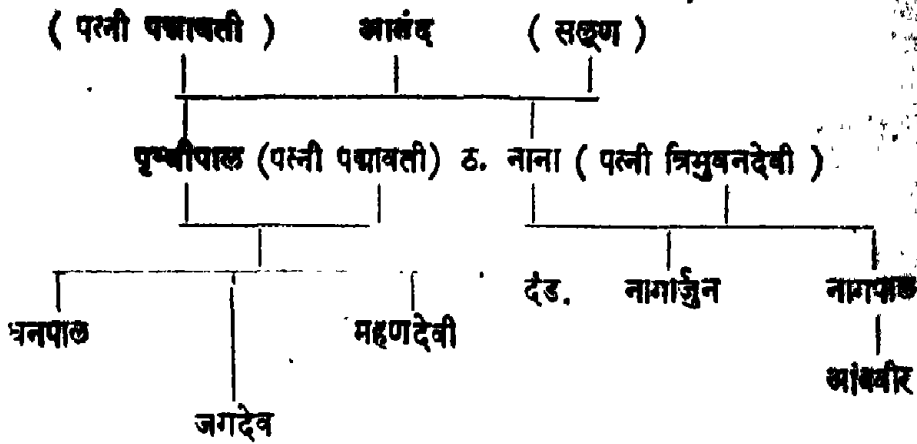
गुजरातनो
प्राचीन राजवंश.

वनराज (चावडा)
(वि. सं. ८०२ थी ८६२)
⋮
(सोलंकी राजवंश)
मूळराज
(वि. सं. ९९३ थी १०५२)
|
चामुंडराज
(वि. सं. १०५२ थी १०६६)
|
वल्लभराज
(वि. सं. १०६६ थी १०६६)
|
दुर्लभराज
(वि. सं. १०६६ थी १०७७)
|
भीमदेव
(वि. सं. १०७७ थी ११२०)
|
कर्णदेव
(वि. सं. ११२० थी ११५०)
|
जयसिंह
(वि. सं. ११५० थी ११९९)
|
कुमारपाळ
(वि. सं. ११९९ थी १२३०)

गुजरातनो
प्राचीन मंत्रिवंश.

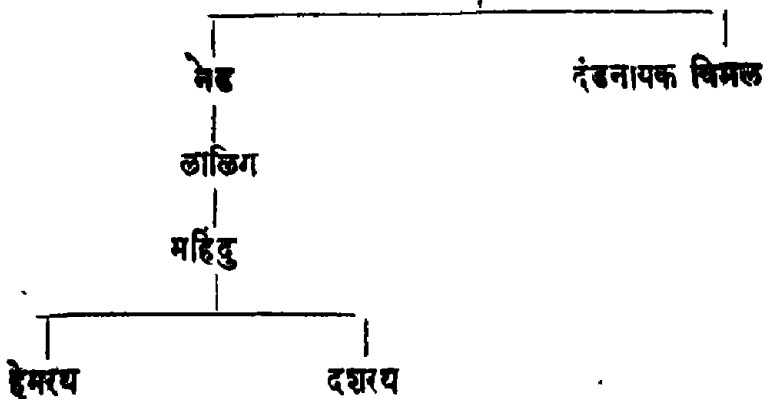
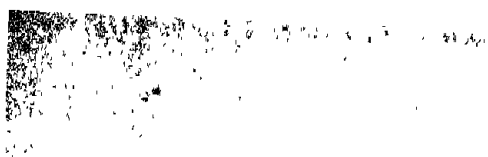
पोरवाड वणिक्
निन्न ठक्कुर
|
लहर दंडनायक
|
वीर मंत्री
वि. सं. १०८५ मां
स्वर्गवासी.
|
नेढ महामति — विमल दंडपति
|
लालक सचिवेन्द्र
|
आनंद सचिवेन्द्र—पत्नी पद्मावती
|
पृथ्वीपाळ सचिव

परिशिष्ट [२]

आबूमां मळता लेखो प्रमाणे, मंत्री पृथ्वीपालनो कुटुंब-परिवार.

परिशिष्ट [३]

आबू परनो विमल-वसहीनी जगतीना शिलालेखमां

१७ पद्योवाळी सं. मंत्रि-वंश-प्रशस्ति प्रमाणे

श्रीमाल कुल (? पुर)-प्राग्वाट वंश

Paṇḍita Pariṣad.

President:

MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA HATHIBHAI SHASTRI.

CONTENTS.

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS.

MAHAMAHOPĀDHYĀYA HATHIBHAI SHASTRI.

(*Jamnagar*).

मान्या राजवर्गीयाः सभ्याः पण्डिताश्च ।

अद्यैषा पण्डितपरिषत् विशिष्टं किमपि कार्यमुद्दिश्य सम्मिलिताऽस्ति, तच्च कार्यमतिगौरवावहं—संस्कृतभाषाया उपयोगितादर्शनपूर्वमेतस्याः समुन्नयनं, तदुपाय-प्रदर्शनमुपायानुष्ठानेन यत्नस्य फलपर्यवसायित्वापादनमित्यादि ।

एवंविधस्य महतः प्रयोजनस्य सिषाधयिषायां प्रधानपदे मादृशजनस्य नियोजनं श्रीमतां मयि सद्भावमेवावेदयति ।

मम तु सभाध्यक्षपदारोहणात्मके हर्षावसरेऽपि स्वान्तं सङ्कोचमञ्चति तन्निदानन्तु श्रीमद्भिरकस्मादुपनीतस्य सभापतिपदस्य गौरवमेव, नेतरत्; व्यतिकरे चैवंविधे केवलं श्रीमतां सङ्कल्पबलमेव मयि सभापतित्वनिर्वाहकं कमप्यतिशयमवश्यमाधा-स्यतीति दृढप्रत्ययोऽस्मि संवृत्तः ।

कालबलेन आङ्ग्लप्रभृतिविविधान्यभाषाप्रवणतया तत्रैव व्यामोहेन क्षीण-शक्तीनां संस्कृतभाषाध्ययनेऽनादरवतामध्येतॄणां वैमुख्येन, दुरवगाहशास्त्राणां पठन-पाठनप्रचारविरलतया, राज्ञामपि स्वयमसंस्कृतज्ञानामुपेक्षया, विदुषामपि प्रायःश्रीमद्भा-गवतप्रवचनपर्याप्तवैदुष्यसन्तुष्टानामतःपरं कृतकृत्यंमन्यतया, इतरैरेवंविधैरेव कारणै-र्भूयानेष संस्कृतवाङ्मयस्य तालपत्रलिखितः पत्रसंनिविष्टश्च केवलं कीटभक्ष्यतामापद्यमा-नोऽस्यमुद्धारमाकाङ्क्षतीति न कस्यापि न सम्मतम् ।

अपि च योऽपि प्रचारपथमनुहरति तदंशस्तत्रापि तत्तत्सूत्रादि विहाय मूलम-न्यथाऽन्यथा प्रकारान्तराणि अनृषिकल्पितान्यनुतिष्ठन्तः श्रमबाहुल्येनापि तादृशमस्यमपि फलातिशयमलभमानाश्च्यवन्ते यथेष्टसिद्धितः । अतश्च पठनपाठनशैलीनामयाथा-तथ्यादिहेतुभिः कमपि दशाविशेषं शोचनीयमापतितस्य संस्कृतवाङ्मयस्य समुद्धरणच-णानामेषां पण्डितानामेषा परिषत् विविधविषयानधिकृत्य स्वोद्गारोपस्थापनेन प्रकृतमुद्देश्यं सफलयिष्यति । किञ्च विदेशीया, विदेशीयसंस्काराक्रान्तान्तरङ्गाश्च गीर्वाणवाङ्मयानभिज्ञाः संस्कृतभाषां मृतभाषामाभणन्ति, यतमाना अपि गीर्वाणगीःपरिचयाध्वनि, पर्यन्तेऽपि

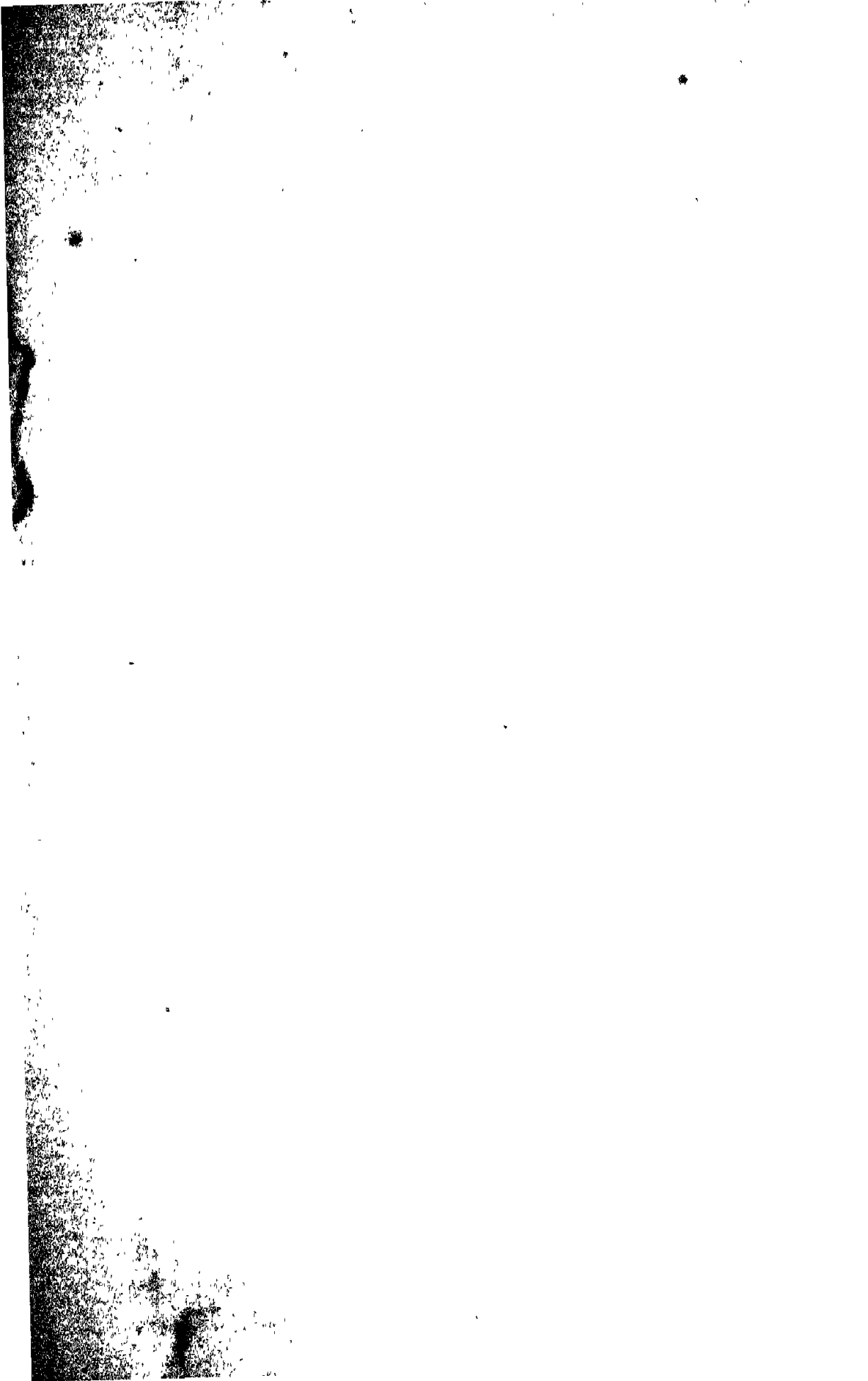
प्रकृतश्चोऽयमानन्दप्रसङ्गो यत्पाश्चात्यदेशपरिचयभूयस्त्वेऽपि [illegible] मनुष्यमानाः श्रीमन्तो गायकवाडमहाराजाधिराजाः परमेण प्रेम्णा [illegible] पण्डितपरिषत्सम्मेलनेन देशभाषोत्कर्षेण साकं लोकव्यवहारेष्वपि प्रगतिमाधातुं [illegible] धन्यवादार्हाः ॥

ता. २९-१२-१९३३ भृगुवासरे.

—उपसंहारसमये—

माम्याः पण्डितमहोदयाः ।

दिनद्वयं यावदनुष्ठितेन समारम्भेण परिणतिमुपगतं कृत्स्नं कार्यं निष्प्रत्यूहमिति श्रीभगवदनुग्रहं मनसि भावयन्तो मोदामहे । सम्मिलितैः पण्डितप्रकाण्डैरस्मिञ्जनेऽनुकम्पापारवश्येन यत्साहायकमापादितं तज्जन्यमुपकारभारं वहन्नयं जनश्चिरं पण्डितानां सौजन्यस्य स्मरिष्यति ।

धर्मप्रतीपेऽत्रानेहसि धर्मबुद्ध्या एवंप्रकाराः प्रवृत्तीः प्रयोजयन्तः श्रीमन्तो गायकवाडमहाराजाधिराजाश्चिरं जीवन्तु प्रजोद्धाराय सन्मतिदानेन तांश्च परमेश्वरोऽनुगृह्णातु । शिवम् ।

प्राचीनद्वारका ।

BY MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA HATHIBHAI SHASTRI.
(*Jamnagar*).

द्वारकापुरीसन्निवेशविषये द्वारकामाहात्म्यतो बहवो विचारा आविर्भवन्ति । यद्यपि लेखेऽस्मिन् पारेपश्चिमसमुद्रमोखामण्डलान्तर्गता वर्त्तमाना द्वारका न वास्तवीति न प्रतिपिपादयिषितं किन्तु उपलब्धप्रमाणपरम्परापारवश्येन या कल्पनातितिरुप-तिष्ठते साऽवश्यं विचारपदवीमधिरोढुमर्हति ।

प्रभासखण्डान्तर्गतद्वारकामाहात्म्यतोऽवसीयते यद्द्वारका प्रभाससन्निहिता-ऽभूदिति यदद्यापि प्राचीस्थानाद् योजनदेश्यान्तरे समुद्रतटे ' मूलद्वारका ' इति प्रसिद्धं स्थानमस्ति यत्र निवर्त्तनदेश्याया एकस्याः शिलाया उपरि मन्दिरद्वयमुपलक्ष्यते, एक-स्मिंस्तु मन्दिरे शिवलिङ्गमपि दरीदृश्यते ।

अनुमीयते च-यद्दक्षिणपार्श्वस्थितमन्दिरे या मूर्तिरभूत्सा अस्या द्वारकायाः समुद्रप्लवानन्तरं स्थानादस्मादुपादाय साम्प्रतं द्वारकेतिव्यवह्रियमाणे कुशस्थलीप्रदेशे मन्दिरं निर्माय स्थापिता भवेदिति—कुशेश्वरसंज्ञकं शिवलिङ्गं तु उद्धारानर्हमतोऽत्रैव स्थितमिति ।

एतन्मूलद्वारकास्थानस्थितमन्दिरद्वयान्नातिदूरे एका गुफा वर्त्तते, यद्यपि गुफायाः प्रवेशद्वारमिदानीं पाषाणचूर्णादिचित्या पिहितमस्ति परन्तु अस्या गुफाया मार्गेण रैवताद्रेरुपत्यका प्राप्यते इति जनश्रुतिरस्ति ।

यस्याः शिलाया उपरि मन्दिरद्वयी वर्त्तते सा शिला समुद्राप्लावितद्वारकाव-शेषरूपा सामुद्रजलोर्मिमालाघातेन किञ्चिदन्तरधीनेवाद्यापि स्थिता। साम्प्रतमिदं स्थानं प्रभासस्थानादष्टादशमीलमितेऽन्तरेऽग्निकोणे विद्यमानं मूलद्वारकानाम्ना लोकैर्व्यवह्रियते तेन प्रतीयते यदत्रैव द्वीपदेश्यप्रदेशे द्वारकाया मूलस्थानमिति ।

किञ्च द्वारकामाहात्म्ये द्वारकासमीपे रमणद्वीपसञ्ज्ञकं क्रीडास्थानं निर्दिष्टं तदिदानीं पोर्तुगालसत्ताधीनं ' दीव ' इतिख्यातं द्वीपकल्पं वर्त्तते। अपि च-द्वारकानिवा-सिनो बालकाः क्रीडार्थं रैवतकाद्रौ गच्छन्तिस्मेति कथापि ऐदंपर्येणाऽद एव स्थानमनु-कूलयति । यदि वर्त्तमानद्वारका प्राचीनद्वारका मन्येत तर्हि रमणकद्वीपस्य रैवताद्रेश्च सान्निध्यं सर्वथा नैव घटनामञ्चति यतो रैवताद्रिरिदानीन्तनद्वारकास्थानाद्द्विशतसं-ख्याताधिकमीलान्तरे वर्वर्त्ति ।

कृत्स्नोऽप्ययं वृत्तान्तो मूलद्वारकास्थाने एव द्वारकास्थित्यङ्गीकारे सङ्गच्छते [illegible] इदानीन्तनद्वारकातः प्रभासस्थानं विंशतियोजनदेश्यान्तरे वर्तते यत्र गन्तुं [illegible] दिनानि समपेक्ष्यन्तेऽत्र एतत् सकलमुपपत्तिविधुरतामापद्यमानमुपरि कथित[illegible]मुपोद्बलयति ।

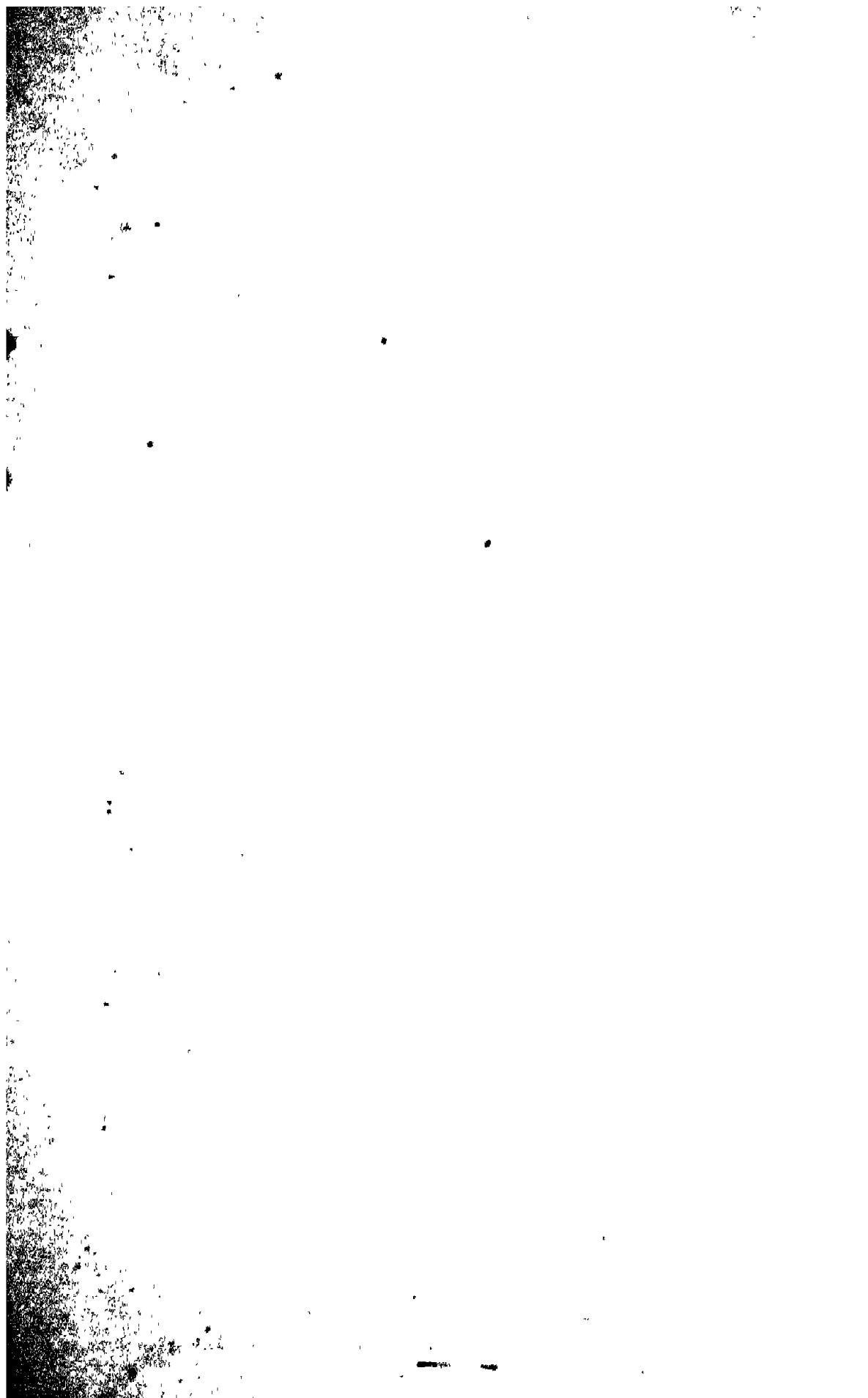
अपि च द्वारकायात्रायां सोमेश्वरदर्शनं तत्फलं च निर्दिष्टं तदपि मूलद्वारका-स्थाने एव सञ्जाघटीति। अग्रे च—कुबेरनगरी, तस्याः पश्चिमे च न्यङ्कुमती नदी—इत्यादि-निरूपणमपि मूलद्वारकास्थानसमनियतं यत एतत्स्थानादर्द्धयोजनान्तरे एव किञ्चिदप-भ्रंशवशात् 'कोडीनार' पुरी तत्पश्चिमे च 'निङ्कुमती' नदी चाद्यापि सर्वजन-विदिते वर्तेते ।

आतश्च स्थानात्पश्चिमे धर्मपुरं (यदिदानीं विष्णुप्रयाग इति निगद्यते), चक्रकुण्ड(चक्रतीर्थ)इत्यादि सकलमपि मूलद्वारकास्थानेनैव नियतसङ्गतिमत्तया सम्यगवगम्यते ।

हरिवंशकयातोऽवबुद्धयते यच्छ्रीकृष्णवंशजेन हरियशोनाम्ना यादवेन कुश-स्थलीप्रदेशे द्वारकां सन्निवेश्य तत्र मन्दिराणि निर्मापितानीति । एतत् कुशेश्वरमाहात्म्य-तोऽपि स्पष्टमुद्भूयते ।

प्रकृतविषये अन्यदप्येकं विचारपदवीमारोढुमर्हति । कुम्भघोणनगरे श्रीमद्भगव-त्पूज्यपादश्रीशङ्कराचार्यैर्मठाम्नायो मुद्रापितः, यस्मिन्—शारदामठस्तु यत्र शृङ्गगिरौ स्वयं शारदाम्बा विराजते स शृङ्गेरीमठ एव, द्वारकायां तु कालिकामठ- इति निरूपितं, सोऽयं कालिकामठः साम्प्रतमपि प्रभासक्षेत्रे त्रिवेणीतटे विद्यमान आस्ते; यत्र जीर्णोद्धारलेखः शिलोत्कीर्णो विक्रमसंवत् १४९६ वर्षीयः स्तम्भे निरुद्ध उपलक्ष्यते । कतिचन लोका एनमपि शारदामठनाम्ना व्यवहरन्ति; तदेतत्स्थानमपि मूलद्वारकासन्निहितमिति सार्वजनीनम् ।

अपि च-'गुजराती' नामकसाप्ताहिकसमाचारपत्रस्य जूनमासीयपञ्चविं-शतितमतारीखाङ्के ९५१ पृष्ठे, गोंडलनगरे 'इन्जीनियर' पदमधितिष्ठद्भिर्वीरेन्द्र-रायमहाशयैर्महता विस्तरेण रुक्मणीपरिणयवृत्तान्तगवेषणया रुक्मिणीहरणार्थं ब्राह्मणेन सार्कं गतस्य श्रीकृष्णस्य गमनागमनमार्गनिश्चयोऽतिसूक्ष्मेक्षिकया निर्णीतस्तत्र मधुवाग्रामसमीपे भवानीमन्दिरमस्ति यत्राराधनार्थमागतां रुक्मिणीं रथमारोप्य कृष्णः पुनर्द्वारकां येनाऽध्वनायातस्तत्सम्बन्धिविमर्शान्ते एनमेव निश्चयमुपेयिवांसस्ते महाशया 'यद् द्वारकया कोडीनारसन्निहितयैव भवितव्यम्।' इति। एतदपि निखिलेन पूर्वप्रपञ्चि-तामेव कल्पनासरणिमनुरुन्धे ।

अस्मिन् विषयेऽपरेऽपि पुरातत्त्वविपश्चितो चित्तोपनायं विमर्शततिमातन्वन्ति चेद्वयमवश्या प्राचीनतातत्त्वमुपश्लिष्टतया प्रकाशमासादयिष्यतीति शिवम् ॥

नित्यविज्ञानक्षणिकविज्ञानवादयोरन्तरम् ।

BY PANDIT EMBAR KRISHNAMACHARYA.

(*Vadtal*).

परां प्रतिष्ठां प्रज्ञायास्तमात्मानं विदन्मयम् ।
तेनाहितामिमां प्रज्ञामुन्नयत्यद्वये पथि ॥

सदेवेदमग्र आसीदित्यौपनिषदाः । असदेवेदमग्र इति सौगताः । ऐकात्म्यवादिन औपनिषदाः । नैरात्म्यवादिनः सौगताः । सन्मात्रं तत्त्वमित्यौपनिषदाः । सदसदादिचतुष्कोटिविनिर्मुक्तं तत्त्वमिति सौगतप्रवराः । पुरुषान्न परं किञ्चिदित्यौपनिषदाः । शून्यतायाः परं किञ्चिदिति सौगताः । आत्मभावनयैव श्रेय इत्यौपनिषदाः । नैरात्म्यभावनयैवेति सौगताः । तदेवं दूरमेते विपरीते मते ।

विनेयजनमनःपरिपाकानुगुणस्यैव श्रेयःपथोपदेशस्य कार्यकरतां पश्यता सुगतेन दयापरवशेन बाह्यस्याभ्यन्तरस्य सर्वस्य क्षणिकता, दुःखैकभूमिता, अथ विपरीतवासनापरिधूसरचित्तमात्रक्षणिकस्वरूपता, अथ वस्तुतःसर्वस्य शून्यता चोपादिश्यत । सेयं देशना निर्वाणसौधमारुरुक्षतां विनेयजनानां सुखोपसेव्या काऽपि सोपानपरम्परेति तत्समयनिष्ठाः प्राहुः । तत्र सर्वस्य चित्तमात्रत्वोपदेशे विहितावधानाः क्षणिकविज्ञानमात्रवादिनो योगाचारा इति ख्याप्यमानाः परिष्कुर्वन्तः सौगतं मतं निरस्यन्तो बाह्यास्तित्ववादमप्रतिक्षिपन्तः शून्यवादे क्षणिकविज्ञानमात्रपारमार्थ्यमभ्युपगच्छन्त औपनिषदरूपवादं पूज्यपादश्रीशङ्कराचार्यप्रकाशितं नातिविरुद्धं स्वमतस्य भावयन्तो छेकतः सौगदेर्मपि प्रकाशयन्तः प्रतिवदन्ति चानभिमतांशे । तथा च शान्तरक्षितः प्राह—

"नित्यज्ञानविवर्तोऽयं क्षितितेजोजलात्मकः ।
आत्मा तदात्मकश्चेति सङ्गिरन्तेऽपरे पुनः ॥

× × × ×

तेषामल्पापराधं तु दर्शनं नित्यतोक्तितः ।
रूपशब्दादिविज्ञाने व्यक्तं भेदोपलक्षणात् ॥
एकज्ञानात्मकत्वे तु रूपशब्दरसादयः ।
सकृद्वेद्याः प्रसज्यन्ते नित्येऽवस्थान्तरं न च ॥" इति ॥

दर्शयति । न खलूपलब्धारं (उपलब्धस्तारं) प्रति तत्प्रत्यक्षत्वमात्मानं [illegible]
अपि तु तस्यां चक्षुरर्थसन्निकर्षान्तःकरणविकारभेदे उपलब्धारं एव प्रत्यक्षे [illegible]
पलम्भस्य प्रत्यक्षौ भवतः । अर्थो हि नीलस्वभावः प्रमातारं प्रति स्वप्रकाशत्वाय अन्तः-
करणविकारभेदमनुभवमपेक्षते । अनुभवस्तु जडोऽपि स्वच्छतया चैतन्यबिम्बोद्ग्राहितया
नानुभवान्तरमपेक्षते । येनानवस्था भवेत् ।' इति ।

एतद्वाक्यपर्यालोचनया व्यक्तं गम्यते नीलपीताद्यनुभवोऽन्तःकरणवृत्तिविशेष एव,
स च जड इति । वेदान्तकल्पतरौ चेदं वाक्यम्–' स्वप्रकाशसाक्षिणि अन्तःकरणप्रति-
बिम्बिते सति अन्तःकरणपरिणामस्य भास्वरस्य स्वत एव साक्षिप्रतिबिम्बाधारतया सिद्धि-
संभवान्न परिणामान्तरादपरोक्षतेति ' । इतश्च व्यक्तं विज्ञायते स्वप्रकाशनित्यचैतन्यप्रति-
फलनाधारभूतोऽन्तःकरणवृत्तिविशेषोऽनुभव इति विज्ञानमिति प्रत्यय इति बुद्धिरिति च
व्यपदेशभाजनं भवतीति । तथा च सिद्धं क्षणिकविज्ञानस्य मनोमयादनतिरिक्तत्वम् ।
अज्ञान दवल्ली‌भाष्ये चेदमाचार्यपादवचनम्–' ज्ञानं ब्रह्मेति वचनात्प्राप्तमन्तवत्त्वम्,
लौकिकस्य ज्ञानस्या तवत्त्वदर्शनात्, अतः तन्निवृत्त्यर्थमाह–अनन्तमितीति ' सौगता-
भिमतं च लौकिकम्, औपनिषदं तु अलौकिकम् । तद्युक्तमुक्तमस्माभिर्विज्ञानमात्रं पर-
मार्थभूतमिति वचसि केवलनैकतेति ।

अपि च–चित्तमनं बुद्ध्यादिशब्दैरेव विज्ञानस्य निर्देशः सौगतनिबन्धेषु विशेषतो
दृश्यते । आत्मादिशब्दैरेव तु नित्यविज्ञानस्योपनिषत्सु नैयायिकाभिमतमनोद्रव्यमतिरिक्तं
निरस्यता शान्तरक्षितेनेदमुच्यते–

' चक्षुराद्यतिरिक्तं तु मनोऽस्माभिरपीष्यते ।
षण्णामनन्तरोद्भूतप्रत्ययो यो हि तन्मनः ।।' इति

अनेन च विज्ञायते–एतदभिमतं विज्ञानं मनोमयं नातिवर्तते । नैवोपसर्पति साक्षिचैत-
न्यलक्षणनित्यविज्ञानम् । इति । आलयविज्ञानमिति न कश्चित् विशेषः, नीलपीताद्याकारा-
नवभासिनी अनुभूतानेकवासनाश्रयभूता येयमन्तःकरणवृत्तिस्तया क्रोडीकृतमेव तु तत् ।

अपि च–अर्था बाह्या आभ्यन्तरं च ज्ञानमुभयमप्यस्ति, परमखिलं क्षणिकम्,
किमर्थैर्बाह्यैः, वासनयैवार्थाकारताया ज्ञाने संभवात्, तदर्था न सन्ति ज्ञानमेवार्थात्मना
भाति, किंवा ज्ञानेन, सर्वमेव विचार्यमाणं दुर्निरूपस्वरूपमिति शून्यमेव तत्त्वम्
व्यवहारश्च करु नयैवेति हि सौगतसमयनिःश्रेणिका । अस्यां निःश्रेणिकायां पर्वणः
पर्व क्रमादारुहन् यस्मिन् विज्ञानमात्रपर्वणि पदमादधाति, तद्विज्ञानं किमिति चेद्विचार्येत,
अर्थाविषयाकारतया यत् ज्ञानं बाह्यास्तित्ववादिभिरभ्युपगतं तदेव हि वासनावैचित्र्यात्
अर्थसत्तानिरपेक्षं नीलपीताद्याकारतया समनन्तरप्रत्ययतो जायमानं विज्ञानमात्रमिति
सिद्ध्यति । तथा च वेदान्तिनां दृष्ट्या अन्तःकरणवृत्तिविशेष एव तद्विज्ञानमिति
सिद्ध्यति । नित्यविज्ञाने अर्थाकारायोगात् ।

समुद्रयातुः संव्यवहार्यता।

BY PANDIT VITTHALRAM LALLURAM SHASTRI.

(Baroda).

श्रीमन्तो विपश्चिद्वर्याः। सुविदितमेतच्छ्रीमतां यदस्मिँल्लोकेऽधर्ममुन्मूल्य धर्मसंस्थापनायावाङ्मनसगोचरमप्यात्मानं सशरीरं भावयतो भगवतो रामकृष्णादेरप्यपरिहार्यमासीत्समुद्रयानं नाम, किं पुनः प्रकृतिपरवशानां रजस्तमोऽभिभूतान्तःकरणानां गार्हस्थ्यसुलभकामाशापूरिताशयानां दुस्तरसंसारोदधिमुद्दिधीर्षूणां मनुजानामिति।

एवं हि रागप्राप्ते सर्वतः संप्रवृत्ते विवादपदमधिरोहति यः खलु कृतप्रायश्चित्तः समुद्रयाता संव्यवहार्यो न वेति।

अत्रेदं प्रथममालोच्यते, यद्रामकृष्णार्जुनादिक्षत्रियविषयमैतिहासिकं समुद्रयानं यथा सार्वजनीनमेवं श्रुतिस्मृत्यादिपरिशीलिनां ब्राह्मणविषयं प्रतीयते? तत्र ब्रूमः। श्रुतौ तावत्

वसिष्ठं ह वरुणो नाव्याधादृषिं चकार स्वपा महोभिः।

श्रुतिस्मृत्यादिषु ब्राह्मणविषयं समुद्रयानम्।

स्तोतारं विप्रः सुदिनत्वे अह्नां। यान्नु द्यावस्ततनन्यादुषासः।

(ऋग्वेद मं० ७ व. २९ सू० ८८ ऋ. ४)

वसिष्ठं खलु वरुणः स्वकीयायां नाव्यारोहयत्, तथा तं शोभनकर्माणं चकार। अपि च विप्रो "वरुणो" दिवसानां मध्ये सुदिनत्वे स्तोतारमस्थापयत्, किं कुर्वन् गच्छतो दिवसान् रात्रीश्च क्षिप्रं ततनन् "सूर्यात्मना विस्तारयन्" इत्यर्थः सायणभाष्ये।

आ यद्रुहाव वरुणश्च नावं प्र यत् समुद्रमीरयाव मध्यम्।

अधि यदपां स्नुभिश्चराव प्र प्रेङ्ख ईङ्खयावहै शुभे कम्॥

(ऋग्वेद मं. ७ व. २९ सू. ८८ ऋ. ३)

यथा ऐहिकामुष्मिककर्माधिकारं संव्यवहार्यता चेति तथा द्विविधानि ... प्रतिपद्यते । इत्थं कृतप्रायश्चित्तस्यापि कलौ द्विविधयोग्यतया संव्यवहार्यता निष... कानिचित्पुराणवचनानि तानि यथा बृहन्नारदीये—

कृतप्रायश्चित्तस्यापि कलाव-
संव्यवहार्यता ।

समुद्रयातुः स्वीकारः कमण्डलुविधारणम् ।
द्विजानामसवर्णासु कन्यासूपयमस्तथा ॥
देवराच्च सुतोत्पत्तिर्मधुपर्के पशोर्वधः ।
मांसदानं तथा श्राद्धे वानप्रस्थाश्रमस्तथा ॥
दत्ताक्षतायाः कन्यायाः पुनर्दानं परस्य च ।
दीर्घकालं ब्रह्मचर्यं नरमेधाश्वमेधकौ ।
महाप्रस्थानगमनं गोमेधश्च तथा मखः ।
एतान्धर्मान्कलियुगे वर्ज्यानाहुर्मनीषिणः ॥ इति

आदित्यपुराणेऽपि—

द्विजस्याब्धौ तु नौयातुः शोधितस्यापि सङ्ग्रहः ।
सत्रदीक्षा च सर्वेषां कमण्डलुविधारणम ॥

इत्यादिवचनैः प्रागुक्तमर्थं भङ्ग्यन्तरेणाभिधाय अन्ते—

एतानि लोकगुप्त्यर्थं कलेरादौ महात्मभिः ।
निवर्तितानि कर्माणि व्यवस्थापूर्वकं बुधैः ॥

इत्युच्यते । निगमे पुनः—

अग्निहोत्रं गवालम्भं संन्यासं पलपैतृकम् ।
देवराच्च सुतोत्पत्तिं कलौ पञ्च विवर्जयेत् ॥

इत्युक्तम् । इमानि वचनानि समुद्रयानजन्यदुरितस्य निवृत्तये प्रायश्चित्ते कृतेऽपि कलौ समुद्रयातुरसंव्यवहार्यत्वं यथास्थितमेव बोधयन्ति । प्रायश्चित्तानुष्ठाने तु नित्य नैमित्तिककर्माधिकारसम्पत्त्या कृतार्थमिति मन्यन्ते—एवं स्थितेऽत्र केचित्—

श्रुत्यादिविरोधात्कलिवर्ज्यम-
प्रमाणम् ।

कलिवर्ज्यप्रकरणं हि श्रुतिस्मृतिविहितानामश्वमेधादीनां कलावननुष्ठा... बोधयति, किंतेषामर्थानां शिष्टैरनाचरणमभ्युपगतम् इति यदा विचारयामस्तदा विपरीतमेव पश्यामः तथाहि, नरमेधाश्वमेधकावित्यनेन प्रतिषिद्धोऽश्वमेधः कलावेव बहुभी राजर्षिभिः परीक्षितजनमेजयादिभिरनुष्ठितः पुराणेषु श्रूयते । ...

दानेन श्राद्धकर्मणोऽधर्मत्वं शक्यते वक्तुम् । किन्तु पथ्यमश्नतो रोगिण [illegible] निरर्थकं तत्कर्मेत्येव साम्प्रतम् । तथाचायमर्थः सम्पद्यते, यत्कलौ प्रायो जना [illegible]न्द्रियाः शौचवर्जिता इमानि कर्माण्यनुष्ठातुमनधिकारिण इति विद्वद्भिर्महात्मभि[illegible] [illegible]रूपलोकगुप्त्यर्थमिदं प्रकरणमारब्धं नत्वधर्मबुद्ध्येति । तान्येव पुनः [illegible] शुचित्वादिसम्पन्नः कश्चिदधिकारी यथाविध्यनुष्ठातुमुत्सहेत, न तदा तत्प्रतिबन्धकमेतत् प्रकरणम् । एवं च श्रुतिस्मृतिपुराणानामपि न प्रागुक्तविरोध इति सर्वं समञ्जसम् । तस्माद्यथोक्ताधिकारी कृतप्रायश्चित्तः समुद्रयाता संव्यवहारयोग्य इति ।

संव्यवहारनिषेधस्य सतत-समुद्रयानकर्तृपरत्वम् ।

अन्यच्च समुद्रयातुरित्यत्र " आक्वेस्तच्छीलतद्धर्मतत्साधुकारिषु" (अ. ३ पा. २ सू. १३४) इत्यधिकारे " तृन् " इति (अ. ३ पा. २ सू. १३५) पाणिनिसूत्रेण याधातोस्ताच्छील्यार्थक-तृन्प्रत्ययेन निष्पन्नो यातृशब्दः, तेन सततं यः समुद्रयानशीलः स समुद्रयातृपदेन परिगृह्यते, न तु लोकगुप्तिहेतुविद्याकलाद्यर्जनार्थं कदाचिद् द्वीपान्तरं प्रति याता समुद्रयातेति । न च " ण्वुल्तृचौ " इति (अ. ३ पा. १ सू. १३३) सूत्रेणात्र तृच्प्रत्यय इति न प्रागुक्तताच्छील्यार्थसम्भव इति वाच्यम् । 'समुद्रयायी बन्दी च तैलिकः कूटकारकः ' इति मनुवचने ' समुद्रयायी कृतहा रथ्यासमयभेदकः । वेदनिन्दारतश्चैव ते वर्ज्याः श्राद्धकर्मसु ॥' इत्युशनसो वचने च " बहुलमाभीक्ष्ण्ये " इति (अ. ३ पा. २ सू. ८१) पाणिनिसूत्रेणाभीक्ष्ण्ये (पौनः-पुन्ये) विहितणिनिप्रत्ययान्तसमुद्रयायिपदस्य ताच्छील्यार्थतृन्प्रत्ययान्तं समुद्रयातृपद-मित्यत्र तात्पर्यग्राहकस्य सत्त्वात् । एतदुक्तं भवति-मनुस्मृतौ समुद्रयायीत्यादीनुपक्रम्य " एतान्विगर्हिताचारानपाङ्क्तेयान्द्विजाधमान् । द्विजातिप्रवरो विद्वानुभयत्र विवर्जयेत् ॥" (अ. ३ श्लो. १६७) इत्युपसंहारवाक्येऽपाङ्क्तेयत्वसाधकविगर्हिताचारत्वहेतूपन्यासाद् बन्द्यादिसाहचर्याच्च समुद्रयानशीलस्यैवासंव्यवहार्यत्वं भगवतो मनोरभिमतमिति स्पष्ट-मनुमीयते । कलिवर्ज्योक्तस्य त्वयं विशेषो यद्दैवपित्र्यकार्यादन्यत्रापि तस्यासंव्यवहार इति । तेन लोकस्थितिहेतुविद्याकलादिसम्पादनाय समुद्रयाता कृतप्रायश्चित्तो न कलिवर्ज्यो-क्तासंव्यवहार्यताया विषयः, अपि तु समुद्रयानशील इत्याहुरिति दिक् ।

अन्त इदमेकमावेद्यते, यत्कलिवर्ज्योक्तासंव्यवहार्यत्वनिर्वचनाय प्रवृत्ते प्रस्तुत-प्रकरणे मध्ये प्रायश्चित्तकथनं तत्प्रासङ्गिकम् । यतो वर्णभेदेन सकृदसकृद्यान-अभक्ष्यभक्षण नित्यनैमित्तिकलोप–निषिद्धसंसर्गादिनिमित्तं प्रायश्चित्तं पृथक्पर्यालोच्याचरिष्यन्ति शुभैषिण इति विज्ञाप्य विरमत्येषः ।

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